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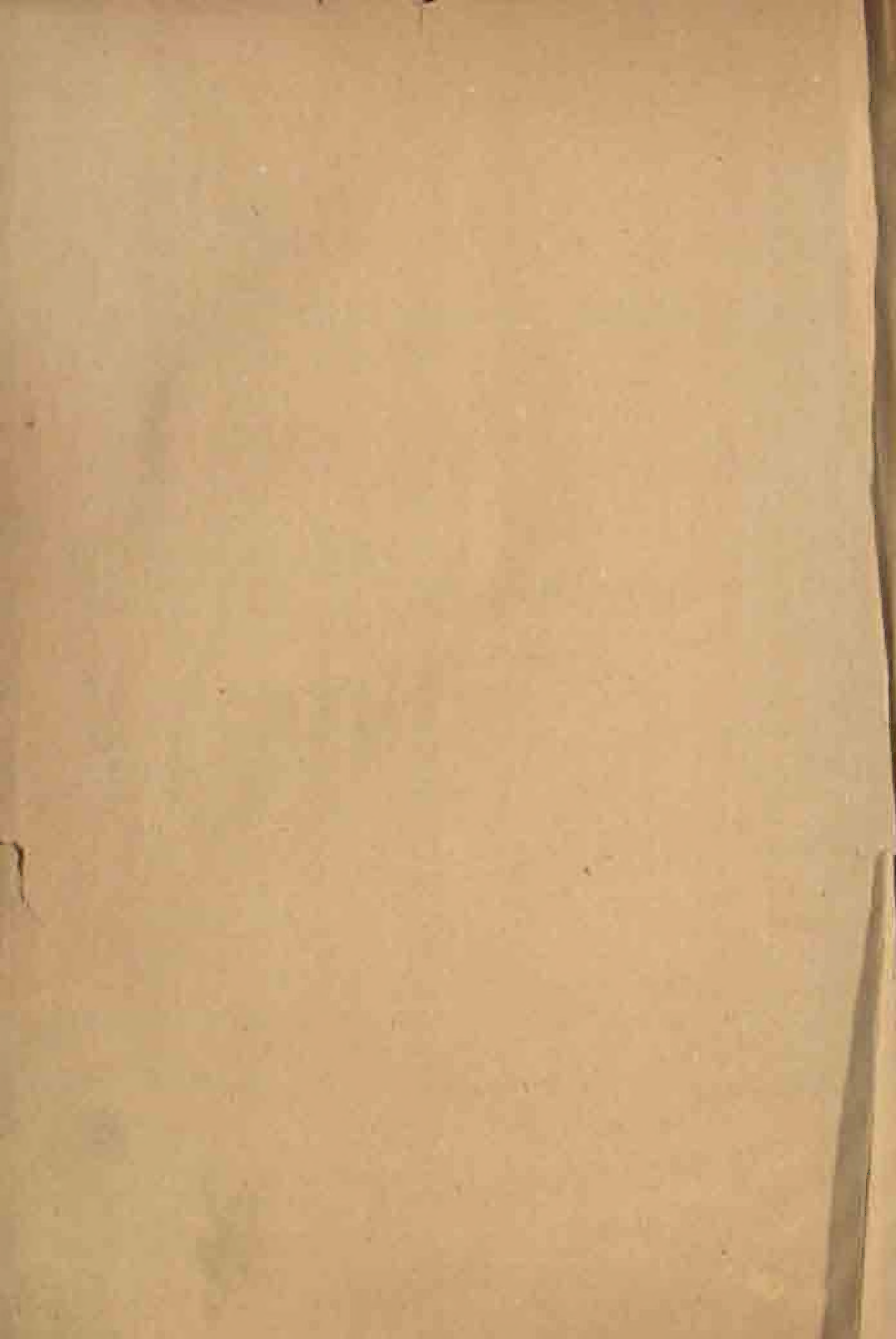
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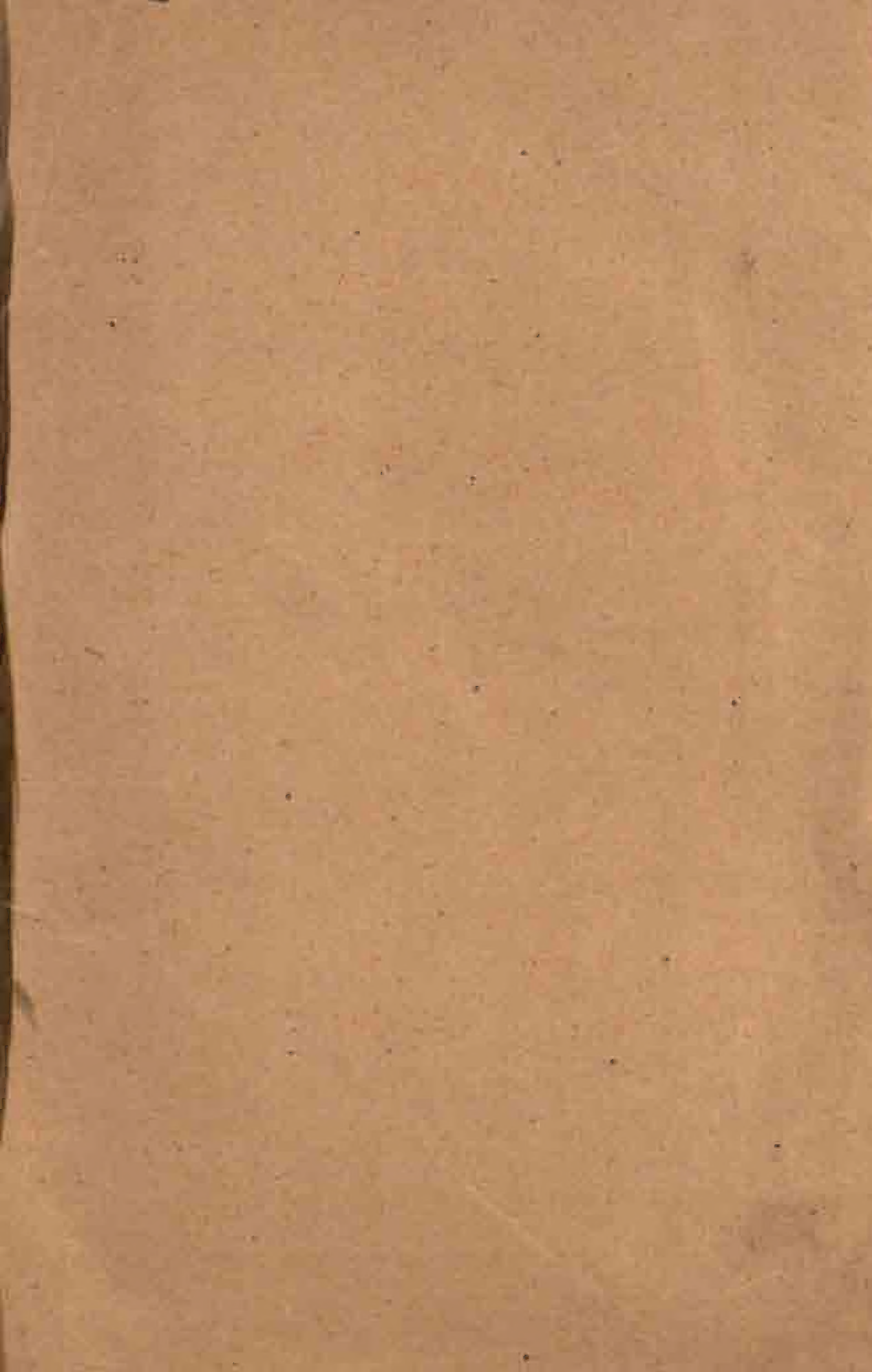
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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

AND

RECORD OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

Vol. XXI. 1931-32.

9580

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$$7 \overline{) 14}$$

- 71, l. n. 1, for *vasanādhya* read *vasanādhya*.
 77, line 2 from bottom, for "Puragupta's mother" read "Puragupta's wife".
 [The correct name of this queen is Chandradēvi (see *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1934-35, p. 63).]
 81, text line 4, for *Gōvinda svāmīnāḥ* read *Gōvinda svāmīnāḥ*.
 89, line 18 from bottom, for "interpretated" read "interpreted".
 92, line 2 from bottom, for *Pramattadhā* read *Pramattadhā*.
 93, line 3, for *visāṇmādhya* read *visāṇmādhya*.
 95, text lines 15-16, for *विष्णुमहिम्* read *विष्णुमहिम्*.

- Page 85, text line 26, for श्रीमन्मन्त्र read श्रीमन्मन्त्र.
 „ 192, line 15, for Neḥṣṭajajaiyan read Neḥṣṭajajaiyan.
 „ 194, line 18, for Paṇḍumāṅgalam read Paṇḍumāṅgalam.
 „ 118, text line 11, for -*śh-āḥṣṭāṅga* read -*śh-āḥṣṭāṅga*.
 „ 190, f. n. 1, l. 8, for *Mahāśāṅga* read *Mahāśāṅga*.
 „ 192, f. n. 1, ll. 2-3, for *Arastāṅgi* read *Arastāṅgi*.
 „ 192, text line 8, for *Arastāṅgi* read *Arastāṅgi*.
 „ 192, line 18, for *Matṭapad* read *Matṭapad*.
 „ 192, f. n. 5, for *Baroda plates of Dhruva II* (*Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV, p. 197*) read *Baroda plates of Dhruva II* (*Ind. Ant. Vol. XII, p. 179*).
 „ 141, text line 22, for *Te* read *Te*.
 „ 146, f. n. 2, for *Septa-śāṅga-ṅga* read *Septa-śāṅga-ṅga*.
 „ 148, f. n. 5, for *Harṣaṅga* read *Harṣaṅga*.
 „ 154, line 8, for *Vaṇḍasthāvila* read *Vaṇḍasthāvila*.
 „ 155, line 12, for *Aṣṭa* read *Aṣṭa*.
 „ 158, line 3, for *Bhōjadēva* read *Bhōjadēva*.
 „ 160, line 8 from bottom, for *Rānta* read *Rānta*.
 „ 161, line 8 from bottom, for *Kamalarāja, son of Kōṭalla II* read *Kamalarāja, son of Kalingarāja*.
 „ 164, text line 15, for *Kāyapa* read *Kāyapa*.
 „ 165, text lines 26-27, for *prabhāta-tāva* read *prabhāta-tāva*.
 „ 167, line 12, for *Kurukāḍi Kūḍu* read *Kurukāḍi Kūḍu*.
 „ 167, f. n. 3, l. 2, for *pāṇḍum* read *pāṇḍum*.
 „ 169, text line 6, for *Pallava-Muttarāya* read *Pallava-Muttarāya*.
 „ 170, line 14, for *Pāṇḍumāṅga* read *Pāṇḍumāṅga*.
 „ 170, line 4 from bottom, for *Tiru Anantāvarattu* read *Tiru Anantāvarattu*.
 „ 174, line 11, for *i* is distinguished from *i* etc. read *i* is distinguished from *i* etc.
 „ 175, line 9, for *Vāṇḍumāṅga* read *Vāṇḍumāṅga*.
 „ 176, f. n. 3, l. 7, for *pāṇḍumāṅga* read *pāṇḍumāṅga*.
 „ 177, f. n. 10, for *to have ruled only for short time* read *to have ruled only for a short time*.
 „ 178, text line 15, for *gāroḍam* read *gāroḍam*.
 „ 178, f. n. 1, for *ḍattā* read *ḍattā*.
 „ 179, in the heading of A, for *Saṁvat 257* read *Saṁvat 254*.
 „ 181, line 9 from bottom, for *Hastavāṇḍa-śāṅga* read *Hastavāṇḍa-śāṅga*.
 „ 182, line 1, for *Khūḍaka* read *Khūḍaka*.
 „ 182, line 3, for *Bhūḍaka* read *Bhūḍaka*.
 „ 184, text line 35, for *śāṅga* read *śāṅga*.
 „ 184, text line 42, for *śāṅga* read *śāṅga*.
 „ 187, f. n. 7, ll. 3-4, for *Māṇḍa-Charaṅga* read *Māṇḍa-Charaṅga*.
 „ 190, text line 18, for *Uṣṭāṅga-kō ru* read *Uṣṭāṅga-kō ru*.
 „ 191, text line 28, for *Uṣṭāṅga(yar)* read *Uṣṭāṅga(yar)*.
 „ 191, text line 29, for *Uṣṭāṅga* read *Uṣṭāṅga*.
 „ 193, line 1, for *Pallavarāyaṇ of Mēṇḍalip-Palaiyaṇḍi* read *Pallavarāyaṇ of Mēṇḍalip-Palaiyaṇḍi*.
 „ 193, line 18, for *Vāṇḍumāṅga* read *Vāṇḍumāṅga*.
 „ 196, f. n. 7, for *C. I. I., Vol. I* read *C. I. I., Vol. II*.
 „ 198, text line 6, for *yathāśāṅga-saṁpratiṅga* read *yathāśāṅga-saṁpratiṅga*.

- Page 271, text line 6, for -śāstrulavāriki read -śāstrulavāriki.
 " 272, text line 32, for dhāra-pūrvadh- read dhārā-pūrvadh-
 " 274, text line 32, for विमर्शित(म)िह read विमर्शित(म)िह.
 " 276, text line 79, delete the figure 2 above वीरवर्ध.
 " 278, line 17, for Hāḍavati read Hāḍavati.
 " 279, line 9, for Śāraṅgapura read Śāraṅgapura.
 " 283, text line 14, for एतद्वीरवर्ध read एतद्वीरवर्ध.
 " 286, text line 39, for मण्डप read मण्डप.
 " 287, text line 12, for म न र read म नरी.
 " 292, line 3 from bottom, for Endāvirut read Endāvirut.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME XXI.

NO. 1.—MATHURA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II: G. E. 61.

By PROF. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., Ph.D. (Hon.), CALCUTTA.

This inscription, which has not been previously edited, is engraved on a pillar originally attached to a wall situated in the Chandul Mandul Bagichi near Rangēśvara Mahādeva temple at Muttra. It was discovered there by one Bholanath, a dealer in antiquities, in July 1928 and removed to his place. Later, it was taken possession of by the local Police authorities and was lying in their custody in the Māl godown, Muttra. Thereafter it was secured by the Director-General of Archaeology in India and transferred to the Muttra Museum on the 5th of July 1929 as a deposit from the Archaeological Department. It is now lying in the Muttra Museum bearing the No. 1931. In January 1931 Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Government Epigraphist for India, visited the Museum and took some impressions of the inscription. He was so good as to send me two excellent estampages, one plain, in one whole piece, and the other inked, in two parts. It is on these estampages that my transcript of this epigraph is based.

The writing occupies five of the faces with which the pillar is adorned and is spread over a surface, about 2' 3" broad by 1' 6½" high. The record, on the whole, is not badly preserved. It may seem that some portion at the end is gone, as the last line contains only the first half of a verse in the Āryā metre. But, as will be shown subsequently, the second half of this Āryā verse could not be engraved, as there was no space available for it between the top and the base of the pillar. The case, however, is different in regard to the third of the five sides of the pillar on which the record is engraved. Almost the whole of this part of the inscription is abraded and completely destroyed. This indeed is a grievous loss, because part of the most important matter contained in this interesting record is thus irrevocably lost to the historian, as we shall see in the sequel. The language is Sanskrit. And the inscription is in prose throughout, except for an Āryā verse at the close, only half of which could be engraved. In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are:—(1) the doubling, throughout, of *v* (ll. 5 and 10), of *y* (ll. 8, 12, 14, 15) and of *r* (ll. 3, 8), except in the word *kṛti*, in conjunction with a preceding *r*, and (2) the use of the *jāṇāmūliya* in l. 12.

The characters belong to the early Gupta period when they were practically identical with those of the Kushāna records. This is particularly the case with our inscription which is found at Mathurā from where a number of Kushāna epigraphs have already come to light. In fact, it would have been well-nigh impossible to say that ours was a Gupta and not a Kushāna record, had it not contained the name of a Gupta king. The letters *śṣ*, *pā*, *j*, *p*, *m*, and *s* of our inscription have almost invariably flat and angular bases; so also sometimes even the tops of *g*

and १. But these characteristics are noticeable in the script not only of the Kushāna but also of the early Kshatrapa or Satavāhana period. Then we have to note the equalisation of the upper verticals, the constant use of the nail-head or wedge, the loop in the left limb of ५, the peculiarly developed left member of ४, the slightly convex cross-bar of ३ and the base-line of २ or ५ bending lower down on either side. These peculiarities our epigraph has in common not only with the Kushāna records but also with the Junāgarh inscription of Rudradāman. The only point in which this last differs from the others is that while in the former the medial ३ and २ are indicated invariably by horizontal side strokes, in the latter they are sometimes shown by the vertical slanting strokes placed on the tops of the letters. But there seem to be no palaeographic peculiarities of any kind which demarcate the early Gupta from the Kushāna script. It is possible to argue that what is called the eastern variety of Gupta letters, such as is indicated by the peculiar forms of २, ३ and ४, already makes its appearance in the early Gupta records even at Mathurā. Thus Fleet's Gupta *Insura*, No. 4, which was found at this place and pertains to Chandragupta II himself, has the letter २ engraved throughout in the eastern variety. The same type of २ is traceable in a Jaina inscription also found at Mathurā¹ but of the time of Kanishka Gupta I. And further, if we consider the Miharauli pillar inscription of Chandra,² we notice not only २ but also ३ and ४ of the eastern variety. Scholars are now agreed that this Chandra is either Chandragupta I or Chandragupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. Where the original site of the pillar was is not definitively known. Possibly it was somewhere near Hardwār.³ It may be to the north of Mathurā, but certainly not to the east of it. We have thus to take note of the record which refers at the latest to Chandragupta II, and which presents the peculiar eastern variety of २, ३ and ४, although it was not put up anywhere in the eastern part of the Gupta dominions. It may thus be argued that the eastern forms of these three letters are noticeable in epigrapha from the western part of the Gupta kingdom and also as early as the time of Chandragupta II, and that, as they are not found in any Kushāna record, the existence of this eastern variety at Mathurā and Miharauli (or Hardwār) is enough to differentiate clearly the Gupta from the Kushāna script. This line of reasoning has no doubt an air of plausibility about it, but cannot stand any critical examination. Bühler has already shown that specimens of the eastern variety appear also in an Udayagiri cave inscription of the time of Chandragupta II (Fleet's Gupta *Insura*, No. 3, IV A), but this he has rightly explained by the fact that it was incised during an expedition of that Gupta sovereign to Mālwa at the command of his minister who was a native of Pāṇāputra. The existence of the eastern type of Gupta characters in the Miharauli pillar inscription may be explained exactly similarly by saying that it was engraved by the officers of Chandragupta II as they were returning from an expedition of world conquest adverted to therein. Secondly, it is a mistake to suppose that these specimens of the eastern variety are not noticeable in the Kushāna records also. Nay, in Mathurā itself an inscription⁴ has been discovered dated the 14th year of Kanishka's reign, which contains the typically eastern Gupta forms of the three letters २, ३ and ४. This also indicates that there is no hard and fast distinction between the Kushāna and the Gupta scripts. There is another piece of evidence to show that these eastern forms of the letters spring into existence in the pre-Gupta period. Thus we know of an inscription found at Sāghā (Jasdan) in Kāśhīwār of the time of the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāma. It is dated 127 (or 126), and, as it is referred to the Śaka era, we obtain A.D. 205 (or 204) as its English equivalent. If we carefully examine the facsimile of this record,

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 216, No. 38 & Pl.

² *A. S. Soc. Res. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 373 ff.

³ *Gupta Insura*, No. 32, Pl. XII A.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 96 f.

published above (Vol. XVI. Plate facing p. 237), we find that the letters *m* and *h* are indeed sometimes in the so-called western and sometimes also in the so-called eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet. It is thus clear, that these eastern forms of the letters were in existence as early as A.D. 265, the date of the Jaulan inscription, that is, certainly more than a century prior to the rise of the Gupta power. They cannot thus possibly be called Gupta characters at all. And it would be the height of absurdity to dub them as the eastern variety of the Gupta letters especially when the Jaulan record is not only of the pre-Gupta period but is far far removed to the south-west of Pataliputra.

There are, however, some minor palaeographic peculiarities in our inscription which call for notice here. The ending *m* in Siddham, with which the inscription begins, looks, however, like the eastern variety of the Gupta *m*, though in all other cases it is represented by the other—earlier—form of the letter. That it is the ending *m* is indicated by its tiny shape. The *h* in *mahārāja* in l. 1 is represented by a character which looks like *u*. Possibly its right limb remained unincised inadvertently. Though *u* is engraved in all other cases with the base-line bending slightly lower down on either side, the *u* in *garuḥgana* in l. 10 has a distinct loop on the left as in the later form of that character. This, however, is not unknown to the Kushāns records. The way in which components of the conjunct *mā* are joined in *śambhūmā* (l. 12) is worth seeing. The rare *h* in *vidhāna* (l. 13) and the Kushāna form of *u* and *ṣ* in ll. 5 and 8 are also worthy of note. Similarly, the character for the numeral 60 in l. 4 does not resemble any of the Gupta period, shown by Bühler in cols. IX-X, of his *Tafel IX.*, but comes very close to that in col. V of the Kharoṣṭhi period ranging between the 2nd and the 3rd century A.D.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Chandragupta, son of Samudragupta. The titles coupled with each name are worth noting. They are *bhāṣārāja*, *mahārāja* and *rājādhirāja*. The first of these, namely, *bhāṣārāja* is associated pretty frequently with the names of the Gupta sovereigns. But the other title which they almost invariably assume is *mahārājādhirāja* instead of what we have in the present record, i.e. *mahārāja rājādhirāja*, an exact replica of *mahārāja rājādhirāja* which the Kushāna kings bore. It is quite natural in Mathurā which formed one of the most important districts of the Kushāna kingdom and where numbers of Kushāna epigraphs have been unearthed. This is but another indication of Mathurā and the surrounding region being wrested from the Kushānas for the first time by Chandragupta II.

The date of the inscription is 61, which, of course, has to be referred to the Gupta era. It is rather unfortunate that the important words in lines 3-5 which contain the details of the date have been effaced. The first part of it tells us to what regnal year of Chandragupta this date corresponds. It is a serious loss that this part has not been preserved. The second part tells us to what *tilā* or era the year 61 belonged. It seems to be certain that *Gupta-tilā* is meant. But nothing would have been better if the word *Gupta* had been preserved. Then again the name of the month also has been destroyed. Fortunately for us the word *prathamā* has been preserved immediately after the specification of the month. This shows that in the year 61 there was an intercalary month. On the evidence of Jaina works Dr. K. B. Pathak has proved that expired or current Gupta years can be converted into corresponding (expired or current) Śaka years by adding 241. Thus if we add 241 to 61 Gupta year of our inscription, we obtain 302 Śaka=380 A.D. We do not yet know whether this Gupta year is current or expired. We leave it undecided for the time being. Now, if we refer to page 42 of Table X of the *Indian Chronology* by Swaminann Pillai, we find that there was an additional month only in A.D. 380 and none in 378 or in 381-82 and that in A.D. 380 Ashvīja was the

intercalary month. The lacuna before *prathamā* can thus be easily filled up with *Āshāṣṭha*. We thus find that the month of our date cannot but be *Āshāṣṭha*. We also find that the date of our record was a current Gupta year. Because this intercalary month came only in A.D. 390 current, the Gupta 81 must therefore be also a current year.

The earliest date we had so far for Chandragupta II is G.E. 82, supplied by an Udayagiri cave inscription of his eulATORY chieftain of the Sanatānaka family¹. But the date furnished by our epigraph is 61, which is thus twenty-one years earlier. It also sheds some light on the length of his reign. The latest known date for this Gupta sovereign is 93. Therefore Chandragupta II must have had a reign of at least 32 years.

After the specification of the date, the inscription introduces us to a teacher who was a *Mahādeva* or devotee of Śiva and was called Uditāchārya. His pedigree is given. But unfortunately the name of his teacher is not clearly preserved. It is however pretty certain that it was Upamita. The latter, again, was a pupil of Kapila, and Kapila, a pupil of Parāśara. We have thus a list of Mahādeva teachers extending over four generations. In fact, Uditāchārya has been mentioned as *śaṣṭhī* or fourth in succession from Parāśara. This is intelligible and quite all right, as it is in an unbroken order. But Uditāchārya has been also specifically mentioned as *dasama* or tenth in descent from Kuṣika. As no names of the intervening teachers have been given and Uditāchārya is specified as tenth in succession from Kuṣika, the only possible inference is that Kuṣika, though he did not originate any new doctrine or sect, must have been at least the founder of a line of teachers. We will take up this point later on for further discussion, but what we have here to note is that while the living teacher Uditāchārya is called merely an *Ārya*, all the others, namely, Upamita, Kapila, Parāśara and Kuṣika, have received the supreme designation of *Bhagavat*, which is generally associated with personages who are supposed to have attained to the rank of the divinity.

The object of the inscription is to record that Uditāchārya, who was the Mahādeva teacher living, established two images, called Kapilādeva and Upamitādeva, in the *Gurva-śyāma*. The second part of these two names, i.e. *deva*, shows that it was the *Līṅga* that were installed. The first parts of these, i.e., Upamita and Kapila, are the names of the teacher and the teacher's teacher of Uditāchārya. It therefore seems that the latter established two *Līṅgas*, one in the name of Upamita and the other in the name of Kapila. We have numerous instances of persons setting up idols of Viṣṇu or Śiva either in their own or in their father's or mother's name. It is therefore no wonder that Uditāchārya put up two *Līṅgas* in the names of his teacher and teacher's teacher. What is, however, noteworthy here is that he installed the *Līṅga* in a place called *Gurva-śyāma* which can only mean "the Teachers' Shrine." As none of the *gurus* of the line to which Uditāchārya pertained was then alive, the *Gurva-śyāma* can only denote the place where the memorials of the *gurus* were established. And we know from the inscription what sort of memorials were set up by Uditāchārya in the names of his *gurus*. They were *Līṅgas* called individually after them. The inference is reasonable that *Gurva-śyāma* was a place where *Līṅgas* were installed in the names of the teachers who preceded Uditāchārya.

This *Gurva-śyāma* reminds us of the *dēvaloka* mentioned in the *Pratimā-vatān* of Bhāṣa which was really "a royal gallery of portrait statues." Bharata, who is a son of Bharata but who does not know of his father's death, comes to this place, mistaking it for a shrine of deities. He meets the *dēvaloka* who was in charge of this edifice, and learns from him that it was not a place of worship but a Statue-house, the last statue erected there being that of Dotsartha, —whereupon he concludes that his father is dead. The case is, however, somewhat different with the *dēvaloka* mentioned in the Kushāna inscriptions. One *dēvaloka* certainly mentioned

¹ Gupta Inscriptions, p. 23.

² *Pratimā-vatān* (Triv. Sh. Series, No. 13), pp. 44-2.

the status of the Kushāpa sovereign who was the grand-father (*pitāmaha*) of Harishka.¹ Whether this *dhokula* "was the same as the one mentioned in the inscription of Vana is impossible to say." If they are not the same, then they are of course different. In that case, at Māt near Mathurā where these Kushāpa inscriptions were found, we had not a gallery of royal portraits, as supposed by some², but rather a cluster of *dhokulas* commemorating the different Kushāpa rulers. The case is not unlike what we see in the capital towns of the States of Rājputānā. To take the Jodhpur State, for instance. Six miles north of it is a place called Maṇḍor which is beset with a number of structures raised to the memory of the various kings of the Rājōḍ family of that place. Some of these look exactly like temples and are also known locally as *dhokulā* (= *dhokulas*). The custom prevalent among the Rājputās namely, to erect a commemorative structure to every departed king seems to have been in vogue also in the Kushāpa period. The case depicted in the *Pratimā* *adīkār* is, however, different, because it introduces us not to an assemblage of shrine structures, each separate from the others, and each raised to the memory of a ruler that has passed away, but rather to a statue-house which contained the portraits of the dead kings. The *Guru-Āyatana* adverted to in our record resembles this *pratimā*-*griha* more than the different memorial structures huddled together in a place, which seem to have been customary in Rājputānā from the Kushāpa times. *Guru-Āyatana* is thus a shrine which comprised the *Līṅgas* set up in the name and to the memory of the gurus of that lineage to which Uditāchārya belonged.³ It may be contended that the resemblance here is not complete unless we could show that these *Līṅgas* were or contained the portraits of the departed gurus. It has to be admitted that there is some force in this contention. For, in l. 10, immediately after *Guru-Āyatana* we have the two letters *guru*, which were originally followed by at least five letters but which have unfortunately been effaced. It may reasonably be asked why *guru* is again engraved at all after *Guru-Āyatana* and whether the letters destroyed cannot be restored so as to answer to this presumption. The reply is that the lacuna can without much difficulty be filled up, and I do not think we shall be very wide of the mark if we restore it to *guru-pratimā-gūḥa*. The *Līṅgas* established not only were named after the gurus Upamita and Kapila but also bore their portraits. How this could be possible we shall see shortly.

There is just another point to be considered. We have seen that the inscription specifically mentions Uditāchārya as *śakṣa* or tenth in descent from Kuśika and fourth from Parīśara. While the teachers intervening between Parīśara and Uditāchārya are mentioned and are only two, those between Kuśika and Parīśara are not mentioned at all though they were no less than five. In fact, there was no need of mentioning Kuśika at all unless we suppose that he was the most important personage of the line to which Uditāchārya belonged. We are therefore compelled to infer that Kuśika, though he may not have propounded any new religious system, must have at least originated a line of teachers to which pertained Parīśara, Kapila, Upamita and Udiṭa. Who could this Kuśika be? There can be but one reply to this question. Years ago I had occasion to point out who Lakulī was. Lakulī was a great puzzle to scholars and archaeologists. I first drew their attention to a passage which is common to both the *Vāyu*- and the *Līṅga-Purāṇa*.⁴ On the strength of this passage I showed (1) that Lakulī was the last incarnation of Mahāvīra, (2) that this incarnation took place at Kāyāvatīra or Kāyāvatīra which was identical with Kāśī, in the Dabhāi taluk, Baroda prant, Baroda State, and (3) that he had four ascetic pupils, namely, Kuśika, Garga, Mitra and Kaurushya. The same information is contained in a

¹ J. R. A. S., 1924, pp. 402-3.

² P. R. A. S., 1902-7, p. 31, para. 21.

³ J. R. A. S., 1919, p. 99.

⁴ J. R. A. S., Vol. XXII, pp. 134 a.

stone slab inscription, which originally belonged to a temple at Śrīmanātha in Kāñhāwād but is now preserved in the Quinta of Don João de Castro at Cintra in Portugal. The inscription is thus known as the *Cintra prasasti* or the mign of the Chauhān ruler Śārāṅgadēva, and was last critically edited by G. Bühler in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 271 ff. This inscription corroborates practically all that has been said by the Purāṇas about Lakull. The order and names of his pupils are however slightly different in this epigraphic record, being, Kuśika, Gārgya, Kaurnsha and Maitrēya. But this much is certain that in both Kuśika remains unaltered in name and also stands first in the order. The *Cintra prasasti* however tells us one thing more, namely, that these four disciples of Lakull were the founders of four lines amongst the Pāṭapatas.¹ There can thus hardly be a doubt that the Kuśika of our record must be regarded as the first pupil of Lakull and that the four *śāhāryas* mentioned here were of course his descendants. In the *Cintra prasasti* three *śāhāryas* are mentioned, namely, Kārttikarāśi, Vālmīkīrāśi and Tripurāntaka, the last of whom was a contemporary of Śārāṅgadēva during whose reign it was inscribed. Verse 19 of this inscription distinctly tells us that these teachers belonged to the line (*gōtra*) of Gārgya. While the *Cintra prasasti* thus gives an account of the ascetic teachers who sprung up in the line of Gārgya, the second pupil of Lakull, our present record throws light upon the line of teachers that was founded by Kuśika, the first disciple of Lakull. It appears that while the descendants of Gārgya established themselves at Śrīmanātha in Kāñhāwād, those of Kuśika were settled at Mithurā.

If the teachers mentioned in our inscription belonged to the Lakullīya sect, it clears up the two or three points of our inscription which were thought to be obscure. The first is how the *Līṅgas*, if they were installed as memorials to Upamita and Kapila, could also contain their portraits. The second point is why all the dead teachers of this line, namely, Kuśika, Parikṣara, Upamita and Kapila, have been styled *bhagavat*. The third is why the living teacher Uti-śāhārya has been called *śya*. These are the points which were thought to be obscure in the above discussion and were left for elucidation at the end of these our prefatory remarks. Let us now take up the first point: How could the *Līṅgas* put up in memory of Upamita and Kapila also comprise their portraits? I have alluded at to the paper on Lakullīya which I wrote for the *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, twenty-five years ago. Not long after, I contributed another on the same subject to the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind. An. Rep.*, 1906-7, p. 172 ff. This latter contained copious illustrations of the figure of Lakull whether on the door jambs and friezes of shrines, on the outside walls of temples, or in separate sculptures. I have shown that wherever Lakull appears he is a human being, invariably with two hands, but with his characteristic signs, namely, a *śakṭa* or staff in his left hand and a citron in his right. There are however two representations of him which are singular, and they are both found at Kārvān, the place where this last incarnation of Śiva came off and also passed away. Here we have two *Līṅgas* with the portraits of Lakull sculptured in front. One of these is in the temple of Nakṣēvar and the other, is joined with the representation of Lakull into one image. It may be asked: What could be the meaning of this? Now, the Purāṇas and the inscriptions are unanimous in saying that Lakull was a *gōṣṭha* which his pupils disseminated. And it is well known that when a *gōṣṭha* passes away, he does not die like an ordinary mortal with his last breath going out of his earthly nostrils, but rather by a *gōṣṭha* feat which enables him to pass it through the *brahṇa* nostrils, that is, by breaking his human skull. It is only in this manner that he is absorbed into *Brahma*, if he is a Vedantist, or into Śiva, if he is a Pāṭapata or Mithāvēra. But as Lakull was a worshipper of

¹ Above, Vol. I, p. 231, vv. 16-17.

Siva, we have to suppose that the two sculptures from Kārvān represent obviously the absorption of Lakulī into the divinity of Siva. It is therefore not at all unreasonable to suppose that even in the case of Upamitādevata and Kapilādevata, we had not mere Siva Liṅgas set up here but rather these Liṅgas with portraits of Upamita and Kapila carved into them, as is the case with Lakulī in the two images of Kārvān. Upamita and Kapila, being descendants of Kuṅṭika, must have been experts in the Pāṇḍita-yōga. We have therefore to presume that they too must have passed away like the yōgis by driving away their *prāṇa-cāya* through the *brahma-rundha*. They must have thereby merged themselves into the godhead of Siva. This alone can explain why all these departed masters of the Lakulī sect have received the divine title of *bhagavat*. The teacher, Uditāchārya, who is still living and who is not yet absorbed into Siva, is not, and in fact, cannot, be honoured with this supreme title. He has therefore been merely styled *ārya*. Here it may be asked whether even this title has at all any significance of its own. In this connection my attention has been drawn by my friend, Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh, to a verse in the 'Citra' *prabandha*. It is with reference to Tripurāntaka, the ascetic-teacher of the Gāṅgya line, who has been referred to above. He was a contemporary of the Chāṇḍakya king Śīrangadhva, during whose time the inscription was engraved. The verse runs thus:

Ita āchārya—Uditāchārya trimaṇḍa Gaṇḍa-Bhīkṣupatiḥ |

Āryam—śaṣṭhaṁ vaitrīmāya chakṛat mahatāraṇaḥ ||

"(Verse 34) Here the illustrious Gaṇḍa-Bhīkṣupati, viz. the husband of Umā, having made him an *Ārya*, appointed him sixth Mahataraṇa."

What the verse says is that Gaṇḍa-Bhīkṣupati, who was apparently the State Officer in charge of the religious monuments, made Tripurāntaka an *ārya* and then appointed him sixth Mahataraṇa. Bühler himself is not sure whether *Ārya* and Mahataraṇa referred to officers, or were mere titles. The second alternative was considered by him as more probable. Personally, however, I think that Mahataraṇa denotes an office and frequently occurs in the list of official designations set forth in inscriptions, especially those engraved on copper-plates. As regards *ārya*, it is worthy of note that Himechandra's *Aśvadhārmachintāmaṇi* gives it as a synonym of *prabhu*, "a master, an owner."¹ This fits excellently not only in the Citra *prabandha* but also in our record. For in the first case we know that Tripurāntaka built five temples of which he legitimately could be an *ārya* or owner. In the second case we have seen that Uditāchārya raised two memorial structures to his *gurus* in the 'Teachers' Shrine', of which he must doubtless have been an *ārya* or owner.

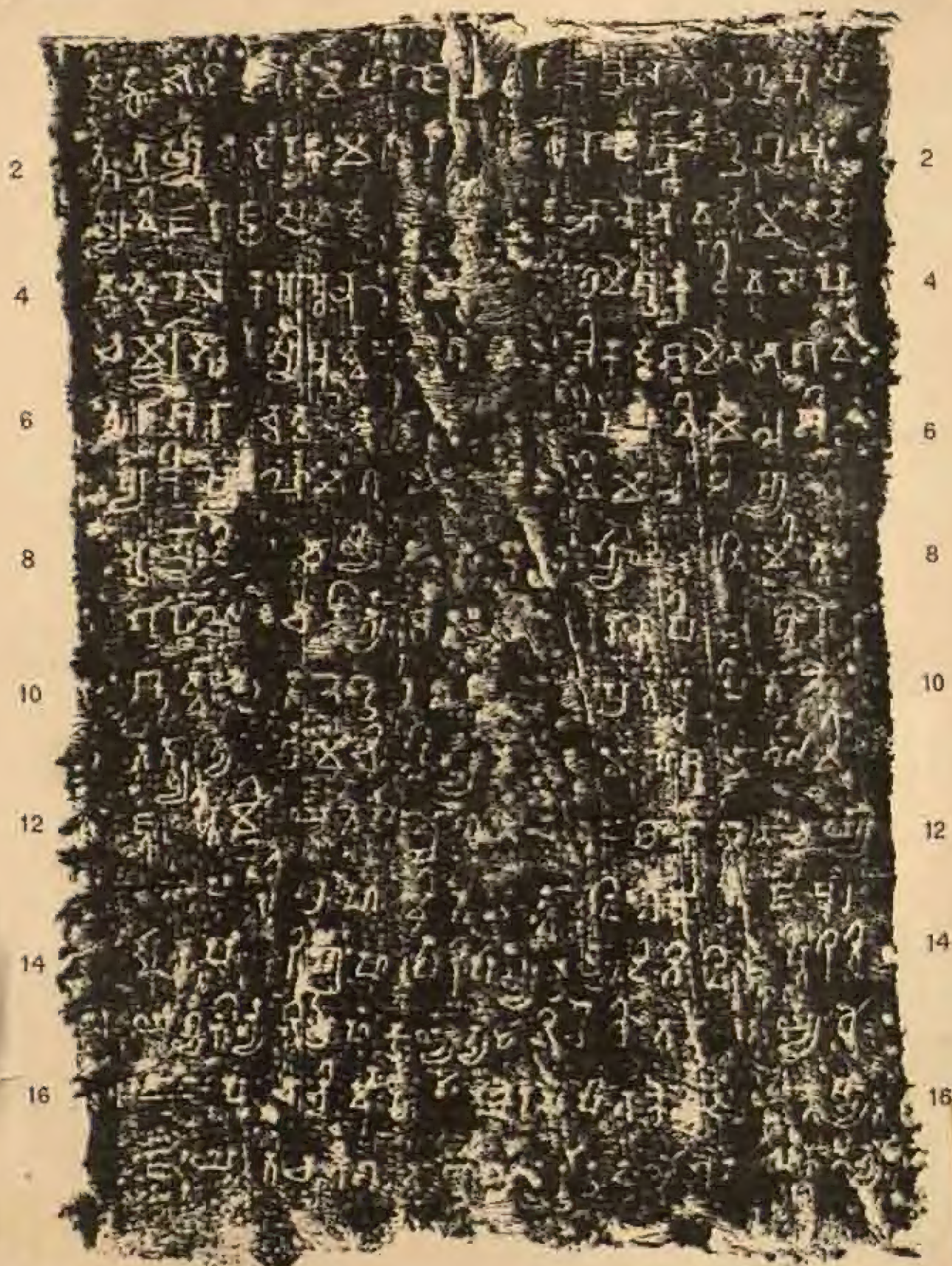
There now remains only one point to be considered—the date of Lakulī. Uditāchārya, we know, was tenth in descent from Kuṅṭika, pupil of Lakulī. Uditāchārya thus belonged to the eleventh generation from Lakulī. Uditāchārya's date, that is, the date of our inscription, is G. E. 61=A.D. 390-91. If we now allot 25 years to each generation, we have to assign Lakulī to A.D. 105-130. This agrees pretty closely with the view I expressed twenty-five years ago² that Lakulī has to be placed as early as the first century A.D. My conclusion was then based merely on the mention, in the *Vāyu-Purāṇa*, of Lakulī as the last incarnation of Siva. Evidence of this type will always remain of a somewhat conjectural nature. Epigraphic evidence, on the other hand, is more accurate. We may therefore take it now as well-nigh proved that Lakulī flourished in the first quarter of the second century A.D., about half a century later than the time so long ascribed to him.

Along with the estampages on which the accompanying transcript of this epigraph is based the Government Epigraphist was kind enough to send me three photos of that part of the pillar

¹ Above, Vol. I, pp. 271 ff.

² *Monist*, Vol. I, p. 271.

³ *J. A. S. N. J. A. S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 137. J. F. Fleet agrees in this view (*J. A. S. N.*, 1907, p. 424).



- 10 Gurv-āyatanaḥ guru . . .¹ pratisthāpitō² n-ai-
 11 tat-khyāty-artham-abhīl[ā]khyā[ti] [attha] mahāśvarāṇām³ vi-
 12 [śhapti]ś-kriyāś sambōdhanām cha yathā-kā[ṣ]ṭhān-āchāryyā-
 13 pām parigraham-iti matvā viśākha[m] pō[ā]-pura-
 14 akhā[ti] parigraha-pāripālyam kurvyād-iti vijñaptir-iti [⁴]
 15 Yāś-cha kīrti-abhīdīrṣhaṁ kurvyā[ti] d-yāś-cha-abhīlīkhitam-uparyy-ādīdō
 16 vā⁵ sa pañchabhir-mah[ā]pātakaiḥ-upapātakais-cha samyuktas-syāt[ī]⁶
 17 Jayati cha bhagavā[ṇ]a-Daṇḍab[ī]⁷ rudra-daṇḍō-gra[ṇ]āyako nitya[m]

TRANSLATION.

Accomplished.

(Ll. 1-5). In the year—of the victorious reign of the Bhājāraka Mahārāja Rājādīrāja, the illustrious Chandragupta, the good son of the Bhājāraka Mahārāja Rājādīrāja, the illustrious Samudragupta—on the fifth of the bright half of the First (Ashāṣṭha) of the year 61 following the Gupta era.

(Ll. 5-10). On this aforesaid (tithi), (the *Liṅgas*) Upamitāyama and Kapilāyama (comprising the portraits of) the teachers were installed in the Teachers' Shrine. Arya Uditāchāryya, tenth from the Bhāgavat Kūṭika,⁴ fourth from the Bhāgavat Parāśara, a stainless disciple's disciple of the Bhāgavat Upamita (and) a stainless disciple of the Bhāgavat Kapila, for the commemoration⁵ of the preceptors and for the augmentation of the religious merit of self.

(Ll. 10-16). (It is) not written for my own fame, but for beseeching the worshippers of Mahāśvara. And it is an address to (those who are) the Achāryyas for the time being. Thinking them to be (their own) property, they should preserve, worship, and honour (them) as (their own) property. This is the request. Whosoever will do harm to these memorials or (destroy) the writing above or below, shall be possessed of the five great sins and the five minor sins.

(L. 17). And may divine Daṇḍa be always victorious, whose staff is terrific and who is the foremost leader.

No. 2.—ARJUNAVADA INSCRIPTION OF YADAVA KANNARA: SAKA 1182.

By S. SRIKANTHA SASTRI, M.A., MYSONE.

This inscription was first discovered by Rao Sahib P. G. Halakatti of Bijapur who kindly sent me an ink-impression of it. It is engraved on a stone-slab set up in the temple of Hāla-Saṅkarallāga at Arjunavāda, a village, a mile and a half distant from Hukēri in the Belgaum district of the Bombay Presidency. The stone measures 9 ft. 10 in. by 1 ft. 8 in. The writing covers a space of 8 ft. 8 in. At the top, the figures of the Liṅga, Nandīn, and a

¹ This may perhaps be restored to guru-pratisthāpitō.

² The ś in ś is quite clear at the back of the uninked stampage. Correct the word, however, into pratisthāpitō.

³ Read mahāśvarāṇām.

⁴ Read uditāchāryya or some such word after ś.

⁵ Read bhāgavat-parāśara.

⁶ To express order of descent, the ablative case is employed. See the remarks of Dr. Hirenanda Sastri, above, Vol. XIX, p. 58.

⁷ For śīrī (L. 9 and 16) which is distinguished from śyīrī (L. 11) see J. F. Fleet's note 6 in Gupta Inscriptions, p. 212.

worshipper cover a space of 1 ft. 4 in.; at the bottom, a space of 1 ft. 10 in. is left blank. The language of the inscription is Kannada, except in the first verse. The *virāṇa* is represented by the usual Kannada sign, viz., two vertical strokes. The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ in. The characters are of the regular type of the 12th century A. C., with an occasional reversion to older forms, as in the case of the *akshara* a, i and so. The use of *ehha* in place of *ta*, as in *saivacharya* (l. 46), the employment of two kinds of *unmātra*, and two forms of the secondary *c*-symbol are to be noted. Numerous mistakes have also been committed by the scribe, as *lo* for *śrīvāṇa* for *śrīvāṇa* (l. 68), *apachakravanti* for *apachakravanti* (l. 43), *victi* for *vīṇa* (l. 55), etc.

The inscription records that during the rule of the Yādava king Kannara of Dēvagrī, his feudatories Chāvundā-Setṭi and Nāgarana made a grant of the village Kaviśārapura to Hāla-Basavidēva, an ascetic of the family of Saṅgana-Basava. The importance of the record lies in the fact that this is the first epigraph hitherto obtained which definitely mentions Basava, the restorer of Vīra-śaivism during the days of Bijjala Kalachurya (c. 1160 A. C.). Dr. Fleet had opined that "no epigraphic mention of Basava and Chenna-Basava had been obtained; which is really peculiar if they held the high office that is allotted to them by tradition."¹ Later, while editing the Managōḷi record,² he held that the mention of the names Mādīrāja and Basava, son of a Chandrarāja might have been the nucleus around which later Lingāyat tradition clustered. But this Basava could not have been the reformer as his parents mentioned in the Managavāḷi record are Chandrarāja and Chandrāmbikā of the Kāśyapa-gotra, while Mahāprabhu Mādīrāja belonged to the Hārita-gotra. In the present inscription Basava is mentioned as the son of Mādīrāja, the ruler of Bāgavāḍi in the Tardavāḍi-thousand district; and also as Saṅgana-Basava—a name which also occurs in the *Vīraśaiva Purāṇa*. He was devoted to the *Parāśara*, *Jaṅgama* and the *Linga* (l. 9). His descendants had the golden bull (*prishāḍha*) as their insignia—probably in honour of Basava or after the manner of the Kalachuryas who had also the golden bull as their *dhvaja*, being Śaivas, not Jainas as depicted in the *Bijjala-rūpa-charita* and other late works. The founder of the Kalachurya family, according to an epigraph³, was born of Śiva and a Brāhmana girl. The genealogy of the donor Hāla-Basavidēva is not clear as the record is mutilated in vital parts. It speaks of Saṅgana-Basava, then his eldest (son) Next Dēvarājamanipa is mentioned; then a Saṅga; his favourite son Kalidēvarasa; and his son Hāla-Basavidēva. It is possible that Dēvarājamanipa himself was the eldest son (l) of Basava, though the Vīra-śaiva works like *Bhavarāṇa-kāṇḍa* and *lathā-vīra-ratnāḍa* mention that Basava had only one son Saṅga, who died at an early age.⁴ Unfortunately it is difficult from the impression, as it is, to decide whether it was four or five generations that elapsed from the time of Basava. In this inscription another Saṅga, the son of Dēvarāja, is also mentioned (l. 37); probably Dēvarāja named his son after his own father Saṅga, the son of Basava, according to tradition—a custom common amongst the Hindus.

The record is a Śaivite one, though it can also be claimed for the particular cult of the Lingāyata as it mentions Basava's devotion to *prashāda* (l. 42) which acquired a new significance with the rise of Basava. The reverence paid to the *Parāśara*, *Linga* and *Jaṅgama*, though emphasised by Vīra-śaivism, cannot be said to be particularly characteristic of it. Even

¹ *Dynasties of the Kannara District*, p. 481.

² *Abera*, Vol. V, p. 16.

³ *Ep. Can.*, Vol. XI, pp. 42.

⁴ *Kannada Kāvya*, Vol. I, p. 134. The *Bhavarāṇa-kāṇḍa*, attributed to Narhaṇa, gives the name Siddhanta to the son of Basava and Gaṇpikā (A. D. 90 B.).

Lakṣmīka Pilāpatas and followers of Kashmir Śaivism are said to have been "*jāṅgama-bhīṣa-saṁśṛīṇas*" and "*mahā-māhātmyas*" and also "*Lakṣmīkāma-samaya-samuddhara*", i.e., the upholders of the *Lakṣmī-samaya*.¹

The date of the record is Śaka 1182, Siddhārthi, Chaitra, habuṣa Amāvāsyā, Monday, solar eclipse (ll. 46-47). Putting Randra for Siddhārthi, the date tallies with 12th April 1260 A. C. on which day a solar eclipse occurred.² Incidentally, it might be mentioned that this grant provides the latest date for the Yādava king Kṛṣṇa as we know that the third regnal year of his successor Mahādēva falls in Vaiśākha of Daudabhi, S. 1185 (1262 A. C.).³ Kṛṣṇa probably lived only for a short time after this grant was made.

Chāyuga-Setṭi, who is the donor of this grant, also figures in other inscriptions. In the Bēhatti grants,⁴ he is referred to as having quelled the pride of the Hōssang king, and as having come to Kukkanūr in Bejroja division of Kuntala on a tour of conquest. Nāgarasa is spoken of as the prime minister of Kṛṣṇa and as the establisher of the Raṭṭa kingdom (l. 46). It is not clear whether this re-establishment of the Raṭṭas took place before or after Viśhapa had reduced them (Cir. 1238 A. C.).⁵ We know that the capital of the Raṭṭas was transferred from Saundanti to Belgaum about the year 1208 A. C.⁶ A record of the time of Lakṣmidēva II, dated 1229 A. C.,⁷ speaks of Mahāpradhāna Munichandra also as "*Ratta-rāja-pretiāṭhā-śāhāya*", perhaps because of the help he rendered to improve the fortunes of the family. After 1230 A. C. we hear no more of the Raṭṭa ruling family—the Khāṇḍi province having finally passed into the hands of the Yādavas—though the members of the old family might have continued to be employed as ordinary officials. Nāgarasa is spoken of as the son of Divākarādēva of the Vāṇasakula and as a devotee of Janārdana. Evidently his Vaiṣṇavite leanings did not come in the way of making a grant to Śaivna—which proves that there was little of the latter animosity between the devotees of Viṣṇu and of Śiva as depicted in later Vira-śaiv legends. He seems to have also been a patron of literature as indicated by the title *Poṇḍita-pōrjāṇa* (l. 34).

The localities mentioned in this inscription are interesting. The province Tarlavāḍi-1000 (l. 8) evidently took its name from the small village Taddavāḍi on the banks of the Bhīmā, thirty-seven miles north of Bājāpur. Bāḡavāḍi was the centre of Bāḡe-50 as mentioned in the Honvāḡa inscription of Sāmāyara I.⁸ The district Nālenāḡu (l. 49) clustered round the village Nālegrāma, fifteen miles to the west of Hukēri. The district Kāṇḍi (l. 61) was the territory the boundaries of which had been fixed by Raṭṭa Kārtivīrya I (Cir. 1040-1070 A. C.).⁹ Kavi-ḡasapura, the lordship over which was claimed by Hāla-Basavidēva, is a village of the same name seven or eight miles from Nālegrāma. In the thirteenth century it must have been in a very flourishing condition, including within its compass the modern villages of Arjunavāḡa, Roṭṭacharige and Mosaraguppi—the Mosaragutti of the present record (l. 69).

Some of the fiscal terms mentioned in the inscription claim our attention. *Kottasi* (l. 65) and *karuṇanige* are perhaps land revenues, assessed from the fields, each of which was sufficient for the maintenance of a temple (l. 74), while all the minor taxes like *suṣāḡa*, *cāḡa*, *tala*, *sāṛige*,

¹ J. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII, pp. 24 ff.

² Indian Ephemeris, Vol. IV, p. 123.

³ Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 637.

⁴ J. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII, pp. 42 ff.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. X, pp. 384 ff.

⁶ Bombay Gazetteer, Belgaum, p. 667.

⁷ J. B. R. A. S., Vol. X, pp. 200 ff.

⁸ Ibid. Vol. XIX, p. 272. [Bāḡe-50 took its name, according to Dr. Fleet, from Taddavāḡi (Ibid. Vol. XXX, p. 390) and so Bāḡavāḡi does not appear to be the centre of the division.—324.]

⁹ J. B. R. A. S., Vol. X, p. 201.

- 22 śrīmat-prauḍha-pratāpa-chakrevartī śrī-Kaṣṇarādēvaḥ Dēvagi-
 23 tiya nala-vijinoḥ sukha-samkathā-vinōdadin-anavarataḥ rā-
 24 jyaṁ-geyuttam-ire tat-pāda-paṇḍita-ōpaḥivi || Chikkana chikka magam vibhavaḥ
 25 Kubēraṅge saṁsavam cāyaramaṁ mikkaṁ Bichuḥḥy-
 26 dāryak-ācāḥ priya-ātā-sūṇaḥ Mallat || [6*]¹ Ātana taṇḍ-bhavaḥ ||
 27 Chāvundam Pārvati-vallabha-charaṇa-sarōja-dvay-āmōda-hri(r)ṅgam Chāvun-
 28 dah tyāga-bhōg-ānubhava-Bhava-sukha-śrī-vadhā-nri(r)tya-raṅgam Chāvundam
 sāma-
 29 bhōda-prabhru(r)ti-(sa)kṣa-maṇḍr-āṅga-vidyā-samudraḥ Chāvundam vīra-vali-
 pra-
 30 kara-samara-saṁghaṭa(tta)-kāḥ-āgni-Rudraḥ || [7*]² Yene negaḥd-ā Chāvundana
 manad-amad-
 31 Nāgarājan-akṣhī³-niyōgaṇ⁴-enippa Divākaradēvana putraḥ Vāga-śva-
 32 y-āmbara-mitraḥ || [8*]⁵ Tyāga-guṇakke tēy-vane samasta-nri(r)pāḥ-niyōga-va-
 33 rttanā-ēṛige nīvāsam-iṣṭara viśhṭara tēḥaṇa-pōshapadiga(-o)ḷḷaḥ.
 34 sam-endu baṁḥni(p)avud-ī dhara paṇḍita-pārijātanadi Nāgaṇa-ā Janārdanaṇa bha-
 35 kti-bhara-prabhav-ānūrāgaṇaḥ || [9*]⁶ Sadigama-Basavana agra.....⁷ kaṁ
 36 Dēvarāja-mūpana taṇayam Jāṅgama-purnaḥ.....⁸ ra
 37 Saṅgam priya-sutan-enippa Kalidēvarasaḥ || [10*]⁹ Kalidēvamun-
 38 pa-ātmaḥa saḥ mājagadōḷage mēṇa mā(na)va-dēvaḥ gelidaḥ asa(ka)ḥ.
 39 baṇṇava¹⁰ chhakar-edhikaḥ Hāla-Basavidēva-muniḥ¹¹ || [11*]¹² Svasti samastā-
 40 bhavaṇ-āreyaḥ¹³ mahā-māhēvaram¹⁴ Kaviḥḥa-purava-
 41 r-ādhī(s)vararūḥ suvaṁṇa(vatṇa)-vīrabha¹⁵-dhvajam [tē]saṁṭhī-purātha¹⁶-pād-āṅḥ-
 chaka-
 42 ruḥ mahā-līṅga-jāṅgama-prasāda-niyata(ru)ḥ sama-
 43 ya-bhakti-saṁpāṇṇa(paṇṇa) śrī-Basavarājan-ān(n)avararūḥ-appa tapa-chakra-
 44 [va]rti¹⁷ vīra-bṛti Hāla-Basavidēvaṅge ā mahāpradhānaḥ Bā-
 45 ṭṭa-rāja-pratishṭh-ābhāryaṇam-appa Nāgarasara S(ḥ)aka-varuṇam sōira-
 46 ḍa-māpa-yambhatta-yaradanya Siddhārthi(tthi)-saṁvachharada¹⁸ Chai-
 47 tra bahula amāsa Sōma-vāra sūryya-grahapadalli Hūḷige-
 48 roya Sōmanāthadēvara saṁ(n)ādhīyalli ā Chauḷi-Setṭiyar-ā

¹ Metre : Kanda.² Metre : Saṁpāṇṇa.³ Read -akṣhī-.⁴ Read -niyōgaṇ-.⁵ Metre : Kanda.⁶ Metre : Uṇṇamāḷi.⁷ The letters crossed are probably for Saṁpāṇṇa.⁸ Probably the missing word is āreya.⁹ Metre : Kanda.¹⁰ Read -vāḥ.¹¹ Read -ān.¹² Metre : Kanda.¹³ Read -āreyaḥ.¹⁴ Read -vāḥ.¹⁵ Read -vīrabhaḥ.¹⁶ Read -pād-āṅḥ.¹⁷ Read -saṁvachharada.¹⁸ Read -saṁvachharada.

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verse 1. Invocation to Śiva.

V. 2. Invocation to god Kallinātha.

V. 3. Praise of Saṅgana-Basava who had unflinching faith in the *Parītanas*, *Jaṅgamas* and *Līṅga*.

V. 4. The Yadava rulers held sway over the whole earth bounded by the four seas; among them was Simhaga, the possessor of numerous horses. The son of his eldest son was Kannara who brought the whole earth under the shadow of his royal white umbrella.

V. 5. Praises of Kannara.

Ll. 15-24. The refuge of the worlds, the lord of Fortune and the Earth, the king of kings, *Paramācāra*, *Paramabhūṭāraka*, lord of *Drāvāvatī*, the best of towns, the sun to the lotus of the Yadava family, destroyer of the world of hostile kings, a *Trinātra* (Śiva) to the Kāma, the Rāja of Māṇava, terror of the ruler of the Gūṛjara, the establisher of *Teluhgarāya*—*Pranṭha-pratāpa-shakacārī* Kannaradēva was ruling at Dēvagiri in peace and wisdom; the dweller at his lotus-like feet,

V. 6. Bichugi, the younger son of Chikha, was the younger brother of Malla; Malla's son.

V. 7. Chāvupṇa, worshipper of Śiva, was well versed in arts of diplomacy and war and a veritable Rudra to his foes.

V. 8. His dearest friend was the Niyōgi Nāgarāja, son of Divākaradēva of the Vāgasa family.

V. 9. Praises of this Nāga.

Vv. 10 & 11. Saṅgana-Basava's eldest..... Dēvarāja's son, the foremost among the *Jaṅgamas*..... Saṅga (i. Hā) favourite son was Kalidēvarasa. The son of Kalidēva, the lord of ascetics, is Hāla-Basavidēva, the best of men in the three worlds, who has overcome the pain of hunger and thirst.

Ll. 39-50. The refuge of all the three worlds, *Mohāmāhātmya*, the lord of *Kaviṣāpura*, the best of towns, who had the insignia of a golden bull, was the worshipper of the feet of 63 *Parītanātha*, believed in *Līṅga*, *Jaṅgama* and *Prasāda* and was the descendant of Basavarāja. Son was Hāla-Basavidēva. *Mahāpradhāna* Nāgarasa, the establisher of the *Ṣaṭṭa* kingdom, and Chaudī-Ṣeṭṭi requested him for the history of *Kaviṣā-tīrtha* of Nūla-nāḍu, on Monday, the new moon (*tithi*) of the dark half of Chaitra, during a solar eclipse in the year Siddhārthi (corresponding to) the Śaka year 1182, while residing at the temple of Śōmanātha in Huligēre.

Ll. 50-53. These give the history of the place during the four *yugas*.

Ll. 53 & 55. The emperor Māndhātā gave to the god under the name *Aśkanātha*, this village (i.e., *Kaviṣāpura*), the fields and the dues from them, viz., *kottara* and *kuvasaṅga*.

Ll. 55-56. Hearing that it had before been granted to the god, Chaudī-Ṣeṭṭi and Nāgarasa together gave it to the prince of ascetics, Hāla-Basavidēva, along with the taxes *kottara*, *kuvasaṅga*, *talavāṭi*, *aṅkavāṭi* in the Kūṇṭi provinces and tolls on one hundred cattle-loads during the festival called *Hajjugguṇa-halbo*, for renovating the temples of, and conducting worship to, the gods Śrayambhu Malikārjuna, Saṅgamēśvara and Nāgēśvara and also for the purpose of feeding *Jaṅgamas*.

Ll. 65-76. At the command of Chaudī-Ṣeṭṭi, Nāgarasa made an allotment of the dues from the village of *Kaviṣāpura*, the boundaries of which are specified. Of the dues from *Kaviṣāpura* the tolls, *aṅka*, *talā*, *vāṭi*, *ṭaṅga-bāṭi*, *grāma-bṛāṭi*, *aṅka*, *talā*, *ṣṭa*, *gāṇa*, *mudra* and *nūṭi* and *nūṭhāṭi* were assigned to Nāgēśvara; the *kuvasaṅga* to the god Malēśvara and *kottaraṅga* to the god Saṅgamēśvara and for feeding the *Jaṅgamas*.

LA 76-80. The four town-guilds gave the dues from fairs in Nūle-nāga, the tax on buffaloes and tolls. There is no difference between the eighteen castes and the sixty-three Banajy devotees. The *śāśādhis* and *śāśādhinīśas* made this grant with the consideration that the place of the grant is Kaviśāapura and the donee Banavarāja.

No. 3.—A NOTE ON THE ARJUNAVADA INSCRIPTION OF YADAVA KANNARA.

BY N. LAKSHMINARAYAN BAO, M.A., OOTACAMUND.

In the transcript of the Arjunavāḍa inscription published above, Mr. Srikantha Sastri's reading of the tenth verse is defective and, I think, requires correction. It is true that portions of the verse are damaged. But the impression would show that only one letter is completely lost in L 35 and two more letters, one of which occurs in the same line and the other in the next line (L 36), are only partly mutilated and can be restored with certainty. Since the letters *ṣiṣṣ* and the *ṣ* sign of the mutilated letter in L 35 are clearly visible, the broken letter with which the *ṣ* vowel is connected might be safely read as *ṣ*. Only one more short letter will be wanting to complete the metre of the verse and that letter which is now lost must have been *ja*. In the next line, the bottom portion of the mutilated letter and the *ṣ* sign attached to it would indicate that the letter in all probability was *Ka*. With this restoration the verse will be read as :—

1.35 Sadigana-Basavara agrija bhagabam

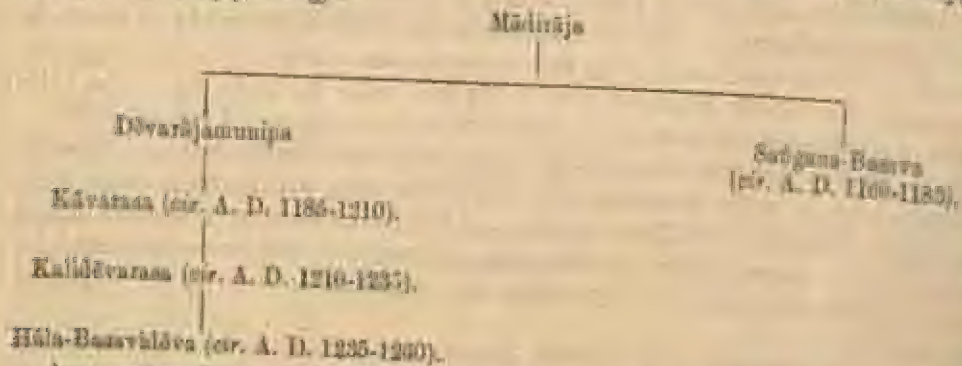
l. 36 Dēvarāja-mūmipama tannayāñ [1^a] jannipama-purusāñ [KJ]vars.

l. 37 *anāgataḥ petya-mataḥ-sūrya* *Katidōvratānath*]

Accordingly the translation of the stanza will be like this —

"Sāṅgana-Basava's older brother who was absorbed in the *liṅga* was Devārjasaṃnipu; to his son (Kā)ṛṇṇa, who was a touchstone to the Jāṅgama, was born the daughter Kallidavarṇa." The verse, thus, becomes very important from a historical point of view.

The verse, thus, becomes very important from a historical point of view, for it supplies us with the genealogy of Saṅgaṇa-Basava and his descendants for three generations. This has not been properly made out by Mr. Srikantha Sastry in his interesting article, and I should like to elucidate it here. From the next verse (i.e., v. 11) we learn that Kallidēva's son was Hāla-Basaviddēva, the donor of the present grant; and lines 5 and 6 tell us that Saṅgaṇa-Basava was a son of Mādhirāja, the lord of Bāgarāḍi. Thus, the inscription supplies us with the following genealogy:—



As a matter of fact, it is in this genealogy that the value of the inscription chiefly lies, for it enables us to determine the period in which Saṅgama-Baṇava flourished and to identify him with the great Liṅgāt reformer of that name. The record tells us that Chandī-Sett, a minister of the Yādava king Kannara (i.e., Kṛṣṇa), and his friend Nāgarasa granted the village Kaviḷḷa-

pore to the ascetic Hāla-Basaviddēva in Śaka 1182 (=A.D. 1260). If we suppose this to be the last year of Hāla-Basaviddēva and allot him a period of 25 years, his date would be about A. D. 1235-1260. As we have seen above, two generations intervene between Saṅgama-Basava and Hāla-Basaviddēva. Allowing roughly 25 years for each generation we get A. D. 1160-1185 as the approximate time of Saṅgama-Basava. According to the *Basavarajalekha Ragala*, the *Basava-Purāṇa* and the *Channa-Basava Purāṇa*, the great reformer Basava, who was also known as Saṅgama-Basava and who was the son of Mādirāja of Bagevādi, was a minister of the Kapa-churya king Bijjala, who, we know, ruled from A. D. 1156 to 1167. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the Saṅgama-Basava of the Arjunavāḍa record is identical with the 'Apostle of Lingāyatism' of that name. Thus we have in this record the first epigraphical confirmation of the tradition regarding the contemporaneity of Basava, the reviver of the Virāṭa faith, with king Bijjala.

NO. 4.—CHAUDALA GRANT OF HARIHARA: SAKA-SAMVAT 1313.

By G. V. Agrarya, B.A., Bombay.

The plates bearing this inscription were purchased by the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, Poona, from Mrs. Da Cunha of Bombay for the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, where they are at present exhibited. The source from which they came originally is not known. They are three in number, each plate measuring 10" by 6½". Their edges are fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surface to serve as rims for protecting the writing. The second plate is inscribed on both sides, while the first and the third, on one side only. All of them are in a good state of preservation. No ring or seal is attached to them. In weight they are 267 *tolas*.

The inscription inscribed on these plates is written in Nāgarī script and Sanskrit language. The invocatory as well as the genealogical portion of it (vv. 1-10, ll. 1-36) is in verse but the rest (ll. 37-91) is in prose. It opens with invocations to Śiva, the bear incarnation of Viṣṇu and the Earth (vv. 1-3). Then the city of Vijayanagara is described (v. 4). According to verses 5 and 6, Saṅgama was born in the family of Yadu, his son was Bukkarāja and his son was Harihara. In the next verse we are told that King Harihara ruled the earth bounded by the northern bank of the Kṛishṇā, the eastern ocean, the Setu and the western ocean. Verses 8 and 9 relate to the conquest of Gōvā, the capital of Koṅkana, from the Tarnakhas by the minister Mādhava, and the re-consecration there of the images of Saptanātha and other gods. Next comes the description of Mādhava, who is stated to be the son of the Brahman Chāmunda of the *Bhadradevī-dinaga*. He was governing the province of Koṅkana under the orders of the king. He was the expounder of all the *Upanishads*, the illuminator of the *Saivāgamas*, the author of *Kāvyas*, performer of *Mahādānas* and the teacher of *Nitiśāstra* (v. 10 and ll. 37-40). While he was seated on the throne at Gōvāpura, on the date specified, he made the gift of the village Paramarūpa in the Vārasa-janapada, forming it into an *agrahāra* and renaming it Chaudalāpura, after his father, to 31 learned Brahmans of different *gōtras*. The object of this charter is to record this gift. The concluding portion states that the minister Narahariddēva purchased two of the granted eritis from their holders and made a gift of them to Viṭṭhala-Pannavardhana of the Kāśyapa-gōtra. This Narahariddēva, we learn, belonged to the Attri-gōtra and was the son of Brahmarasa. He was a disciple of the (sage) Vidyāśankara and had been installed by Mādhavarāja (ll. 41 to 91).

The grant was issued in the Śaka year 1313 expired and the cyclic year Prajāpati, on the new moon (tithi) of Chaitra and Wednesday at the time of the solar eclipse, during *Advinī nakṣatra*

and *Prithi-gōpa*. According to L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's *Ephemeris* the date regularly corresponds to A.D. 1391, April 5, Wednesday, on which day there was a solar eclipse.

The Mādharāja of the present grant has to be identified with Mādharā, the minister of Bakka I, who figures in the Hārḍamaleśaḍi-agrahāra inscription¹ of A. D. 1368, which also describes him as the son of the Brahman Chirupā, the *Upaniṣadavāṇya-pravākṣa-guru* and a follower of the tenets of pure Śaivism as taught by the Śaiva teacher Kāśhivīlāsa-Kṛtyānti. This grant under publication mentions him as a scion of the Bhāradvāja family (*śaṅga*) which support the identification, for Bhāradvāja is only a division of the Āngirasa-gōtra. This Mādharā also figures as a minister of Harihara II² in another grant of the same year, i.e. Śaka 1313, which was published long ago.³ The account given there agrees with that of the present document though it omits the name of Mādharā's father and gives the name of his mother, i.e. Maṣhāmbikā, and of his elder brother Bhāskara. Some of the verses are common to both of these charters (vv. 5, 7, 8 and 9 of the present grant). The details of the date recorded in them are practically the same, though the months are differently named. The charter that has already been published wrongly gives Vaiśākha in place of Chaitra. Even the grants were issued on the same date, i.e. on the 5th of April, 1391 (A. D.)⁴. As has already been pointed out by Kielhorn, and is substantiated by the present grant, the date concerned pertains to the *amānta* month of Chaitra.⁵ As Rao Bahadur R. Narasimachar has shown, Mādharā flourished between A. D. 1347 and 1391⁶. The conquest of Gōvā by Mādharā mentioned in these records must have happened before Śaka 1309 (=A. D. 1386) as in that year he was already known as the 'Lord of Gōvā'⁷. The copper plate alluded to above shows that Naraharidēva, the minister, was sent to Goa to succeed Mādharā as the governor of Jayanti-pura-maṇḍala after the latter's death, which must have happened shortly after the issue of the present grant. Vidyāśākara, the guru of Naraharidēva, was another name of the famous Vidyāmrtha, the guru of the brothers Mādharāchārya and Sāyapa, who considered him as an incarnation of Mahāvēra.⁸

The list of the dmeos mentioned in the charter is as follows :—

No.	Guru.	Father's name.	Name of the Dmeo.
1	Kātyapa	Rāmasēva-Pattavarmhana . .	Vāmana-Pattavarmhana.
2	Vishakhā	Mahādeva-Bhāṭṭa	Dharmdeva-Bhāṭṭa.
3	"	Nirupa-Bhāṭṭa	Ajja-Bhāṭṭa.
4	Kātyapa	Rāmasēva-Bhāṭṭa	Hast-Bhāṭṭa.
5	Bhāradvāja	Nāgadvā-Bhāṭṭa	Kāśhā-Bhāṭṭa.
6	Vishakhā	Vitthala-Bhāṭṭa	" "

¹ Ep. Caria, Vol. VII, Sh. 251.

² The late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri who noted this fact (A. S. E. 1905-06, p. 244) has not identified him with Mādharā the Śaiva minister of Bakka I.

³ J. B. E. R. A. S., Vol. IV, p. 115.

⁴ Kielhorn's *List of South Indian Inscriptions*, No. 471.

⁵ Ibid., p. 30, f. 6, 8 and Ind. Ant., Vol. XXV, p. 371.

⁶ Ind. Ant., Vol. XLV, pp. 1 ff.

⁷ A. E. on S. I. S., 1928-29, p. 82.

⁸ Ind. Ant., Vol. XLV, p. 3.

No.	Gotra.	Father's name.	Name of the Donor.
7	Vishakhā	Mahādēva-Bhatta	Hari-Bhatta.
8	Ārōya	"	Jina-Bhatta.
9	Parāhara	Rāma-Bhatta	Mailā-Bhatta.
10	Kāśyapa	Nārāya-Jyōthirīd	Gaṅgādēva-Jyōthirīd.
11	Bhāradvāja	Mahādēva-Bhatta	Dāmōdara-Bhatta.
12	"	Ajjam-Bhatta	Mahādēva-Bhatta.
13	"	Nārāya-Bhatta	"
14	"	Vitthala-Bhatta	Śaṭam-Bhatta.
15	Ārōya	Mallinātha-Bhatta	Nārāya-Bhatta.
16	Bhāradvāja	Vitthala-Bhatta	Nacāhari-Bhatta.
17	Vaishakhā	Gōvinda-Bhatta	Ananta-Bhatta.
18	Bhāradvāja	Ajjam-Bhatta	Kāśava-Bhatta.
19	"	"	Jina-Bhatta.
20	Sāraditya	Bhūmadēva	Hāshara.
21	Bhāradvāja	Amhaya	Paromappa.

Of these *grāntas*, Nos. 9 and 10 were purchased from their holders and donated to Kṛishṇa-Pattavardhana, son of Viṭṭhala-Pattavardhana of the Kāśyapa-gotra, by the minister Naraharī-dēva.

TEXT.¹

[Metres: Vv. 1 and 2, *Anuṣṭubh*; vv. 3, 4, 5, 7 and 10 *Sārdhāvīkṛīṭa*; v. 6 *Vaṁśatāṇḍī*; vv. 8 and 9 *Indravajrī*.]

Plate I.

- 1 श्रीगणाधिपतये नमः । नमः शिवा-
- 2 य । नमस्तुंगशिरसुर्विचंद्रचामरचार-
- 3 वे । वैभोजनगरारंभमु(म्)जस्तमाय शंभवे ॥१॥ ज-
- 4 यत्वेय जमडीजं लीलाकोलः प्रियश्रियः । यस्य
- 5 दंडाङ्कुरे भूमिरुत्पलपत्रवायते ॥ [२॥] जंदलं क-
- 6 मठेश्वरः कविपतिर्नैलिलमालंबते
- 7 वर्षाणां ततयो दसावलितुलामाश्रय य-
- 8 य [स्त्रि]ताः । त्रिंशत्कल्पचिह्नं कुसावलकु-
- 9 लं मेरुय सत्कर्षिकालीनां यत्र दधाति

¹ From the plates as well as from the impressions.

- 10 भाति तदिदं रम्यं रसा(स)[स्वा]रसं ॥[३*] श्या-
 11 तो भारतवर्षदक्षिणदले दिशोऽस्य कर्णा-
 12 टकस्तम्भे विजयाह्वयास्तु नगरी सा-
 13 रातिमिदुर्वया । या कृत्वोपरिवर्तिनी-
 14 मपि पुरं लिखोरध[ः*]स्तेर्गुणे[ः*] शुभाभंलि-
 15 हृद्यर्धेनिर्मलरुचा मन्वे हस्त्यूर्जिता [३०*]
 16 [३०]शे यदोरभिनवांश इवाश्रुतस्य शील-
 17 ममादजनि संगररंगभोमः । योवुक्तरा-
 18 ज इति धिक्कृतशत्रुरेव तामध्यनिष्ठदय
 19 मध्यमलोकपालः ॥[३*] तत्पुनस्तपदं प्रशास्ति
 20 वलिजिह्विष्यस्विष्टिधुरस्तुर्दुदावनतत्पर-
 21 य सुमहासिन[ः*]चित्तमदगुणैः । योयुक्तसह-
 22 भवेमंगल इति योपत्युमाकांतयो[तु(र्य)कृत्वा]-
 23 दिह लज्जणैरिहिराख्यां यो वक्तव्यम्-

Plate II ; First Side.

- 24 तां ॥[३*] आकृष्णास्त्रमरिहरीसरतटादापूर्वपाद्योनि-
 25 घेरासेतोरवनीं चिरादवति कल्याण(प)चिमाभोनि-
 26 धेः । श्यातेस्त्रिगुणनामभिर्हिरिहरे राजाधिरा-
 27 चादिभिरावोर्वीपतिभौजिलालितपदांभोजि ।
 28 मघोवहमे ॥[३०*] तस्याह्वया माधवमचिवयो दिशं
 29 जिगोपुर्महता वलेन । गोवाभिर्घां कौकणराज-
 30 धानोमन्वेन मन्वेरुणदणैवेन ॥[८*] प्रतिष्ठितास्तु-
 31 य तुल्यसंधानुत्कण्य दीप्ता भुवनेकधोरः ।
 32 उन्मुलितानामकरोत्यतिष्ठां श्रीममनाषादिभु-
 33 धाभुजां यः ॥[८*] भारद्वाजसदन्वितान्वयसुधावारा-
 34 शितारापतिशामुडाभिभूषुरेद्वतनयो मंचीशरी
 35 माधवः । शमल्लोकणनोद्धतं हरिहरशोणोपतेरा-
 36 जया धर्मानं कुरयत्यमज्जनशिखिज्वालौघदग्धा-
 37 म्पुनः ॥[१०*] स च निर्विमाखिलभूपालस्त्वोपनिषदां व्या-
 38 कर्ता श्रीवाममानां प्रकाशयिता आख्यानां कर्ता म-

- 39 हादानानां विधाता मोतिशास्त्रोपदेशा सकल-
 40 पुणालंकृतो माधवराजो गोवापुरवरसिंहास-
 41 नमधितिष्ठन्माल(ग्यालि)वाहनशके वर्षाणां त्रयोदशो-
 42 त्तरच्योदशमत्यामतोतायां वर्तमानप्रजाप-
 43 तिसंवत्स(स)रे चैत्रमासे समावास्यायां सौम्यशरे च-
 44 द्वितीयेत्यवसरे पुष्यदंते मोतियोगे सूर्योप-
 45 राशे पुष्यकाले वारसनामजनपदे परमरू-
 46 पनामधाम स्थापितुमाया चौडलापुराभिधान-
 47 मयहारं कृत्वा योगिनोच(चु)त(त)लसंपन्न-

Plate II : Second Side.

- 48 भवतुर्दशविद्यापरिणतेभ्यः षट्कर्मनिरतेभ्यः
 49 अक्षशास्त्राध्यायिभा(भ्य) एकविंशतिवाङ्मणे- ।¹
 50 भ्यः सर्वनमस्यं प्रादात् । तेषां नामगोचवि-
 51 वरणं यथा काश्यपगोचस्य रामदेवपट्टव-
 52 र्धनपुत्रस्य वामनपट्टवर्धनस्य हस्तिरेका
 53 वासिष्ठगोचस्य महादेवभट्टपुत्रस्य दामो-
 54 दरभट्टस्य हस्तिरेका । वासिष्ठगोचस्य नारद-
 55 भट्टप(पु)त्रस्य अज्जभट्टस्य हस्तिरेका काश्य(श)-
 56 पगोचस्य रामदेवभट्टपुत्रस्य हरिभट्टस्य
 57 हस्तिरेका भारद्वाजगोचस्य नागदेवभट्टपु-
 58 त्रस्य केशवभट्टस्य हस्तिरेका । वासिष्ठ(गो)च-
 59 स्य विह्वलभट्टपुत्रस्य केशवभट्टस्य हस्तिरेका ।
 60 वासिष्ठगोचस्य महादेवभट्टपुत्रस्य हरिभ-
 61 ट्टस्य हस्तिरेका आच्यगोचस्य महादेवभट्टपु-
 62 त्रस्य जानुभट्टस्य हस्तिरेका पराशरगोचस्य श्री-
 63 रामभट्टपुत्रस्य मेकारभट्टस्य हस्तिरेका काश्य-
 64 पगोचस्य नारणज्योतिर्विष्णुचस्य गंगाधर-
 65 ज्योतिर्विदो हस्तिरेका भारद्वाजगोचस्य महा-
 66 देवभट्टपुत्रस्य दामोदरभट्टस्य हस्तिरेका भा-
 67 रद्वाजगो(गो)चस्य अज्जभट्टपुत्रस्य महादेवभ[ट्ट]-

¹ The stroke is not necessary.

68 स्य वृत्तिरेका भारद्वाजगोत्रस्य नारणभट्ट-

69 पुत्रस्य महादेवभट्टस्य वृत्तिरेका भा[र]-

Plate III.

70 बालगोत्रस्य विठ्ठलभट्टपुत्रस्य शर्वभट्ट-

71 स्य वृत्तिरेका चाचेयगोत्रस्य सतिनाथभट्ट-

72 पुत्रस्य नारणभट्टस्य वृत्तिरेका भारद्वाज-

73 गोत्रस्य विठ्ठलभट्टपुत्रस्य नरहरिभट्टस्य

74 वृत्तिरेका वासिष्ठगोत्रस्य गोविंदभट्टपुत्र-

75 स्य अनंतभट्टस्य वृत्तिरेका भारद्वाजगोत्र-

76 स्य अज्जभट्टपुत्रस्य क(के)शवभट्टस्य वृत्तिरेका

77 भारद्वाजगोत्रस्य अज्जभट्टपुत्रस्य जानुभट्ट-

78 स्य वृत्तिरेका शांतिगोत्रस्य भोमदेव(पु)त्रस्य

79 हरिहरस्य वृत्तिरेका भारद्वाजगोत्रस्य अंक(क)स्यपु-

80 त्रस्य पंमल्लपुत्रवृत्तिरेका¹ एवमेकविंशतिब्राह्म-

81 णानां नामगोत्रविवरणं ॥ तत्र सैलारभट्टस्य वृत्तिं

82 गंगाधरज्योतिर्विदो वृत्तिं च पवित्राग्निगोत्रसं-

83 भूतो ब्रह्मरसात्मजो विद्याशंकरकृपावलोक-

84 नमुधासिक्तेन संवर्धितो माधवराजिन कृतः²

85 प्रतिष्ठः श्रीमाखरहरिदेवनामा नं(मं)श्रीम-

86 रो राजसंसदि तदपामोणब्राह्मणपीरपरिवा-

87 रजनसमलं सम्यग्यत्नेन क्रीत्वा ते हे वृ-

88 त्तो काश्यपगोत्राय विठ्ठलपट्टवर्धनपुत्रस्य

89 लक्ष्मणपट्टवर्धननाम्ने विद(दु)षे ब्राह्मणाय स्त्रीपु-

90 त्राद्यनुमतेन हरि(र)ज्योदकदानधारापूर्वकं सं-

91 प्रादात् ॥

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verses 1 to 3. Invokes Śiva, Viṣṇu in the form of the Bear, and the Earth.

V. 4. The impregnable city of Vijayanagara in the Karpāṣaka country which lies to the south of Bhāratavarsha excelled the city of Indra.

Vv. 5 and 6. In the family of Yadu was born Saṅgama; his son Bakkaśija, the conqueror of enemies, was ruling that city. To him was born Harihara, the destroyer of his enemies.

¹ Read 'पुत्रवृत्ति'.

² The stroke is no necessary.

V 7. While this king was ruling the earth from the northern bank of the river Kṛṣṇā to the Sāta and from the eastern to the western ocean, his feet were worshipped by all the kings.

Vv. 8 and 9. By his command, Mādhava, the chief of ministers, set out with a large army to conquer the quarters and captured Gōvā, the capital of Koṣṭaka. And having killed the Turnshakas who were established there, he re-instated the gods Saptanātha and others who had been removed by them.

V. 10. By Harihara's command this minister Mādhava, the moon to the ocean of the Bhāradvāja family, the son of the Brahman Chāturpāda, was protecting the Koṣṭaka country and re-establishing the *Dharma* which had been destroyed by the wicked.

Ll. 37 to 41. This Mādhavarāja, the conqueror of all kings, the expounder of all the *Upanishads*, the illuminator of the *Saṁśāgamas*, the author of *Adhyas*, the performer of *mahādānas*, the teacher of *nirāśāstra*, being seated on the throne of Gōvā, the best of cities.

Ll. 41 to 50. When 1313 Śaka years had elapsed, on Wednesday, the new moon (*tithi*) of the month of Chaitra in the year Prajāpati, the sun being in the constellation Aśvini, the *yōga* being Prīti, during a solar eclipse, gave to 21 Brahmins, who were of good birth and learned in the fourteen *vidyās*, who were devoted to the six *śāstras* and were the students of the *Ṛṣi-lākhā*, the village of Paramarūpa in the Vāraṇ-janopada, making it into an *agrahāra* called Chaudālāpura after his father's name.

Ll. 50 to 51. Names, etc., of the deities (see list above).

Ll. 51 to 91. The minister Narakaridēva, son of Brahmarasa, who had been reared up by the favour of (*the sage*) Vidyāsankara, and was installed by Mādhavarāja, purchased two of these *grāmas* from Maillāra-Bhaṭṭa and Gaṅgādhara, the astrologer, and gave them in the royal court before the Brahmins and other inhabitants of the village to the learned Brahman Kṛṣṇa-Paṭṭavaradhana, son of Viṭṭhala-Paṭṭavaradhana.

No. 5.—KOROSHANDA COPPER-PLATES OF VISAKHAVARMAN.

By G. RAMDAS, B.A., M.R.A.S.

These are three copper-plates which were discovered by a cultivator of Koroshandā, a village six miles to the south of Parakimīṣi in the Ganjam district of the Madras Presidency, while he was ploughing his field. The inscription inscribed on them has been edited by Mr. Satyanarayana Rajaguru in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*¹, but without any facsimile. Owing to certain defects in the reading, re-editing of this record is necessary and I am thankful to the Government Epigraphist for India for giving me an opportunity of doing it in this journal.

Each plate is 7½" long and 2" broad and has a ring-hole about ½" in diameter on its left side. I found neither a ring nor a seal attached to them. The first and the third plates are inscribed only on their inner side but the second plate bears writing on both sides.

The alphabet of the plates resembles that of the Paddavāgi plates of the Śaśāṅkīyana king Nandivarman II² and of the Bṛhatprōṣhthā grant of Umavarman.³ The inscription under notice is written in Sanskrit and is in prose throughout, except for the two imprecatory verses *śakabāṣṭha* etc., and *śaśāṅgī* etc., which come at the end. As regards orthography, the following points may be noted: (1) consonants are generally doubled after *r*, e.g. *śarvva-* (l. 5), *śarvva-* (l. 6), *śarvva-* (l. 8) and *śarvva-* (l. 12); (2) the *opadhānā* is used in line 4; (3) the final form of it

¹ Vol. XIV, pp. 282 ff.

² J. A. H. R. S., Vol. I, pp. 36 ff.

³ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 4 ff.

occurs in line 8; and (4) the numerical symbols for 7 and 20 occur in lines 8 and 9 respectively. The symbol for the latter figure is rather noteworthy.

The inscription records that *Mañāsija Viśākhavarman*, "who was a worshipper of the gods" and "devoted to the feet of (his) father", granted the village *Tampōyaka* in *Kōrāsōjaka-Pañchālī* to *Viśaṇḍarmman*, *Śrīśhīharmman*, *Agñāarmman*, *Nāgarmman* and *Śivaarmman*, all of whom belonged to the *Ātrīya-gōtra* and were the residents of the village *Sabarathēpāja*. The grant was made for increasing the merit of the donor's father who was in heaven. The date of the grant was the 30th day of the 7th fortnight of *Hemanta* in the 7th year (of the king's reign).

The family to which *Viśākhavarman* belonged is not stated in the charter. But from the Chitracole grant of *Indravarmman*¹ we learn that the division *Kōrāsōjaka-Pañchālī*, which is also mentioned in the present grant (l. 2), formed a part of the *Kālīnga* country. This would suggest that *Viśākhavarman* was a *Kālīngādhipati* (i.e., the chief of *Kālīnga*) like *Umayarmman* of the *Bṛhatprōṣhthā* grant, *Chandavarman* of the *Komarī* Plates² and *Śaktivarman* of the *Rāṣṭra* plates.³

Of the places mentioned in the charter, *Sripura*, where the king resided at the time of the grant, may be the *Siripuram* (18° 53' N. Lat.; 83° 56' E. Long., Indian Atlas) which now forms part of the *Zamindari* of *Vāvilavalasa* in the *Viragapatam* district. It is only 3 miles south of the *Nāgavālī* river on whose northern bank *Varāhavarman*, the well-known district of *Kālīnga*, was situated. *Siripuram* is not far away from *Viśākhapattanam* (modern *Viragapatam*) which is said to have been designated after the god *Viśākha* *vānuis* who was worshipped there. Possibly *Viśākhavarman*, the donor of this grant, built a temple in that locality and named the god enshrined in it after himself. *Kōrāsōjaka-Pañchālī* must have comprised the region round the modern village *Koroshajā* where the plates were found. *Tampōyaka* I am not able to identify.

TEXT.*

First Plate; Second Side.

- 1 स्वस्ति[१*] विजयश्रीपुराणपरमदेवतः[२] अणभहारकपादमजः श्रीमहाराज-
- 2 विशाखवर्मा कौरासीडक्षपञ्चाला³ तपोधकयामे कुटुम्बिनः
- 3 समाज्ञायति अरुणाय यामोन्माभिरक्षयभहारकपादानां

Second Plate; First Side.

- 4 सुरलोकादप्रचुतानां भूयः/पुण्याप्यायनाय आचन्द्रतारावर्धप्रति-
- 5 ह्रमयहार कृत्वा सर्वकरभरेश परिहृत्य आदेयसगोत्रे-
- 6 अयः गङ्गमेण्डकविष्णुशङ्खचक्रिगन्धर्वनिशङ्कोनागशङ्खशिवशर्म(क्ष)-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 7 अयः[४] संपदस्तदुदेवमवेत्य पूर्वोचितमर्थ्यादाभिरक्षार्थोपज्ञानं
- 8 कर्त्तव्यमिति[१*] आज्ञाभीगिकश्रीदेवः[२] [न]वत् ० हिम ०
- 9 अथ च व्यासगोत्री ही श्रीको दिवस २०^५

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 122 ff.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff.

⁴ From the inked impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

⁵ Read "अथवा"

⁶ Cf. G. H. Ojha's *Palaeography of India*, plate LXXII (lower), last column.

KUROSHANDA COPPER-PLATES OF VIRAKHAVARMAN.

10

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

—

ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਮਨਮੋਹਨ
ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ॥ ੧ ॥

三

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥

1. $\frac{1}{2}$
 2. $\frac{1}{3}$
 3. $\frac{1}{4}$

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥

Third Plate : First Side.

- 10 बहुभिर्वहधा दत्ता वसुधा वसुधाधिपैः [१*] यस्य यस्य
 11 यदा भूमि[स्तस्य] तस्य तदा फल[म्] [२*] पश्टिं वर्षमहस्याणि
 12 स्मर्त्तुं मोदति भूमिद[ः] [१*] चाक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके
 वसेत् [२*]

No. 6.—SADDO ROCK INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 104.

By SREN KOSOW.

Saddo is a village on the left or eastern bank of the Panjkora river, to the west of the Katgala pass, on the road from Swāt to Chitral, where a bridge leads across the river.

Cunningham discovered a stone inscription in Kharoshthi characters at this place, and his servants copied it 'under great difficulties, and not without danger'.

When I prepared the edition of Indian Kharoshthi inscriptions for the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* I did not succeed in my efforts to get estampages or photographs of the record, and I could therefore only reproduce Cunningham's plate, without any attempt at an explanation*.

I owe it to the kind assistance of Mr. Hargreaves that I can now publish a reliable reproduction. On the 29th October 1930 he sent me two estampages, prepared by Khan Bahadur Mian Wasiud Din, who had been good enough to add the following information: 'The inscription is situated on the rocky bank (left) of the Panjkora river, between the ruined and existing bridges, which are only a furlong apart. The inscribed boulder is quite smooth and naturally sloped like a camel-back, with no sign of dressing. It is outwardly $5\frac{1}{2}' \times 2\frac{1}{2}'$ in size, of a dun-buff colour, like the rest of the bluff jutting out into the river. It is only 48 ft. upstream from the broken pier of the ruined bridge, and being on the same level, is submerged in the current for four months in the year, i.e., May to August. It is therefore at the mercy of the torrent which carries a timber trade, besides trees and other things, when inundated.'

We learn from this note that more than one bridge has been constructed in this place, and we also understand why the inscription has suffered so much in the course of time. A comparison of Cunningham's plate will, however, show that not much has disappeared since his copy was made, and also that his assistants have faithfully reproduced what they could see on the rock.

The characters are Kharoshthi, of the same type as in the Takht-i-Bābi inscription. Some details will be mentioned below.

The inscription covers a space measuring $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. by $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft., and contains remnants of four lines, of varying length. The height of the *śāharas* is 3 to 5 inches.

In l. 1 Cunningham's plate has five *śāharas*, of which only the first and third are visible in the estampages. The first is a distinct *ma* in the plate, but the estampage shows that the left bar is prolonged upwards and perhaps ends in a curve to the left. I have not met with a

* *A. S. E.*, Vol. V, pp. 82 f., and plate XVI, No. 5.

* *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 9 f.

was of this shape in any other Kharoṣṭhī inscription. The nearest approach to our *akṣara* is the *ma* of *damuṃakka* in the Dharmarājikā inscription No. 1¹, and it is possible that we should read *ma* here. The second *akṣara* visible in the estampage can hardly be anything else than *da*. In one of my estampages the *e*-stroke is unmistakable, and the *akṣara* itself is almost identical with the *da* of the Mathurā elephant inscription².

I cannot make anything out of these letters. If the intervening *akṣara* were *sa*, we might think of an old form of *sarvapa*, which must, in some way, be connected with *Raka* *res*, *gen. vrundā*, king. But I should not like to suggest such an explanation.

In l. 2 the first *akṣara* which can be read stands below the *da* of l. 1, and is so like the *da* of Takht-i-Bāhi Il. 1, 6, that I have no hesitation in reading so.

Then follows an *akṣara* consisting of a damaged vertical, of which only the top and the bottom remain, continued in a horizontal, bent downwards into a shorter vertical, which is curved forwards at the bottom. So far as I can see, we can only read *da*.

The ensuing *akṣara* is evidently *da*, cf. the *da* in Takht-i-Bāhi l. 4 and in the Pāṇi record.

It is followed by *ma*. In one of my estampages the right-hand bar is bent backwards at the top, but this bend is absent in the other estampage and in Cunningham's copy, wherefore we cannot well think of an irregularly placed *e*-stroke.

Then comes a distinct *sa* and two hooks, which I take to be the numerical figure for 4, twice repeated.

What can be read is accordingly *śaśvānāma-sa 4 4*, and, though the names of the months are not abbreviated in other Kharoṣṭhī records, I restore, with some confidence, *śaśvānāma*(*e*) *Sas 4 4*, in the four-hundredth (year, on the) 8, (of) Śrāvāṇa.

It is true that other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions present *śaśvāna* for 'hundredth,' but this form is probably due to the analogy of ordinals such as *śaśvāna*, *śaśvāna*, and Pali has *śaśvāna*.

What precedes [*śa*]*śaśvāna* cannot be read. The existing traces can, however, be reconciled with the reading *śaśvāna*, which we have before [*śa*]*śvāna* in the Takht-i-Bāhi inscription.

L. 3 had already almost disappeared when Cunningham's copy was made. The two first *akṣaras* are, however, legible, being *da*, very similar to the *da* in l. 3 of Takht-i-Bāhi.

The ensuing 10-12 *akṣaras* are quite obliterated, though the first two or three bear a certain resemblance to the unidentified letters following after *da* in Takht-i-Bāhi. They probably comprised some term for 'time', and the name of the person who had the inscription executed.

Under the *akṣaras* *śaśvā* of l. 2 there are traces of a letter which is like the *di* of l. 2 of Takht-i-Bāhi and one might think of restoring [*pra*]*di*-(*śaśvā*).

Then follows a fairly distinct *śaśvā*.

At the beginning of l. 4 some *akṣaras* have been lost. The first *akṣara* of l. 3, however, runs down into the line so that not more than two or three letters can be missing. After the gap comes a distinct *ya*, and it is tempting to restore *śaśvā* or *śaśvā*, cf. Sanskrit *śaśvā*, causeway, bridge. It seems to me as if it were possible to trace *sa*. We should then have the sentence *śaśvāśvā śaśvā śaśvā*, this bridge was set up, but the reading is highly uncertain.

The next word is certainly *garuḥka*, but I cannot explain it. *Garu* is evidently the regular Prakrit form of Sanskrit *guru*, heavy, but *ka* remains unexplained. *Garukha* may be a name, but is more probably a noun meaning something heavy.

¹ C. I. E., Vol. II, Part 4, plate XVII, 5.

² Ibid., Pl. X, 1.

After an *o* *ai* *shara* is lost, and then follows what looks like an *e*. I tentatively read *garu-Azaoorthas*, for the sake of the heavy...

It will be seen that my reading and explanation are rather unsatisfactory. The only thing which seems to be certain is that the inscription is dated in the year 104, and it can hardly be doubted that the era is the same as *e.g.*, in the Takht-i-Bāhi inscription.

In my edition of Kharoshthi inscriptions in the *Corpus* I have assumed that the first year of this era coincided with 84-85 B.C., in accordance with certain calculations made by the Dutch scholar Dr. van Wijk. The date of the Takht-i-Bāhi inscription was identified by him with the 10 March, A.D. 19, and our record would, similarly, belong to the 16 June, A.D. 20.

My chronology has, however, been severely criticised, especially by Professor Rapson¹, who thinks that we must make use of the Vikrama era, which was, according to him, established by Aras, as proposed by Sir John Marshall. The date of the Takht-i-Bāhi inscription would then correspond to 45 A.D., and the Saddo date to 46 A.D.

In the introductory remarks to my edition of the *Kharoshthi Inscriptions* (C. I. I., Vol. II, Part I) I have maintained that it is impossible to refer the dates in the old series of these records to the Vikrama era, if the Sodasa inscription of the year 72 is dated in it, and I agree with Professor Rapson that such is the case.

But then he maintains that he has proved² that the Āmohini tablet is dated in the year 43 and not in 72, and his arguments have been accepted as final by Professor Charpentier³ and Mr. Jayaswal⁴. The latter scholar goes to the length of asserting that 'throughout the range of Indian epigraphy nowhere the symbol reads 70, and everywhere it reads 40', as if we had to do with a well-known and frequent sign.

I have not been able to accept Professor Rapson's learned and ingenious deductions, for several reasons. And now the Central Asian manuscript remains collected in Berlin have brought fresh light.

In a masterly article⁵ Professor Lüders has examined the decimal symbols occurring in certain old manuscript leaves written in early Kushāna characters, and shown that the H symbol must there mean 40, because it is found in a continuous numbering immediately after 39. The St. Andrews cross occurs at least twice in page numberings, where the H symbol is used for 40, and since all the other decimal symbols, except that for 70, are used in other folios, the St. Andrews cross can only mean 70. Professor Lüders has further traced the origin of the figure. It is formed from the symbol for 60, which occurs in a shape resembling a Kharoshthi *ja*, by adding a stroke to the left.

Professor Rapson remarks that 'much of the perplexity which scholars have found in their attempts to arrange the chronology of the Sakas and the Kushānas seems . . . to be due to the belief caused by the reading "year 72" that the Great Satrap Sodasa ruled . . . so late as the second decade of the first century A.D.' And it would certainly make it impossible to refer the dates of the Āmohini tablet and the Patika plate to one and the same era.

Mr. Jayaswal's chronology, on the other hand, which leads to such results as that the Takht-i-Bāhi inscription is dated in the year 20 B.C., discards the unanimous results drawn from Chinese sources by leading sinologists such as Chavannes and Franke, and I must leave it to those who know Chinese and Chinese literature to judge about its merits.

¹ *J. R. A. S.*, 1930, pp. 186 ff.

² The date of the Āmohini tablet of Mathura, in *Indian studies in honor of Charles Rockwell Lanman*. Harvard University Press, 1929, pp. 49 ff. In another paper, which will be published in the *Acta Orientalia*, Professor Rapson maintains the same view, against Professor Lüders.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, lxx, 1930, p. 210.

⁴ *J. R. O. R. S.*, xvi, p. 245.

⁵ *Acta Orientalia* X, pp. 118 ff.

After the manuscript of this paper had been sent to press, Sir John Marshall's excavations at Kalahāṇa have brought to light a new record, which shows that Professor Rapson was right in referring the dates of the Taḥt-i-Bāhī and some other early inscriptions to the so-called Vikrama era, and that the Saddo record accordingly belongs to A.D. 46.

I have discussed the new epigraph in the October number of the *J. R. A. S.*, and prepared a paper on it for the *Epigraphia*. It shows that I was wrong in explaining the word *ayasa* in the Taxila silver scroll as corresponding to Skt. *ādyasya*, and that it cannot therefore be utilized for calculating the era used in a series of Kharoṣṭhī dates. We must evidently accept Sir John's explanation, that *ayasa* is the genitive of the name *āya*, *Ayasa*.

For reasons specified in the *Corpus*, I cannot, however, accept Sir John's further explanation, that *Ayasa* characterizes the era as instituted by *Ayasa*. It must, I think, have another meaning, viz., to distinguish it from another reckoning, with which the inhabitants of Taxila were familiar.

And it seems to me that we have distinct indications to the effect that such an era existed, and was looked upon as a Saka institution. The reading of the Shahdand inscription¹ is uncertain and does not prove that it was designated as such. The matter would be different if Professor Thomas² is right in reading *sa* before the *ka* with which the inscription on the Taxila silver vase³ seems to open.

Mr. Hargreaves has been good enough to let his deputy, Mr. Dihabī, make a careful examination of the original, especially with a view to find out whether any letter preceded *ka*. He reported that no trace could be found. A plaster cast of the initial portion of the inscription, which Mr. Hargreaves has kindly sent me, seems, however, to show traces of an obliterated *sa*, and it is, besides, difficult to see what *ka* can be unless it is the remaining portion of *saka*.

It was in order to distinguish the era used in the Taxila silver scroll from this Saka reckoning that the word *Ayasa* was added, and it was chosen, because the inhabitants of Taxila were so well acquainted with it from the numerous *Ayasa* coins that it was looked upon as a kind of symbol of the whole Parthian dynasty. The era was not, however, instituted by *Ayasa*, but by an Indian ruler, who made an end to Saka dominion in another quarter, viz., in Māhāva, just as the Parthians had done in Taxila.

We must necessarily draw the inference that two different eras are used in the older series of Kharoṣṭhī records; one old Saka reckoning, and the Vikrama era. To the former we must apparently, *inter alia*, refer the Maia well, the Mānashrā, the Shahdand, the Patika plate, the Taxila silver vase, and probably also the Loxiān Tangai, the Rashnagar, and the Skarah Dhand inscriptions; to the latter, e.g., the Taḥt-i-Bāhī, the Saddo, the Panjtār, and the Taxila silver scroll records.

With every reserve I finally give the text and translation of the Saddo record:

TEXT.

- 1 *mu . . dbe . . .*
- 2 [*sambatārasa cha**] *duśadama(c*)* era 4 4
- 3 *isa* [*pra**] *dī[stāvide*]* eiba
- 4 [*sedu**] *ye garukasa(rīha*)* *je*

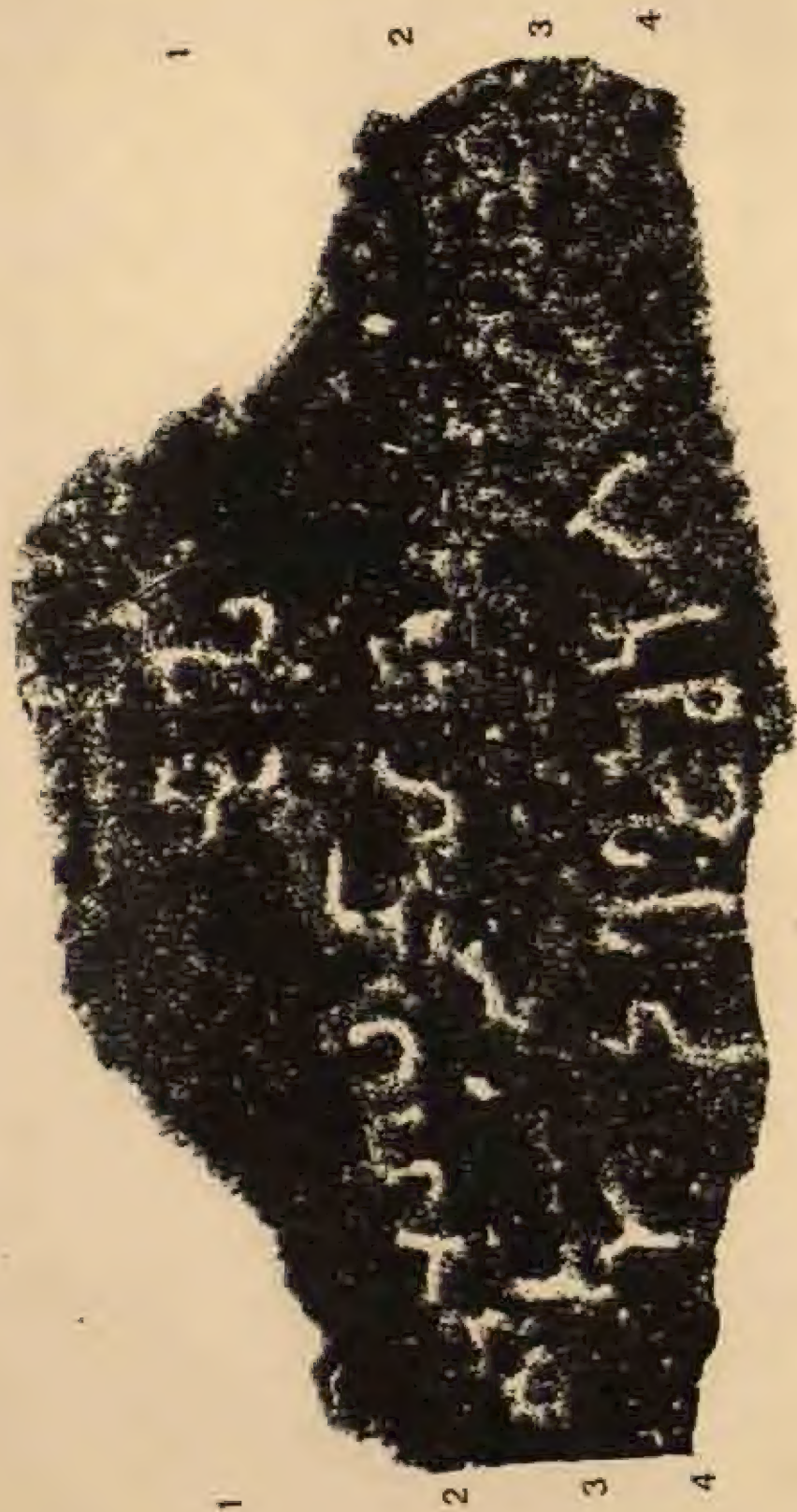
¹ *C. J. I.*, Vol. II, Part I, No. IX.

² *Epigraphica indicæ* December 1904, p. 2.

³ *C. J. I.*, No. XXX.

SANDO ROCK INSCRIPTION.

25A



inscription ends by saying that "such a distinguished person was captured by king Rājārāja". It is true that only the initial letter of this name is now preserved, but there is no doubt that it should be read as Rājārāja. We know that it was Rājārāja who was ruling over these parts in the Śaka year 923-4.

The fact that the chief who was captured by Rājārāja is herein called Karikāla-Chōja and that he claims descent from the Solar dynasty (*Sūrya-kula-cōsa*), would show that he was of Telugu-Chōja origin and that he was in possession of the Eastern Chālukya territory during the period of confusion which followed the reign of Dānārṇava.

Though fragmentary, this inscription is very helpful for settling some of the doubtful points in the history of the Chōjas and of the Eastern Chālukyas. We know that Rājārāja I conquered the Vēṅgi country about the 14th year of his reign (A.D. 999) and the Kālīṅga country in the next year (A.D. 1000). The Tiruvālaṅgādu plates of Rājendra-Chōja I report that he defeated an Āndhra chief named Bhīma¹. We also know that Rājārāja invaded the Vēṅgi and Kālīṅga countries about A.D. 999-1000. We have to see who this Bhīma, whom he had routed, was. That he was the Eastern Chālukya king Vimalāditya who bore the surname Munnuḍi-Bhīma and Kṛudāṅka-Bhīma² seems to be unlikely, for his dates do not go so far back as A.D. 999-1000³. Here it may be noted that the so-called *interregnum* in the Vēṅgi country had just then come to an end and that no Chōja king prior to the time of Rājārāja I had anything to do with the political situation in the Vēṅgi or Kālīṅga countries. Among the Eastern Chālukyas, we know of no king of the name of Bhīma who came after Dānārṇava and whom Rājārāja I had defeated in A.D. 999. The present inscription enables us to settle the question of his identification definitely, for while revealing his name it states that he was captured by Rājārāja I. Evidently, this chief got possession of a part of the Eastern Chālukya dominions in the confusion caused by the deposition of Dānārṇava. Though Dānārṇava was dispossessed of his kingdom about A.D. 973, he appears to have lived till A.D. 1000.

The second point of interest in the inscription is contained in the statement that Dānārṇava slew or defeated king Kāmārṇava, who, to judge from the name, must have been a member of the Eastern Gaṅga line. In this connection, it may be said, that the Vēṅgi and the Kālīṅga countries were fighting each other for some generations prior to the time of Dānārṇava. King Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III (A.D. 844-888) claims to have conquered the Gaṅgas and to have received a tribute of elephants from the king of Kālīṅga⁴. Kollavigaṇḍa-Vijayāditya IV also claims to have conquered the ruler of Kālīṅga in A.D. 918 and to have ruled over the forests of Trikalīṅga⁵. Vikramāditya II (A.D. 925) is said to have held sway over the countries of Vēṅgi and Trikalīṅga⁶. The fact that Dānārṇava-Nripakīma despatched to heaven or defeated Kāmārṇava, which the inscription under notice has brought to light, is not only new to history but it also proves for certain that the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgi and the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kālīṅga were inimical towards one another. That the Kāmārṇava who was defeated by Dānārṇava must be identified with Kāmārṇava IV, i.e., the father of Vajrahasta IV, may be shown by working backward the period of rule of the Eastern Gaṅga kings from the date of accession of Vajrahasta V which fell in A.D. 1038⁷. Since Maḍhukāmārṇava, Guṇḍama II,

¹ S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 421, v. 92.

² *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy*, 1904, p. 68.

³ According to the Ramanigundā grant Vimalāditya's accession to the throne took place in A.D. 1011, May 10, Thursday. (Above, Vol. VI, p. 349).

⁴ Above, Vol. IV, p. 226.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 104.

⁶ *Ind.*, p. 250.

⁷ Above, Vol. IV, p. 195.

Kāmārṇava V and Vajrahasta IV are reported to have reigned for 19 years, 3 years, 6 months, and 35 years respectively, before the accession of Vajrahasta V, we get A.D. 980 or thereabouts for the end of the reign of Kāmārṇava IV. And since that king is said to have ruled for a period of 25 or 30 years his reign must have lasted from A.D. 955 or 955 to 980. These dates fall within the rule of Dānārṇava which commenced¹ in A.D. 970. It is very likely that the Eastern Gāṅgas made a counter invasion on Vēṅgi which must have eventually resulted in the deposition of the aggressive Dānārṇava and given occasion also to the Telugu Chōḷa chief Bhīma-nripa to acquire possession of a part of the Eastern Chālukya dominions. Perhaps Dānārṇava continued to live after his deposition, for the Chellūr² plates of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa II attribute to him a reign of 30 years, a period that exactly covers his actual reign of three years and the so-called *interregnum* of 27 years which immediately followed it, as reported in other Eastern Chālukya charters. What favoured these events seem to be the internal dissensions that were prevailing in the country for a long time as is clearly disclosed by the rule of kings Yuddhamalla, Bādapa and Pāja of the collateral branch of the Eastern Chālukyas. It would not be wrong, therefore, to surmise that the deposed king Dānārṇava applied for help to the Chōḷas against his enemies. In this connection, the following facts revealed by the Chōḷa and the Eastern Chālukya records are worthy of note. Vimalāditya's coronation is stated, in his Raṣastipūṇḍi grant³, dated in the 8th year of reign⁴, to have taken place in Śaka 933 (A. D. 1011). Since his predecessor Chālukya-chandra Śaktivarman is said to have reigned for 12 years before this date⁵, his accession must be placed in A.D. 999, which is very near the date when the Chōḷa king Rājaraḷa I invaded the Vēṅgi country. The invasion of Rājaraḷa I resulted in placing over the Vēṅgi country a member of the direct line of the Eastern Chālukyas, namely, Śaktivarman, whose brother Vimalāditya was married to Kumārā, the daughter of the invading Chōḷa king⁶. In view of these facts it may safely be surmised that the Chōḷas must have helped Dānārṇava at the time of his difficulties. This inference is further supported by the fact that the Chōḷa invader Rājaraḷa I captured Bhīma-nripa, who was then in possession of the Eastern Chālukya dominions, and proceeded straightway against the Kalinga country and subdued it.

The date of the accession of Śaktivarman to the Eastern Chālukya throne being A.D. 999, as shown above, the period of the so-called *interregnum* of 27 years in the Vēṅgi country and the rule of Dānārṇava for 3 years before it, must fall in A.D. 972-3 to 999 and A.D. 970 to 972-3. Dānārṇava's fight with Kāmārṇava and his deposition will have to be placed in A.D. 972-3. It may be observed here, in passing, that the Rāshtrakūṭa power in the Deccan became practically ruined about this time when Siyaka Haraha, the Paramāra king of Mālwa, pillaged their very capital, namely, Mānyakhōḷa, and Talla II, the first member of the revived Chālukya line, ousting the Rāshtrakūṭas, extended his rule right up to the borders of the Eastern Chālukya and the Eastern Gāṅga kingdoms. Possibly it was about this period when there was so much of confusion in the Deccan that the Telugu-Chōḷa chief Bhīma-nripa, also called Karikāla-Chōḷa and Jātā-Chōḷa, of the solar race, found it possible to capture a portion of the Eastern Chālukya dominion.

¹ [See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 272.—Ed.]

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 56 ff.

³ *Above*, Vol. VI, p. 351.

⁴ As copper-plates attribute only a reign of 7 years to this king the 8th year must be counted from the date of his nomination to succession.

⁵ *Above*, Vol. VI, p. 351.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 277.

The Telugu portion of the inscription under publication, though very much mutilated, would inform us that this chief engaged himself in fighting the rulers of Aṅga as well as Kāśīga, took possession of a fort which could not, perhaps, be seized by Bṛta-Vijayāditya and that he constructed tanks and made gifts to the temple of Bhīmāśvata¹.

TEXT.²

I

- 1yakṣa-śvara-prabhṛti.....m-śvarāya dadatā vadataḥ ka śva
Chōja-Tripṣtra-vasudhā-patinā samānaḥ 1- 8[va]ti Śrīma-tarṇ(tān)-maka
.....
- 2jānām Mahāśvara-vata-pta(s).....dhā-āmara-Duryā-prasāda-śrīna³. amha-
[ma]bhā-śaśhaśānām⁴ antaka-Śiv-ālaya-tat-ārāma-pravaritana-prabhṛti.....
- 3pati(j)itānām Chōjānām ka.....[y]āditya-Guṇakūṣma-Chājukya-Bhīma-śrīpa-
raṇa⁵-ālakṣita-Chājukya-varha-pradīpāvanāna-Kōllavi-gaṇḍa-pri.....
- 4dēvyām Gya(Gau)ryām Kumāra.....m Bhīm-āpar-āvatārah Bhīma-
parākramaḥ pravaritana-mah-ābhavaḥ dig-antam-āntan-ārpp-āntaḥ(jha⁶) yathā
yōga.....
- 5Dāna-par-ārggava⁷ tat bhṛti.....V[ai]dumba-prabhṛti-śāja-śājanya-rāji-
rājata⁸-pīthastham-anōka-saṭsara-sātakumbha-saṭbhūta-prabhṛti-
6kaṭi-sūtra-prabhṛti-vinhitranāk-ālakṣa-ālakṣitam-āma⁹-rūpaṃ-amūly-
ānōka-raṇa¹⁰-dyuti-pātala-vīracit-āndra-chāpam-a¹¹kyi.....
- 7lōkanārtham-avanim-ava.....[bha]kṛi-narumtam rachit-āśjali-putam Bhaga-
vataḥ Paramāśvarasya Paramabhāṭṭārakasya śrīmat-Bhīm[śiva].....
- 8kāṇḍipa-nava-śata-saṭkhyā-vi.....shu yātōshu tribhāt-adhikāshu cha-
turthānyasṛt-purastān-nirasta mūrti || Bhīmāśvarasya śvāsya khl.....
- 9sya rūpō jaṇma-jaṇm-ś[ti].....[dha]raṇpatih Kṛita-yugē Trētā-yugē
Rāvagaḥ Bhīmah Pāṇḍu-Prith-ātmajaḥ Kurukula-dhvaṇaḥ yugē ava.....
- 10li-yugē Śauryādi-dharmō.....ritum-śaha śrīpatih Chōja¹²-Tripṣtrā-
bhavat 1- Bhūtō-bhavan-bhaviṣyan-vā bhūpatih-dāna-śatryataḥ.....

II

- 1 nāpi bhaviṣyati 1- chintyaḥ-chintā.....
- 2 li dhāvan aṇḍana-yōdhaḥ sapura.....
- 3 tūṇḍ-ōtṭirga-mahārūpavān-a[ra].....
- 4 pataṇyat Patāchakra-bhīma-rīpav[ō].....
- 5 śrīya-viśāla-maṇḍapa-viśa.....
- 6 jāhu Bhagadatta śva turagō.....

¹ I am indebted to Mr. N. Lakshminarasayan Rao, M.A., the Kanarese Assistant in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, for this information.

² From the ink-impressions prepared by Mr. V. Venkatarabha Ayyar, B.A.

³ Read -śrīdita.

⁴ Read -śhāśānām.

⁵ Read -raṇa.

⁶ Read -ka.

⁷ [The reading is -paratramam which might stand for -parāpa-draṇa.—Ed.]

⁸ Read -rīya.

⁹ Read -rīya.

¹⁰ Can the symbol between "ma" and "ri" be taken as "dha"?

¹¹ Read śrīpatih-Chōja.

CONJEEVERAM INSCRIPTION OF RAJARAJA I.

I

2
4
6
8
10

2
4
6
8
10

[illegible][illegible]

47

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ २ ॥
 श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ ३ ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ४ ॥
 श्रीविष्णवे नमः ॥ ५ ॥
 श्रीशिवाय नमः ॥ ६ ॥
 श्रीब्रह्माय नमः ॥ ७ ॥
 श्रीमहेश्वराय नमः ॥ ८ ॥
 श्रीनारायणाय नमः ॥ ९ ॥
 श्रीरामाय नमः ॥ १० ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ ११ ॥
 श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ १२ ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ १३ ॥
 श्रीविष्णवे नमः ॥ १४ ॥
 श्रीशिवाय नमः ॥ १५ ॥
 श्रीब्रह्माय नमः ॥ १६ ॥
 श्रीमहेश्वराय नमः ॥ १७ ॥
 श्रीनारायणाय नमः ॥ १८ ॥
 श्रीरामाय नमः ॥ १९ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ २० ॥

- 7 tatam Śatakra[tu]r-api svargga¹-tanō.....
 8 masu sthōyāt(d)-bhavi yāvad-arka.....
 9 abu babushv-uth-āsīt Karikāla.....
 10 āśāsvō Kṛishṇa-nṛipaaya vā[chā].....
 11 bhūhatya mad-ōddhatān apa.....
 12 chukō[pa] sañjāta-samagra-manyuh.....
 13 utyāt sumukhat-prachandah²nyayūyu.....
 14 śchalam ava-bhagani³-padam Andhrama.....
 15 mah prāk sāmantā-māny-ājavika-dri.....
 16 na duranikō-dhāt da-jvāla-māruta-vasād.....ya.....
 17 Dānārṇava-Nripakāmō yō yudhi sat-sakala-sainyam-abhūhatya-dātam.....
 18 m-avināst parinētam-ūah chitram su-dūram-api chāru. rmmantam Kāmār-
 pavan-divam-ani.....
 19 bhūt vyaktam vyaśmapatatsv-iti vaiparītyā Kāmārṇavam bhuvī nayan.....
 20 t vinayād-anya-bhūpatih⁴. Tyāgēna Karṇam-api rūpatayā Manōjam tōjō.....
 21 śl samed-ān(t)makam yah :- Sa śrīmān-Jeśchōja-Bhīma-nripatih sat-Gaṇja⁵.
 Bhūtiaravā.....
 22 tha yōgalah :- Sasy-āpānya chatu. aya bhūshaga-chayam Bhī.....
 23 magḍali-ākhāmaṇih :- Gaṇḍabhūtiaravah :- Saṅgrāma-vijayah :-.....
 24 ga-dhavalah :- Arasar-āhharavah :- Sukavi-chuntāmaṇih :- Sau.....
 25 kṛiti-Dillpah :- [Sa]jty-āvatārah :- Samar-āika-vīrah :- Virabhata.....
 26 ..rahga-mallah :- Paragaṇḍa-rākshasah :- Dīna-kalpadrumah :-.....
 27 ndrah :- Bhūpāla-Meruh :- Achalita-vīryah :- Chaturahga-Rā.....
 28 Vidyādharah :- Vikrama-Dhananījavah :- Sanjanya-dhavalah :-.....
 29 nanah :- Dushṭa-kāl-ānalah :- Asa[hāya]-Vikramah :- Kara.....
 30 ..yug-āchārah :- nagōvāya-Bṛihaspatih :- Satya-Ma.....
 31 rāganah :- Bhuvan-āika-dīpi(pa)ka[h] :- Achāra-Bhagīrathah :-.....
 32 Kārmuka-Rāmāh :- Atithādityan :- Apurāpa-Dadhichih :-.....
 33 uah :- Vanit-ābhīrāmāh :- Abhinā(na)v-Āntakah :- Sūryakula-vāśah :-.....
 34 Sundarah :- Rāja-Makaradhvajah :- Budha-janaupātah⁶ :- Samvyakta-Bhā.....
 35 Vikrānta-Chakrāyudhah :- Samasta-rāj-āgrēyah :- Rāja-kula.....
 36 rah :- Gōndaja-Sāhasah :- Māna-sampūrṇah :- Kahatriya-kula.....
 37 [Ā]rah :- Chalaranga-Rāmāh :- Rāpānga⁷-mrigēndrah :- Vīra-Narasimhah :-.....
 38 hadēvah :- Karikāla-Chōjah :- Arirāja-bhūshavah :- Su.....
 39 h :- Tyāga-mahārṇavah :- Naralōka-Rudrah [I⁸] Sakala-bhū.....
 40 sthira-sanniya-ghatanadh(y)-Amga-Kālimka-patila sāja.....
 41 laralōji parikōpi-Rodḍalair-antu mōroḍḍa ē.....
 42 liyure kōpaku Bētupḍu Gupaka-vijayitupḍu.....
 43 krambu sōdhilōchi sōdhilōchi gunakoni Bhimāśva.....
 44 ma-ḍḍiyalu gālaktambu diggalyalu kapi-sūtra-bahu.....

¹Read svarggam tanō....²Read sa-mukha-prachandah.³Read ava-bhagani³.⁴Read bhūpati⁴.⁵Read sat-gaṇja⁵.⁶Read Budha-jana-upātah.⁷Read Rāpā-ranga⁷.

in the text are evidently Prākṛitic. The portion showing the boundary of the gift village is written in a vernacular which appears to contain a mixture of Telugu and Oriya.

As regards orthography the following points may be noted. *Bo* and *ou* are not distinguished. A consonant is usually doubled in conjunction with a superscript *r*, but exceptions are also found: e.g., *dayālar-nacapatir* (l. 22), *pradarpād* (l. 39), *kafu(hāḍ)gaur-bhāta* (l. 18), etc. Final *o* is changed into *u* in *caṭṭrūm* (l. 23), *prāpārūm* (l. 27), *-bhāṭm* (l. 30), etc.; *ā* is used in *prāḍu* (l. 9), *Kaḍḍa* (l. 8), etc., side by side with *a* in *vaṭṭa* (l. 15), *kaḷaṭṭa* (l. 16), etc. Vowel *ri* is wrongly used for *ri* in *caṭṭarita-Tṛim* (l. 34), *tribhūṭana* (l. 5), *dāṭṭari* (l. 15), etc. *Ropā* has been dropped in many places and in all such cases the following consonant has invariably been left undoubled: as, e.g., *kāṇḍaṭṭa m(hāḍ)ḍḍā* (ll. 1-2), and *kaḷaṭṭa* (l. 18). *Viaṇḍa* has been wrongly used in *foḷ* (l. 1), *vyūṭikaroḷ* (l. 3), *apḷ* (l. 11), and wrongly dropped in *kaṭṭā* (l. 3), *-caṭṭāḍa* (l. 7), *kaṭṭa* (l. 9), *āṭṭāḍa* (l. 10), *prāḍu* (l. 12), *-āṭṭāḍa* (l. 18) etc. Other errors and peculiarities have been noticed in the foot-notes accompanying the text.

The grant was issued by the Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahācāṇḍārāja-Paramāśvara-Srīmad-Dharmarajadeva alias Mānabhāta of the Śailāḍbhava family from the fortress (*koṭa*) of Alatā-śaṅghapura in the Kōṅḍā-maṇḍala. Its object is to register the gift of the village Nivina, *śaṅghapura* in the Kōṅḍā-maṇḍala. Its object is to register the gift of the village Nivina, situated in the Kṛṣṇa-maṇḍala, to a Brāhman Savaridēva Dikṣita of the Vachhaḥa (Vachha) *gāṭra*, the Pañchavāsi-*prajā* and *anaprasāda*, Chhandāgya-*śāstra* and the Kāṭhūma school [of the Sāmaveda]. Lines 42-48 give in detail the boundaries of the gift village. In l. 47 an additional grant of two *vimparas* (of land) seems to have been made. The *Dutaka* seems to have been an *udakapālaka* but his name is not preserved. The seal was fixed (*lāṅchāṭa*) by Jayasīṅgha. The name of the engraver is not legible.

Besides the present grant only five other complete records of the Śailāḍbhava kings are known. They are (1) the Ganjām Plates¹ of the time of Śaśāṅkarāja, (2) the Khurdā Plates² of Mādhavarāja, (3) the Bugaḍa Plates³ of Mādhavavarman, (4) the Pārikud Plates⁴ of Mādhavarajadeva and (5) the Kōṅḍāḍa Grant⁵ of Dharmarāja. Of these, the first two are written completely in prose and the rest, like the present record, are composed partly in prose and partly in verse. Many of the verses found in this record also occur in the Bugaḍa, Pārikud and the Kōṅḍāḍa Plates.

In the grant under publication, the portion containing the date (l. 47) reads: *Saṃvat* [Vaiśākha-*anti-prathama-pakṣa-dvitiyā**]. Probably we have to restore the commencement as *Saṃvat* (2*). From an examination of the plate it becomes clear that the broken space would not allow any numerical sign to be incised before *Vaiśākha*, the whole space being covered by the partly

* The word occurs also in the Pārikud Plates (l. 44) in the form *trapaṇ* which Bāṇarji read as *Maṃtra*. Its meaning is not clear. The expression *dvitīya-trapaṇ* prevalent in the Pārikud Plates suggests that the word refers to measurement of land.

¹ There are also two incomplete records of this dynasty, viz., (1) Puri Second Plate of Mādhavaratman-Saṅghabhaṭṭa alias *śrīnivāsa*, (the Bengali monthly) *Bhāṭya* for the year 1319 (H. S. I. p. 993 and pl.) and (2) Tekkall Plate of the time of Mādhavarāja (III) (*J. R. O. S. S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 165 ff.). The latter mentions four other rulers after Dharmarāja. I may mention here in passing that the Plate shows the reading *paṇḍita-śaṅghaḍa* (l. 19). Thus the name should be *śaṅghaḍa* who was the uncle's son of Bhaṅgāḍāṭha and was a son of Mādhava, as understood by H. P. Shastri. Cf. Mr. V. Nisra (*J. R. O. S. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 179 ff.) and Mr. S. Rajaguru (*J. & H. Ind. Quart.*, Vol. VII, pp. 165 ff.). Here it may incidentally be remarked that Mr. Rajaguru's reading of the date in the Puri Plates is incorrect. The date is evidently equal.

² Above, Vol. VI, pp. 143 ff. and Plates.

³ *J. R. O. S. S.*, Vol. LXIII, pt. I, pp. 282 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol. III, pp. 41 ff. and Vol. VII, pp. 160 ff. and Plates.

⁵ Above, Vol. XI, pp. 284 ff. and Plates.

⁶ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 567 ff. and Plates.

missing vowel sign in this letter. Moreover, the signs for the numerical figure 9 and the final *t* are so much alike that it is not impossible that the scribe finding two similar signs on the document omitted one of them, either through inadvertence, or because of his not understanding its significance. If this supposition is correct, then the date of the inscription would be the **second day of the bright fortnight of the 9th year of the reign of Dharmarāja**.

In our present state of knowledge it is not possible to determine the exact dates of all the Śailōdhhava rulers. The only certain date about this dynasty is found in the Ganjām Plates of G. E. 300 (= 619-20 A.D.). In the other dated inscriptions either the reading of the date is uncertain, or only the regnal year is given. According to Kielhorn,¹ the Buguḍa Plates should, on paleographic grounds, be placed in the 10th century A.D. If this scholar is right in his assumption, then the rulers mentioned in the Khurdā and the Ganjām Plates are to be regarded as remote ancestors of the homonymous rulers mentioned in the Buguḍa and other Plates. But in that case we have to admit that no history of the dynasty is available for three centuries or more. In spite of the apparent paleographic difficulty, was it not be possible that Mādhavarāja Sainyabhlita of the Ganjām and the Khurdā Plates may be identical with Mādhavarman Sainyabhlita of the Buguḍa Plates? But to accept this view we have to assign long rules to Mādhavarman and some of his successors.

There may also be another ground in dating the Buguḍa grant to an earlier period. Both in the Kōṇḍōḍḍa grant and the present record mention is made of a king Trivara,² an ally of the rebel Mādhava who was probably a younger brother of Dharmarāja. Both Mādhava and his ally were defeated by Dharmarāja at Phāṣikā as a result of which Mādhava is said to have died broken hearted near the Vindhyaṣṭhā. We do not know of any ruler of the name of Trivara from inscriptions. But we know of one Mahāśiva Tivaraśa belonging to the Śaṃvamaṇi rulers of Mahākūśala. Two of his inscriptions are known which are dated in the regnal years 7 and 9. Paleographically, these inscriptions have been assigned to the 8th century A.D.³ The name Trivara of the present record and the Kōṇḍōḍḍa grant may have been assimilated from the wrongly supposed Prakrit form of Tivara and, if he is the same as the ruler of Mahākūśala, the present record as well as the Kōṇḍōḍḍa grant should be assigned to the 8th century A.D. It may be possible that Mādhava, when defeated at Phāṣikā, sought the help of the neighbouring powerful king of Mahākūśala, and, having been defeated for the second time, was forced to leave his own country, take shelter in that of his ally and to spend his last days somewhere near the Vindhyaṣṭhā (Sarpurā range), which was, at that time, within the realm of Tivaraśa. In that case the Pārikud grant may have to be placed towards the end of the 7th or the early part of the 8th century of the Christian era and in spite of the apparent paleographic difficulty the Buguḍa and the Ganjām Plates might have to be assigned to one and the same ruler.

It is to be noted that in the Ganjām Plates of Mādhavarāja II, he is stated to be a founder of Śaśāṅka. In the Pārikud Plates, Madhyamarājadeva bears no titles of a supreme ruler, though he is stated to have performed the Atvamēdha sacrifice. This last incident shows that he claimed the rank of a *Chakravartin*. In the Kōṇḍōḍḍa grant the horse sacrifice is referred to (l. 43), though neither Madhyamarāja, nor his son and successor Dharmarāja, bears any titles of a paramount

¹ Above, Vol. VII, pp. 100 L.

² The name has been read as Suvāra in the Kōṇḍōḍḍa grant, but I would ascribe the *s* to *śaṣṭi*.

³ His date will be about the middle of the 8th century if Prof. Bhattacharya is right in his assumption that Chandragupta mentioned in the Ganjām Plates of Amoghavarsha I (Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 243 ff.) as being defeated by the Rāshtrakūṭa Gōrinda III, was the ruler of Mahākūśala. We know of only one Chandragupta in this family who was the son of Nannadēva and consequently a brother of Tivaraśa whom Chandragupta appears to have succeeded.

sovereign. But in the present grant Dharmarāja is given the titles *Paramādhipātaka*, *Mahādhipādhirāja* and *Paramācāra* which were borne by independent rulers alone. In our present knowledge of the history of Orissa, it is difficult to say definitely whose subordinates the Śailōdbhavas were after the rule of Śaśānka was at an end, but it is not impossible that sometime after the breaking up of Harsha's empire Madhyamarāja declared independence and his successor used all the titles befitting an independent ruler. I cannot, however, account for the omission of such titles in the Kōṅḍōḍa grant.

It appears that there has been, from the beginning, a misconception regarding the names of certain Śailōdbhava rulers. The name read as Yaśōbhita till now, should correctly be Ayaśōbhita. It was pointed out in the Kōṅḍōḍa grant¹ that in l. 22 the plate read *narapatir-Ayaśōbhita*. This reading is authenticated by the present grant also. Banerji's correction² into *narapatika* Yaśōbhita is thus not justified. Wherever this name occurs the *sandhi* seems to have been overlooked. Even Dr. Hultzsch appears to have done this for, in the Ganjām Plates of the time of Śaśānkarāja, he changed the reading into *Mahārāja-Yaśōbhita* although the inscription gave it quite correctly as *Mahārāj-Ayaśōbhita*.³

When Professor Kielhorn first published the Buguḍa Plates he was under the impression that Mādhavavarman was the son of Sainyabhita (II). Dr. Hultzsch pointed out that Sainyabhita was only a surname of Mādhavavarman II⁴. In the same way, there is nothing in these inscriptions to show that Yaśōbhita, i.e., Ayaśōbhita and Madhyamarāja were different persons. Mr. R. D. Banerji in his article on the Pārikud Plates, though accepting the analogy of the Buguḍa Plates, was of the opinion that Madhyamarāja was probably a son of Yaśōbhita⁵ (i.e., Ayaśōbhita) II, while Mr. Y. R. Gupte writing on the Kōṅḍōḍa grant presumed, on the same analogy, that Yaśōbhita was the surname of Madhyamarāja, though he was unable to prove his point. The difficulty of both the scholars was due to the misunderstanding of a passage in the text. The last *pāda* of verse 12 in the present inscription, which occurs in other grants also, was wrongly read by Banerji as *Madhyamarājādēva-guṇa-dhīrā-rājyaṁ pitaḥ prāptavān* while the correct reading is *rājyaḥ-pi tat-prāptavān*. The verse under reference simply means that the sages leave their homes and perform various austerities in seeking after *dīpa-pada* while Ayaśōbhita II got the same abode, i.e., *mokṣa* in his own kingdom.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the grant Kōṅḍōḍa has been identified by Kielhorn with *Kung-yü* (or *gul'io* of Yuan Chwang. Cunningham identified Kōṅḍōḍa, the capital city of the province of the same name, with Ganjām while Fergusson placed it 'somewhere between Kuttaek and Aska'⁶ in the Ganjām district. We find from his records that the Chinese pilgrim journeyed south west from the Oṭa country, through a forest, for over 1,200 li and reached *Kung*

¹ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 258, note 2.

² Above, Vol. XI, p. 285, l. 21.

³ On the same analogy it may be possible that the name in l. 12 should be read as Arasabhita. In fact, the internal evidence of the grants of this dynasty shows that the names should be Ayaśōbhita and Arasabhita. In the Khurū Plates we find *Śrī-Saiyabhitaṁ pāṭha* (*paṭha*) *prajñā-vijal-āmalā-pāṭha* *śatānā-apaśāhitaṁ* *śrīmatō-Yaśōbhitaṁ* etc. Similarly cf. verse 8 of the present grant and note the expression *pāṭha* *śatānā*. For Arasabhita cf. verse 6 in the text of the present record where this bravery in battle is described. (It may, however, be pointed out that the Gaṅga king Hastivarman appears to have borne the title of Yaśōbhita—Above, Vol. XVII, p. 322.). In the case of Sainyabhita we probably have to take the name as a *Sainyabhi* compound (*Pāṇini*, II. ii. 23-24) meaning thereby 'of whom the army was afraid.' The epithet *prajñā-vijal-tri* *śatānā* given to Sainyabhita in the Khurū Plates, seems to confirm this explanation.

⁴ Above, Vol. VI, p. 144, note 1.

⁵ Above, Vol. XI, p. 283.

⁶ See Walters, *On Yuan Chwang's travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 197.

yu-t'a. As the inscriptions of the Śaṅkṣhava dynasty mentioning Kōngōda-mayala have been found at Cuttack, Khandā, and Ganjam, we may well conclude that all these places were within the province of Kōngōda. In all probability the province extended from the southern bank of the Mahānadi and included within it the northern portion of Ganjam. The country lying on the northern bank of the Mahānadi was probably the Wu-t'a or Oja (Skt. Odra) of Yuan Chwang, while the southern part of Ganjam was within the Kālāga territory. According to the same pilgrim the capital city of Kung-yu-t'a was a hilly country bordering on a bay of the sea. The Ganjam Plate of Śaṅkṣha mentions that it was situated on the bank of the Śālinā river. I have not been able to find the name elsewhere. The trace of the ancient name may, however, be found in the small river Siliā which is fed by the Chilkā lake.² This part of the country would answer well to the description of the Chinese pilgrim. But at present no place recalling the name of Kōngōda is found on the bank of this river. The village Kōṅkōda situated in the Rāmgarī Agency of the Ganjam district, however, reminds us of the ancient name of Kōngōda, though the former could not have been the site of the capital city mentioned by Yuan Chwang.

Of the other place-names mentioned in the present record the name of the viśaya of Khṛīṅgahāra may be recognised in the village Khūṅḍi in the Kudala taluk of the Ganjam district while Nivina is undoubtedly the village of Nimma in the same taluk where the plates were found.

TEXT.

[Measures: Vv. 1, 1 and 12, Śāṅkṣhavidyā; vv. 2, 10, 11 and 14, Śrāgṛha; vv. 3, 4, 7, 9 and 13; Vasantakāśa; vv. 5 and 15-17, Aśvameśa.]

First Plate; Reverse.

- 1 Om¹ svasti || Indrōr(odōr)-ddhanta-mṛgāla-(tantubhī)²r-ivāh(va) ślāh(āh) kārā(h*) kōma-lai.
- 2 [r³]-vā(ha)ddh-āhā-arupā(āh) sphūrat-phāṇi - manā(nā)r-ddigdha-prabhā(nā) - bhūc(hī)h[⁴] [Pārvatyī(h*)] m-kāha-
- 3 graha-vyatikara(ha)-vyāyita-vā(ha)ndha-ślāhā Gaṅg-āmbha(h-phā)-bhūma-bhāma-hāṇi-kā(h*) Śaṅkṣha-jā(h*)
- 4 pānta vāh[⁵] [1(h*)] Śāṅkṣhina (Śāṅk-mahā) r-ona(ma)bhānt(ā) gurur-Achalapati (nā) kāk(hā)id-vāh kākā(yā) gambhīra-tōya-rā-
- 5 āra-āha divākatā(h*) bhāma(bhāva)d-āṅka-kār(ā) | hāṇi - sarvavya - āh-āṅka-āpī (tr)-hā(vā)na-bhāva(ā-pr)akāśa-āh[⁶]
- 6 vāyō rājā vā(ma) Śhāṅg-mūrti-jayati Kali-āla-kāṇānā - Māha(vāndha) || [3(h*)] Prā(hā)na-mahāhā ka-
- 7 ra-pivara-chāra-vā(hā)h[⁷] kīāh-āva(ma)-māchaya-vāṇa-vivāka-dakṣh[⁸] (7⁹ rā)va-[kōmala-dā]g-āṇa-lā-
- 8 āha-ānta (1¹) khyāh Kālāga-janīta(janā) Pulindasāna || [3(h*)] Tā-śhāh(tāh) guṇ(ā-āpī) m[¹²]va-mahā(hā) na-

¹ See vol. II, p. 192.

² See Indian Sheet Atlas, No. 74 (India and adjacent countries map).

³ From impressions and the original plates.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Portents within square brackets are either broken or not clear and have been restored on the authority of other published records belonging to the same family.

⁶ Read m[¹²]va-mahā(hā) na-

⁷ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

- 9 shja bhuvvGr-muṇḍalash¹ (i)¹ śaktō-yam² paripālanāyā(ya) jagataḥ kō nāwa
[sa³] syād-ā[ti] pūnyādishā-vi-
10 bh-utsavēna bhagavā(śa)n-ārādhitā(śa) [vāśavatam]⁴ nach-chi[ti-āna]gūṇaḥ vi-
[dhūsur-a]dīśa(d*)-va(vā)śchhā(śa*) Śva(Śva)-
11 yathābhā(bhū)(c-a)pi || [i] [p*] śa śhā-ma(śa)kal-ā-dhā(śa) dā tū-ā[py-
āśōkya] dhīratā [i*] [pa]rikalpitah(śa)-

Second Plate: Obverse.

- 12 [śaḍ-vamśaḥ*] prajālm[ā]h[ā] Śailōdbhava(h*) kri(śa) [i*] Śailōdbhavāya kula-
[i-Ra]pabhita [ā]śā anāśakri-
13 t-krīṭabhīyām vi(dri)śad-āṅganānām | [yōtanālanā]-pravāha⁵-samayē śva-
dhīy-āva⁶ sārddham-ā[ka]mpitō naya-
14 na-pakṣa(śa)ma-jalāśu śāndrah || [i] [p*] Tasy-ābhaya-Vīru(hu)dhapāma-
śya sāmān[ā]nām, śri-Saiya(bhita) iti bhūmi-
15 patir-ggarīyā(n*) yam prāpya nāga-ghoṣa-ghoṣa⁷-jav(h)dhā-praśāda⁸-vijaya(n*) mum-
[dā*] dhārit[ā] (śa) | [i] [p*] Tasy-āpi vāmā[śa]-
16 shu⁹ yathā(r*)thā-nām[ā]nām jāt-Yasōbhita iti [kṣhī*]śhā(śa) [i] [p*] na
puruṣhā[śa] (pi*) śūhā(bhā)ś-charit[ā] (trair)-nirīṣhā kalāśhā(h*) kalī-nadala-
17 na syāt¹⁰ | [i] [p*] Jātō-[thā*] tasya tanaya[śa] sukṛiti samasta¹¹-[śā]mān[ā]nām-nayana-
śhāpāda-purīṣhārikah(purīṣhārikah) | [i] [p*] śri-Sai[nyā]bhita i-
18 ti bhūmipatir-mmahāśha-kumbhasthāli(i)-dalana-dala(durila)lit-āśāhār[ā] (rah) || [i] [p*] Kala-
yair¹²-bhāta-dhāt[ā] (trī)-patibhir¹³-u-
19 pachit-ānyā(n*)ka-pāśvātārah || nīhā¹⁴ yēśhām kathā-bhū(pi) pralayam-abhi-
matā kīrti-mā(pā)lir-ā[śa]śā[śa] [i*]
20 yajña(śhā)ś-tair-Aśvameśha-prahṛatibhir-amarā lacvitas¹⁵-t[ri]ptim-[urvī]m-udript-ār-
śir(i)-pakṣa-kṣaya-kṛiti-paṭu-
21 nā Śrīnivāsēni(na) yēśhā(na) [i] [p*] Tasy-ōkṣhāt-ākṣhāt-ār[ā]mmasar(d)-āva [śa]-
nan-ōdbhāvat(d)-ushnāśh[ā] (śa) t[ri]ptim ||¹⁶ śrō mō-
22 nī(nā) dayālar-narapatir-Ayāśhīlādēvas-tuśhā[śa] | [i] [p*] mātangāmm(gān)-yō-ti-tu-
[āghā]ś¹⁷-va[śa]hala-māda-mu-

¹ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.² Read *śaktō-yam* *śaktō-yam*.³ Other inscriptions of this dynasty have *śaktō* put.⁴ Read *śaktō*.⁵ Read *śaktō*.⁶ Read *śaktō*.⁷ Read *śaktō*.⁸ Read *śaktō*.⁹ Read *śaktō*.¹⁰ On the impression the last syllable looks like 'dā'. Not what looks like an *śaktō* is only a hole in the plate.¹¹ The Kōṇḍīya grant reads: *śaktō*.¹² Read *śaktō*.¹³ Read *śaktō*.¹⁴ Read *śaktō*.¹⁵ There are traces of another sign before *ga*. Either it was a mark of punctuation wrongly put or the plate was wrung by mistake.¹⁶ Read *śaktō*.¹⁷ Read *śaktō*.¹⁸ The marks of punctuation are unnecessary.¹⁹ Dupda unnecessary.²⁰ Read *śaktō*.

Second Plate : Reverse.

- 23 ahi(cha)4-chāra-sakirāṣa(ktāṣa) prachapjā(ṣi)ṣ(ṣāṣ) vādhā-ānashati khitach' pu-
nar-āpi navatē yat-kritam(tah) sampragabhi(bhah)3 || 11 ||¹
- 24 Kōchāḍ-vi(vā)nya-mṛigopa sārddha[m*] tamatē(nā) tatāṣa(thā) sūhni⁴-Māyāṣ(yā) ⁵
kōchit(ch)chōriddh(v*)a-mukhā mayūkhā⁶-
- 25 kirāṇa-jyāl-āvali-prākāṣaṣa(ṣāṣ) [⁷] kōchit sāla-gubhādarāṣaṣa niratē⁸ dhūm-āvali(ṭ)-
pā(yi)na[h*] a-
- 26 nē(nyē) vāyu-phal-āhru(bu)-bhaksha-niratā[h*] kōchit(c*)-nā(nā)ṣ-āhārakāḥ | [⁹]-
tham yōga-juahō vibhāya vasat[ṣi*]
- 27 dhyaṇanti divyaṣ padam¹⁰ chitran(m)Madhyamarājadāya-triguṇāṣ-dhrid¹¹ vājyaṣ
p[¹²] tat-prāptavān(vān) || 12 || Tasy-āha-
- 28 vat-sakala-ākṣa-viśha-vāḥ | śri-Dharmmarāja iti sūnu-sadhiti(dhita)-āha-
taḥ | [¹³] tasy-ā
- 29 ā-ni(ni)mmala-yasāḥ parivardhamāna[m*] pādan Harit-ā(iva) na māyati
martti-ṭṭyāḥ¹⁴ || 13 ||¹⁵ Rājyaṣ lavdhā(bdhvā) pra-
- 30 darpād-avigraha-tayā¹⁶ Mādhavō jh(jrē)shtha-bhāvām(vān) [¹⁷] tasyā tasmād-apaa-
trāṣ¹⁸ kṛta-viśama-mat[¹⁹]-vigrā-
- 31 hā Phāsikāyām | yuddha-kahōbhāṣa(pā) la(bha)gnō nṛpatiparam-asaṣ samā;²⁰
(śri)tes T[²¹]vraṣ-ākhyah²² [²³] pa-
- 32 śchāḥ(śchāt)-ān-āpi sārddham punar-āpi vijitā(ṣ) Vindhya-pādāḥa jirupāt
(jirupāḥ) || 14 ||²⁴ Saṁtyaṣ] śrī-yaṇyanāḥ
- 33 rājyaṣ-ekaikyā(ka)ḥ mada-śā(śā)rakāḥ | sarvaḥ śri-Mānabhitāya n[²⁵]rvikāṣ-
am-upasthitah(tah) || 15 ||²⁶ āla-

Third Plate : Obverse.

- 34 tālaṣghaṣpura²⁷-kōṣāt | Parama-māhādevatō mātē-pitṛi-pādānadhātō(tah) Pa-
35 rama-bhāt[²⁸]-rakō Mahārāj[²⁹]dhirāja³⁰-paramēvara[h*] śrī(ma*)d-Dharmmar[³¹]-
jādēva[h*] kulaḥ || Śaṁt[³²]-Kōṣgō-

¹ Read *baddha-ānashati-āhārakāḥ*.

² Pāṭhaḥ and Kōṣṭhāḍja grants have *gub-āvali sampragabhi*.

³ Pāṭhaḥ grant reads : *sārddham-āhārakāṣaṣa*.

⁴ What looks like an *anantā* above it is merely a depression on the plate.

⁵ *Daṣṭa* unnecessary.

⁶ Read *akṣaṣa-āhara* as in the Pāṭhaḥ grant.

⁷ Pāṭhaḥ grant has two verses (12-13) in this connection, while Kōṣṭhāḍja grant omits them. Here we have only the first half of the previous verse and the whole of the latter, the second half of the former being omitted, most probably, by oversight. [Reading given in both is wrong. One should expect something like. *Āśā-śāṣa-āhārakāḥ kōṣṭhāḍja-āhārakāḥ vāṣa-āhārakāḥ*—Ed.]

⁸ Pāṭhaḥ and Kōṣṭhāḍja grants read *āṣṭa*.

⁹ Read *dhūm-āvali-āhārakāḥ*.

¹⁰ Read *madhya-āhārakāḥ*. The suggestion to read *śāṣa-āhārakāḥ* in the Kōṣṭhāḍja grant is not correct. In the Pāṭhaḥ Plate the reading is no *śāṣa* as *madhya-āhārakāḥ*. It is to be noted however that the root *śā* (in the Divyāḍja group) is *śāṣa*.

¹¹ Verses 12-14 of the Kōṣṭhāḍja grant have been omitted from the present record.

¹² In the Kōṣṭhāḍja grant also the reading is *ṭṭyāḥ* which has been wrongly read as *ṭṭyā*; *ṭṭyā* has been used here in the sense of 'protection'.

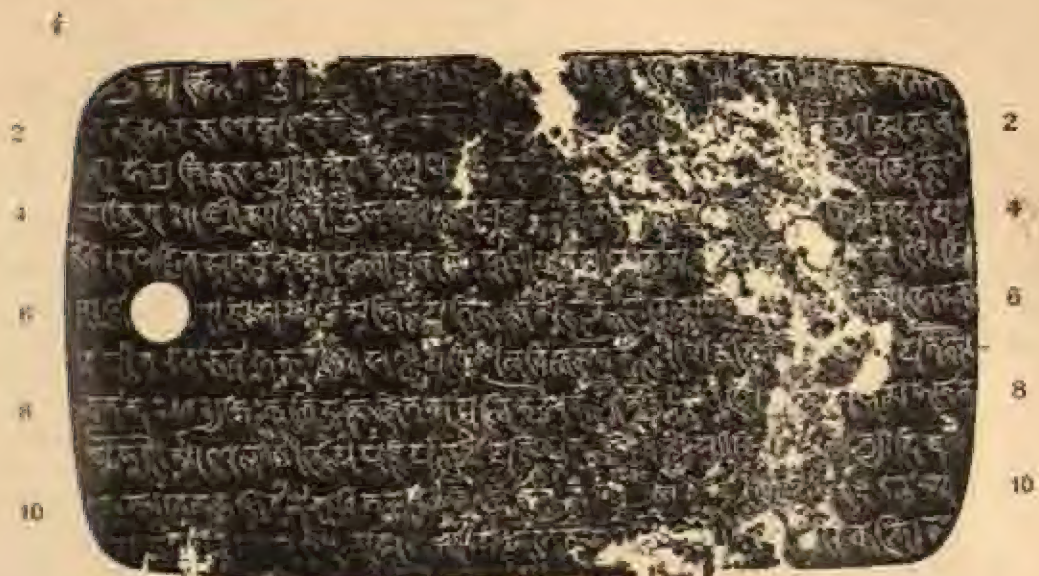
¹³ Read with the Kōṣṭhāḍja grant : *śāṣa-āhārakāḥ*.

¹⁴ Read *Triṣṭa-āhārakāḥ* or *Triṣṭa* as in the Kōṣṭhāḍja grant. In the former case, however, the meter suffers.

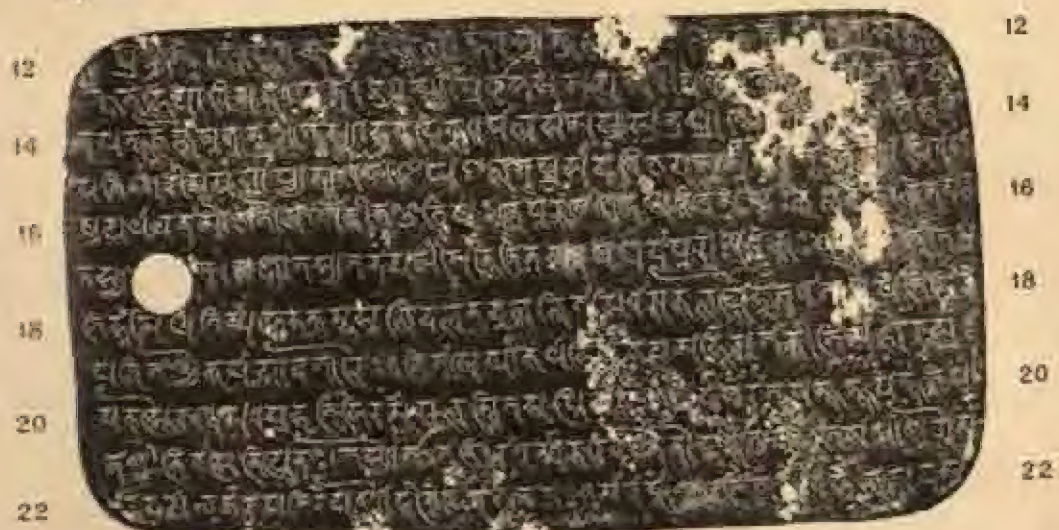
¹⁵ The reading of the first letter is not very certain.

¹⁶ *Ja* is written in a smaller letter between *rā* and *pa*. Evidently it was inserted later, on finding out the error.

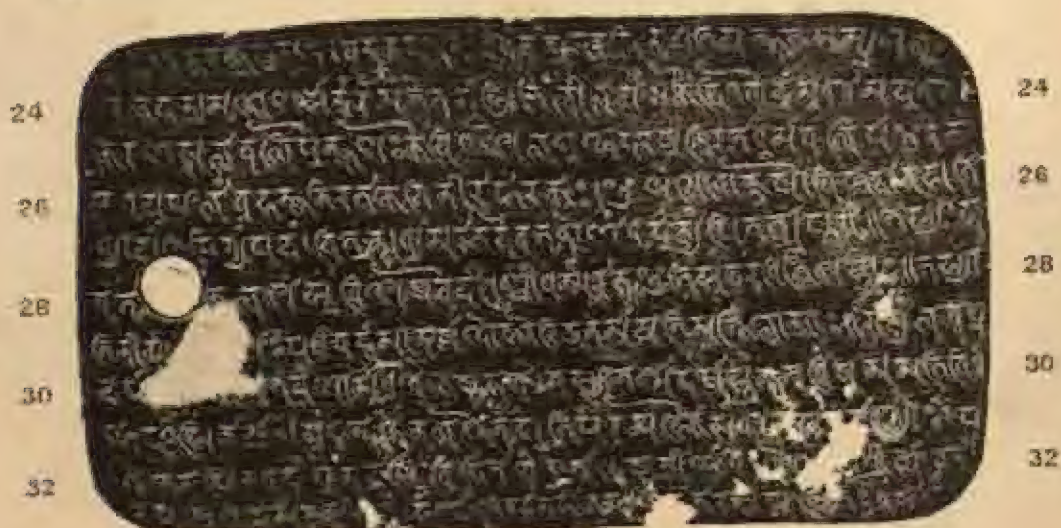
¹⁷ Read *śāṣa*.



iia



iib



iii

34	34
36	36
38	38
40	40
42	42
44	44
46	46

iiib

48	48
50	50
52	52

- 36 da-maṇḍalē śrī-sāmanta-mā(ma)hāsāmanta-mā(ma)hārājanakārājaka¹ - rā|kputrā|h(cr-ā)
[ntara²]-laga-daṇḍanā-
37 yaka-(dāpā)*[pāṇik-ōparika-stakad(ṣṭad)](tadāyuktaka—Ed.)-viniryuktaka-sakaraga-vyavahā-
riṣa-nānyānā-cha³ vrā(bṛā)hmana-
38 purōg-ādi-vāhaika⁴-janapadāch(dān) yath-ārha[ṣṭa⁵] mīnaya[ti⁶] vō(bō)dhayati jāpa-
yati viditam astu
39 bhavatiām Khicīngahāra-vāha(ya⁷)-sammasādhā⁸-Nivisā-grāmā(mah) |⁹ Śavaridēva-
dikāda ||¹⁰(dikahita)-
40 bhāṭṭa(bhāṭṭāya) Vachchha(tsa)-gōtrāya pañcha-riṣa-pravara-anupravara¹¹ Kau-
thuka(ma)-śākhāya Chhandō¹²-charaṣāya
41 mātā-pitūr-ātmanā-cha pany(uy)-ābhivṛ[ḍ¹³]dhayō(yō) saṁlā-dhārā-pura[ḥ¹⁴]parṣa
chandr-ārka-kahiti-sama-kāla(m¹⁵)-a-
42 kari(rū)kṛtya tāmva(mra)-kāṣa(sa)tvā(nē)na pratiprā(pā)dita(tō)-'amat¹⁶ na kōchit
(kēnachit) viḥātita(vya¹⁷)-m-it || grāmaṣya śimā kuta¹⁸
43 Paśchima-diśahi(dī) Trikuṭa Jōḍapāpādi vaṇarāī vālmika-vaiḥṭka(āka)-
sila-vaṇarāī¹⁹ Uta(ta)ra-diśahi(dī) |
44 Trikuṭa | Pāṇi-śākhā(t)raimativādhavap[ī²⁰] Uta²¹-a|ra-diśahi(dī) dīgha-sila [D²²]
Pūvhi (Pūvayān) jōḍavānarāī
45 vaḍa[ī²³]Pūva-utara-kōṇahi sōmaṣi²⁴ Trikuṭa | Pūva-dakṣiṇ[ā]hi sē...ma Trikuṭa |
Pūva-diśahi kō-
46 lāḍa[ī²⁵]Pūva-dakṣiṇa-kōṇahi vāgha-guḥ(guḥā?) Trikuṭa [ī²⁶] Dakṣiṇa-diśa pavadi
sila gāḥi savatī ||

Third Plate : Reverse.

- 47 'paradyau jimpirah²⁷ || Samvat [9²⁸] [Val]śākhā-sūdi-prathama-pakṣa-dvīd[ī²⁹]rā³⁰ |
48 Uktān-cha dharmma-sāntā[ī³¹] Vahubhiḥ (Bakubhiḥ) [vasu]dīā datām(datā)
rāj[ī]ja)bhūḥ Sager-ādibhū[ī³²]
49 rya(ya)ṣya yaṣya yadā bhūm[ī³³]-³⁴ tasya tasya [tadā phalaḥ] || [16³⁵] Sva-
dat[ī³⁶]jām para-dat[ī³⁷]jām-vā yō ha-
50 rēti(ta) vasundharān[ī³⁸] sa viśthāyām kṛmīr-(bhūtvā) pītri[ī³⁹]h[ī⁴⁰] saba puchyatāḥ
(tā) || [17⁴¹] Itikō(Dūtākō)-
51 tra mahākahapata[ī⁴²] ...dēvō(vah) [pradhānatana(mah) |] | Lāṅchhitam Jayasinghāna
52 utkṛṣṭam Chahā(hibhāyā?)nāḥ(na) mītiḥ(it) ||

No. 9.—TWO PARAMARA INSCRIPTIONS.

By E. R. HALDER, RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER.

About the beginning of the 10th century A.D. a branch of the Paramāra of Mālwa was founded by Damharasinhha, the younger brother of Vairasinhha of Mālwa. The rulers of this

¹ Read -vijñāna-² Read 'ābhivā- apāṇāyaka.³ Read -vāṇapāṇi-⁴ Read -anumānā-⁵ Janda unnecessary.⁶ Read paśchavati-gaur-anupravaraṣya. These five rubrics are : Anra, Chyavana, Bhārgava, Jamatigaya and Agnyāna.⁷ Read Chāṇḍavya-⁸ Read 'mānādhā-⁹ Read śimā śrī. [Kṛta, śākhā, rā, etc. are evidently Prakrit formations—Ed.]¹⁰ The first syllable may be read vō.¹¹ The meaning of this expression is not at all clear. The sign at the commencement looks like that of an anagram but it cannot be connected with the previous line.¹² Dvīdya unnecessary.

family may be called the Paramāras of Vāgada from the name of the territory over which they ruled and which comprised the present Bāndwāra and Durgaput States. These rulers, who were subordinate to the Paramāras of Mālwa, had for a long time their seat of Government at Uthhūpaka, the modern Arbhūpā in the Bāndwāra State in Rājputāna. The two inscriptions edited below belong to the rulers of this family and were found in the Bāndwāra State. These documents, together with the one already published,¹ throw much light on the history of this branch of the Paramāras.

A.—PANAJERA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAYASIMHADEVA OF MALWA:
[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1116.

This inscription has already been noticed in the *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, 1916-17.² It is engraved on a stone slab which is built into a wall of the temple of Mandalesar (Mandalesvara) Mahādēva at Pāpāhūpā in the Bāndwāra State of Rājputāna. The slab is broken into pieces and at present only the two sides, right and left, are available, the middle portion being altogether missing.

The inscription is written in the Nāgarī characters of about the 11th century A.D. But *ī* in *ī* (l. 20) and *ī* in *īśānā* (l. 2) have forms which are generally found in the inscriptions of an earlier period.³

The inscription consists of 38 lines of writing and is written in verse with the exception of a few words in ll. 1, 25, 26 and the concluding portion of l. 38 which are in prose. The language is Sanskrit throughout.

In respect of orthography the following points may be noted: *r* and *b* are not distinguished as in *śākhāra* (l. 8), *śākhāra* (l. 15), etc.; *ś* is used for *ṣ* in *śākhāra* (l. 9), *śākhāra* (l. 11), *śākhāra* (l. 18), etc. and *ṣ* for *ś* in *śākhāra* (l. 20), *śākhāra* (l. 24), etc.; consonants with a superscript or subscript *r* are usually doubled as in *śākhāra* (l. 12), *śākhāra* (l. 14), *śākhāra* (l. 11), *śākhāra* (l. 13), etc.; *śākhāra* is used for *śākhāra* in *śākhāra* (l. 2), *śākhāra* (l. 3), etc. as well as at the end of stichs and hemistichs as in *śākhāra* (l. 26), *śākhāra* (l. 33), etc.

The inscription is a *prastāva* of the Paramāra kings of Mālwa and their subordinate rulers, the Paramāras of Vāgada. It consists of two parts: the first part in 25 verses is given to the Paramāras of Mālwa and the other part, beginning from verse 26, to those of Vāgada. Its object is to record the foundation of the temple of Mandalesvara (Śiva) at Pāpāhūpā (Pāpāhūpā) and various endowments in that connection, by the Paramāra ruler Mandallha. After the usual praise of the god Śiva in the first five verses, the inscription gives, in verse 6, the familiar legend of the origin of the Paramāra family from the sacrificial fire on the Arhuda mountain. It then describes the army of some king, evidently an early Paramāra ruler, and the scene of a battle (vv. 7-9). *Mahādēva* is then mentioned (v. 10) who is said to have won victory in a battle (v. 12). *Śudhūrāja* is spoken of in verse 13 and his army is extolled in this as well as in the next two verses. Verse 16 states that from him sprang a king whose name is not preserved in the inscription but which was most probably *Bhūjarāja*. The next four verses are devoted to the

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 80 and above, Vol. XIV, pp. 297 ff.

² *Id.* p. 81.

³ Above, Vol. IX, p. 300 and Vol. XVIII, p. 98.

praise of this king and his army. King **Jayasinhha** is mentioned in verse 21 and the splendours of his army are likewise described, while his superiority and control over other kings are spoken of in the next four verses. Here ends the first part of the inscription.

The second part commences by saying that in the Paramāra family was born **Dhanika**, who built the temple of **Dhanāsvara** near **Mahākālā** (at *Ujjain*) (vv. 24-27). After him, his brother's son **Chachcha** became king (v. 28). Verse 29 tells us that a ruler of the same family, whose name is lost in the present portion of the record, gave battle to **Khōṭṭigadēva** at **Khalighaṭṭa** on the bank of the **Rēvā** (Narmadā) in the cause of **Siyaka** and went to heaven. Verse 31 introduces **Satyarāja** who is said to have received a fortune from king **Bhōja** and fought with the **Gārjara**. He married **Rājasri** of the **Chāhamāna** family from whom was born **Limbārāja** (vv. 32-33). His (i.e., **Limbārāja**'s) younger brother was **Mandāluka**, who took General **Kanha** prisoner and handed him over to **Jayasinhha** (vv. 34-37). **Mandāluka** is glorified in verse 39 and is said to have built the temple of **Mandalsvara** (Śiva) at **Pāṇḍulākhṭaka** (vv. 45-47). This king **Jayasinhha** is said to have assigned to the god, for defraying the expenses of worship, one *richāpaka*¹ on every bull (that passed) on the road and also some land at **Pāṇḍulākhṭaka**. **Mandāluka** also granted to this temple, for his own spiritual welfare, some lands and a garden behind **Nagna-tadga** and (the temple of) **Varuṇēsvari** together with some rice-fields as well as lands in the villages of **Nattapātaka**, **Pānāchhi** and **Maṇḍaladraka** (vv. 47-52). The date is given at the end as **Vikrama-Samvat 1118** (A.D. 1059). The inscription was engraved by **Asarāja**, son of **Kāyastha Śrīdhara** of **Valabhi**.

As to the personages spoken of in the inscription, kings **Siyaka**, **Mūṇḍadēva**, **Sindhurāja**, **Bhōjadēva** and **Jayasinhhadēva** are the well known Paramāra rulers of **Mālwa**. Up till now only one copper plate inscription² dated V. 1112 (A.D. 1055) of the time of **Jayasinhha** (I) has been discovered, so this inscription carries his reign to a further period of some four years. Among the rulers of **Vāgaḍa**, **Dhanika**, **Chachcha**, **Satyarāja**, **Limbārāja** and **Mandāluka** are mentioned in the inscription. The names of **Kankadēva** and **Chandapa**, the two rulers after **Chachcha**, which are found in the **Arthūpā** Inscription of V. 1136³ are not preserved in the present record. The battle fought against **Khōṭṭigadēva** at **Khalighaṭṭa** (v. 29) is evidently the one mentioned in the **Arthūpā** Inscription of V. 1136 (verse 19) as being fought by **Kankadēva** against the **Rishtrakūṭa** king of **Kanbha**.

From verse 36 of the present record, **Mandāluka** who is called **Maṇḍaladēva** in the **Arthūpā** Inscription, appears to have been the feudatory of King **Jayasinhhadēva** (I) of **Mālwa**.

Many of the localities mentioned in this inscription may be easily identified. Thus **Pāṇḍulākhṭaka** (vv. 39, 46) is the village of **Pāṇḍhōṭ** where the inscription was found. **Nattapātaka** (v. 50) is the village called **Nāṭwārā** lying about two miles to the west of **Pāṇḍhōṭ**. **Dēulapātaka** is the modern **Dēulwārā** situated about 4 miles south-west of **Jagapurā**. **Bhōgyapura** is the village **Bhagōrā** which stands about 3 miles to the north-west of **Pāṇḍhōṭ**. **Pānāchhi** is now called **Pānāl** and is situated at a distance of about 4 miles from **Pāṇḍhōṭ**. **Maṇḍaladraka** is **Māḍaldā** of the present day and is about 4 miles to the west of **Nāṭwārā**. **Nagna-tadga** (v. 48) is a tank called **Nāgdlātālva** and is to be seen at the foot of the temple of **Maṇḍalsvara** at **Pāṇḍhōṭ**. **Khalighaṭṭa** (v. 29) was evidently the name of a ford on the bank of the **Narmadā**. I am unable to identify the other localities mentioned in the inscription.

¹ For the meaning of this word see above, Vol. I, p. 196.

² Above, Vol. III, p. 46.

³ Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 297 f.

TEXT.¹

[Matres :—Vv. 1, 2 (1) and 52, *drpā*; vv. 3-6, 8, 11, 13-15, 23, 26, 29, 31, 32, 39 and 50, *Sāradāyavikrīṣita*; vv. 7 and 16, *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 9, 10, 12, 17, 18, 22 and 33, *Śreyahurd*; vv. 19, 20, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 34, 36, 37, 44-51, 53-59 and 61, *Aśvabhūṣā*; v. 21, *Mālinī*; v. 25, *Śālinī*; v. 38, *Upāśāli*; vv. 40-43, *Tōṣakā*.]

1 श्री श्री नमः शिवाय ॥

धृतगमनसिन्धुपटः शैलसुतायास्तमंजिकासुभगः । जयति जगत(ज)य-
मंडपमुल्लासो मञ्जुदेवः ॥११॥ जयति शिवो यस्तु[११] . . .
.[११]—[१२]—
—[१३]—

2

मांजकलया सद्यः प्रपद्यासते

वामः प्राप्य सुरा जगाम गरलघामादघोरः सुखं ।

ईशानेन समुद्रमंथनविधौ नेचोक्तः पद्मो—[१३११]—
—[१३११]—

3 तैश्चैर्मैत्र्यासलिताः पुनश्च दलितान्मूर्धेदुल्लेखांशुभिः । भूयः स्फारमुज्जग-
भोगश(ग)रलघामोन्निभिः संभृताः शंभोः पातु कठोरकंठ—
—[१३११]—
—[१३११]—

4

चेत्ते कुटुंब(वै) हरिः ।

मैत्र्याकर्ण्य(ज्ज)दयोः स्वसुखं यत्ते को नाय मे वर्तते मिथ्याचं
भवतः प्रियेत्वगमुताक्षिप्तो हरः पातु यः ॥११॥ शवाकर्ण्य(ज्ज)द-
—[१३११]—
—[१३११]—

5

तते श्रीमक्षिप्राप्रक्रमे

कंठाज्ज्यैः परमार इत्यभिधया दिव्यः सुमानुजितः ॥११॥ शालीह-
कंठमुदयकठोरवैरिणकंठास्त्रिर्दशनदंतुरखड्ग[भारः११]—
—[१३११]—

6

मये मञ्जुपनाथं मुह-

श्चंडीहामररावदवकुर्वांम दान्तादिते दुंदुभौ । धेनुः पोतुघटातुरंगम-

¹ Print as impression.² Expressed by a symbol. [It is preferable to read the symbol as addition.—Ed.]

- समूहसंघट्टाः सामन्ताः कटकाय — ७ ७ ७ — — — ७ —
 — ७ — [॥८॥^१] — — — ७ — — ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ — — ७ —
 — ७ नेवेर्वेतालेः सातुकामे-
 7 रनवि(धि)मततलास्तस्य बुद्धस्वनीयु ।
 दोहं डोचं डखट्टाहतकरटिघटाघोरकंकालकूलाः मद्यः कीनालनद्यः स्फुटित-
 नरगिरःपङ्क — — ७ — — [॥९॥^१] — — — ७ — — ७ ७ ७ ७ ७
 ७ — — ७ — — ७ — — [उद्य]द्दिहंठपोठस्फुटविगलदस्य-
 8 ऋसंयामरंगः ।
 राजा श्रीमन्महेश्वरः समन्तानि क्षतिनां वा(वां)धवो यस्य कीर्तिः
 कुंजे कुंजे गिरीणां प्रकटितपुलकं गीयते किन्नरोभिः [॥१०॥^१]
 — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ ७ ७ — — ७ — —
 — ७ [म]कातरेण मनसा वा(चं)वत्पणामंडलः ।
 9 क्षेम(ऽ)नंतरमेव सौख्यमतुलं तुष्ट्यामपयन्महो
 त्वंगतु(त्तं)गतु(तु)रंगनिधुरधुरचोदोदत्तैः पांसुभिः [॥११॥^१] सुंडा(गुण्डा)रा
 डाकिनीनां [॥॥] ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ — — ७ — —
 — — ७ — — [श]तकरटिघटाः सत्वरं जित्वरेण । मेन्या(ना)-
 10 दीयन्ता मूर्ध्नि स्फुरदसिसलिलं पातयित्वा रिमैव्ये
 गृह(घ)घीणां ररंघ(घुः) श्रुतवदलपसासीधवो घोह(घु)कंठाः [॥१२॥^१]
 रंभावा(वा)[॥॥] ७ — ७ — ७ ७ ७ — — ७ — —
 — ७ ७ — पराक्रमनिधिः श्रीसिंधुराजो रूपः । भिजे यस्य
 11 विमर्षिकुंजरघटासंघट्टहेलानम-
 शास्त्रीमंडलभारधारणपरिक्रमं(शं) भुजगिधरः [॥१३॥^१] कः स्थातुं क्षमते
 पराक्रमः — — — ७ — — ७ — — — ७ ७ — ७ —
 ७ ७ [ति]प्रोहामगर्वं यच्च ते दृष्यंतु क[बंध]नामरिप-
 12 वः श्री(श्री)यैप्रतिष्ठा
 दध्ने श्रीमुख एव यस्य यत्त(य)सा विवासितः कालिमा [॥१४॥^१]
 जाता वागसमंजसा भयव[वा]दुम् ७ — — ७ — — — ७ ७ —
 ७ — ७ ७ ७ — [य^१]वा गृहे यादुसं(य) । सु(शु)खा यद्ग-
 दंडपोडितधनुः
 13 दृक्कारमाराहतं
 नाढापाणिद्वयान्नतः परमभूदे(दे)क्षेय विदेविणां [॥१५॥^१] तन्मादजायत

सरोरुहपत्तनेषो विद्यानि[धिः] ॥ ११५ ॥ [११]
 --- ॥ ११५ ॥ [११] संज्ञकपाणदंडकापारकोर(म)कविदत्तभुजो नर-

14

दः ॥ ११५ ॥ [११]
 मय्यनुहामदप्योक्तकरटिघटामेदुरे यम्य सैव्ये मेदिन्यामजमायामसहम-
 रधुरा धर्तुमुधर्तुकामः । --- ॥ ११५ ॥ [११]
 --- ॥ ११५ ॥ [११] कर्षो मनीष्यवामिः समजनि निधवः(त.)
 पाणयेपत्तु

15

[११] यम्यनुहामदप्योक्तकरटिघटामेदुरे यम्य सैव्ये मेदिन्यामजमायामसहम-
 रधुरा धर्तुमुधर्तुकामः । --- ॥ ११५ ॥ [११]
 --- ॥ ११५ ॥ [११] कर्षो मनीष्यवामिः समजनि निधवः(त.)
 पाणयेपत्तु

16

[११] यम्यनुहामदप्योक्तकरटिघटामेदुरे यम्य सैव्ये मेदिन्यामजमायामसहम-
 रधुरा धर्तुमुधर्तुकामः । --- ॥ ११५ ॥ [११]
 --- ॥ ११५ ॥ [११] कर्षो मनीष्यवामिः समजनि निधवः(त.)
 पाणयेपत्तु

17

ति जय[मि]हः पार्विषी माय(ल)वानां ।
 चटुसतुरगवेनापांशुभिर्धः प्रयाणि कलुषयति चतुर्णामर्णवानां पयांवि
 ॥ ११६ ॥ [११] यडा(डा)हुः सो(शो)यवेमो ॥ ११६ ॥ [११]
 --- ॥ ११६ ॥ [११] यडा(डा)हुः सो(शो)यवेमो ॥ ११६ ॥ [११]
 --- ॥ ११६ ॥ [११] यडा(डा)हुः सो(शो)यवेमो ॥ ११६ ॥ [११]
 पुष्पवृक्षा । हिलाकटासिदंडाहतसु-

18

मटपटाकंधकंडा'स्त्रिकंड-
 प्रचीतदृक्धारामृतममरधराष्टवृत्त्यत्कवं(वं)धः ॥ ११७ ॥ [११] नाः कंडल-
 कपोलकैलिकवणवृत्त्यत्कटोर[दुमा] ॥ ११७ ॥ [११]
 --- ॥ ११७ ॥ [११] नाः कंडल-
 कपोलकैलिकवणवृत्त्यत्कटोर[दुमा] ॥ ११७ ॥ [११]
 दाम्म(च)कंति वि-

19

पञ्चवारणघटाः वंयामसोमाव्ययः ॥ ११८ ॥ [११]
 [११] यम्याजो यमजिह्वामं चडमालोक्त विविधः । चमतेप्यायुषः
 का ॥ ११८ ॥ [११] यम्याजो यमजिह्वामं चडमालोक्त विविधः । चमतेप्यायुषः

... [१*] [२*] चं प्रकीर्तयिषं सुष्टिमये
निवेदि(मि)ताः ॥२५॥

- 20 अवागो(सो)त्तरमारवं[प्र]विततो लब्धा(व्या)व्य[यः] पार्थिवो
नात्मा श्रीधनिको धनेश्व(श्व)र इव त्यागैककल्पद्रुमः । — — —
— — — — — निम्बे खकीरं वपुः ॥२६॥ श्रीमन्नाकालदेवस्य
निकटे विमपाङ्कः

- 21 रं ।
श्रीधनेश्वर इत्युचैः कीर्तनं यस्य राजते ॥२७॥ [१*] चक्षुनामामवे(व)-
त्त्व(त)त्वाद्वातसुसुमन्वावपुः । रणे
— — — — — [१२८*] — — — — —
— — — — — स्वया विख्यातः करवात्तघातदलितहिर्दुर्भिकुम्भश्लक्षः ।
यः श्री-

- 22 खोट्टि(हि)कदेवदत्तसमरः श्रीसीयकार्ये कृतो
रेवायाः क्षलिष[इ]तमनि तटे शुद्धा(डा) प्रतस्थे दिवं ॥२८॥
... [१*]
... [१२९*] आतः^१
कीर्त्तितरंगिणोस(पु)न(पु)कितपैलोक्यसीमांतरस्वागी

- 23 सत्यपराक्रमो [गुण*]मिधिः श्रीसत्त्वराजोभवत् ।
यः श्रीभोजनरदत्तविभवः साहं रणे गृह्णैरैः कृत्वा[सं] — — —
— — — — — [१३०*] — — — — —
— — — — — मास्यभागीरथीमेतः(तु) कीर्त्तिषु चाहमान-
महतां वंगीहवा लभ्यते । रा-

- 24 अयोः सज्जयेय येन सज्जयन्तीमन्वतिः क्षामिना
यस्याः स्वादुपमानसादिपुरुष(धा)पीत[स्व]नी देवकी ॥३२॥ तस्या —
— — — — —
— — — — — आतः श्री
निर्व(च)राजः प्रकटसुमटता(तः) सुष्टिषु प्र(म)च्छकस्यः [१*] क्षण्यन्ती-

- 25 भूरिदाता नयविनयमहापंडितस्तद्वरिष्ठः
स्त्रि(स्त्र)मै प्राप्तवृत्तित्वा क[लि]युगमधिपदेपिणो निर्दलित्वा ॥३३॥
भोगत्यागो यद्वी[त्वा] श्रीमन्ड-

^१ Correctly आतः. The first syllable is lengthened for the sake of the metre.

लोक इत्यस्य लघुभातामये(व)द्युः ॥३४(३०)* सु(शु)रस्त्वानी नमो
श्रीनी वि-

26

पथित्

कंदर्पाभिः कामिनीचित्तचौरः । मामंतानी सृष्टिं दत्तांजलिरेको
राजसुर्भीमंडले मंडलोकः ॥३४(३१)* अपि च ॥ भोज . . .
— — — — — [१*]
— — — — — ॥३५(३२)* येना-
दाय रणे कर्तुं दंडाधीमं(शं) महाव(ध)ले । अपि च जयसिंहाय
सा[लं]

27

मजसमन्वि(तं) ॥३५(३३)

[१*] जयत्वसी श्रीपरमारवंशी यत्र प्रभुः श्रीजयसिंहदेवः । जातः
प्रसा(शा)खानु च यस्य तुंगसामंतपुत्र्य — — — — — [॥३७(३८)
॥३] — — — — —
भक्त्याकार्यत भंदिनं अररिपोस्तत्प्रांशुलाखेटके । वसोत्तु(त्तु)मधिरः-

28

प्रदेशनिहितैर्दोषोक्तवे दोषको-

ईत्ते कल्लममंजयति नयनान्वादायसिद्धिभियः ॥३८(३९)* तुल-
सुष्टिमुपाहृतवानपि यः । — — — — — [१*]
— — — — — भुवि सोप्यवतोर्य भवेद्वपतिः
॥३९(४०)* शरदारुसुदालयमोशकते

29

कुर्वतेत्यध[नी] दिनमेकमपि । दिवि सर्वमजसमुपास्य सि(शि)वं
पुनरव महीपततः प्रभवेत् ॥४०(४१)* इ(वु)दाम — — — — —
— — — — — [१*] — — — — —
कामयतेपि महेन्द्रपटंसुरनाथमपि क्तलयेदचिरात् ॥४१(४२)*

30

यदि पक्षमहेष्टकया तहभिर्भरसारश(श)लाघटितैर्वैद्येत् । निखिला-
मस्ते(ये)शरघटनया निविमे(ये)रिवि घटपदां(वु)कः ॥४२(४३)*
— — — — — विधाणजे ।
घासादमय सालेयं शिव एव करोति यः ॥४३(४४)*

31

राजा सो(चो)कवसिंहिन पक्षे देवाय भक्तिः ।

इवमं प्रति भोगार्थं सालं पिमो(यो)पको दत्तः ॥४४(४५)*

- पांसुलाखितके स्नाने कच्छीक . . . [1*]
 द्वितीयस्तु दत्तः शंभोः स्वभक्तिना(?) ॥४५(४६)॥ [1*] वंदनाख्ये(?) रघवे च
 भूमि(ने)-
- 32 भूमिद्वयं तथा ।
 दत्तं श्रीमंडलीकेन स्वश्रेया(य)य(से) महेम(श)तः ॥४६(४७)॥ [1*]
 पुष्टे नमनतडागस्य वरुणेश्व(श)यांश्चैव च । वाटिका सुभगा दत्ता-
 ॥४७(४८)॥ [1*] पवादितः
 कृत्वा यावच्छंदिवाकरौ । भूमिदत्ता मकेदारा बुध्वा(बुद्धा)
- 33 मांसारिकं फलं ॥४८(४९)॥ [1*]
 नडापाटकयामे भूरन्धा देवलपाटके । भीमपुरे च पानाश्यामपरा
 मंडलद्वये ॥४९(५०)॥ [1*] एवमेतेषु शा(मिषु*)
 [म*] चिता । भूमिः श्रीमंडलीकेन दत्ता श्रीमंडलेखरे ॥५०(५१)॥ [1*]
 एतच्च पु-
- 34 रं ललनानुपुरभंकारमुखरिताभोगं ।
 भोगनिमित्तं शंभोर्दत्तं श्रीमंडलीकेन ॥५१(५२)॥ [1*] पुरेच मत्तद्व्यस्य
 भूरघटादिकस्य च [1*] म शः
 प्रकल्पितः ॥५२(५३)॥ [1*] तपस्वो(स्वो) व्र(त्र)ह्मचारि(री) य(यः) [य] चि-
 दांता(तो) जितेदि-
- 35 यः ।
 तैनाच त(न)विः(तिः) कर्त्तव्या शारिकैः सह सर्वदा ॥५३(५४)॥ [1*]
 भरतो धुंधुमारच कालंवीर्यो शिविवं(व)लिः । हरिश्चंद्र(चंद्र)स्तु
 मांधाता नक्षी धेणुर्नपाद(यः) ॥५४(५५)॥ [1*]
 जानः(ताः) धरपूरिताः । तं प्यायुषि परिशीलि म(तः)
 कृता(कर्त्ता)तिकं पुरं ॥५५(५६)॥ [1*]
- 36 मत्तै[न*]दस्त्रिं सर्वं राज्यमायुधं नृपैः ।
 न क्षीर्यं सि(मि)यसंबंधि वस्तु श्लोकं(कम)पि यद्वेत् ॥५६(५७)॥ [1*] यतः
 [1*] भवद्यानाज्यमज्ञा(ज्ञ)नाद्यस्त्रितं करजोद(रे) [1*]
 हरिद्विपः ॥५७(५८)॥ [1*] विमि(मि)प्रतः ।
 यश्चदंसे(शे)व — — विषये भो-
- 37 ताव यो भवेत् ।
 तस्याश्याभिः कृताश्वर्चा (र्चा) सि(मि)वदनं न सालयेत् ॥५८(५९)॥ [1*] अस्ति
 प्रत्यवनीम(श)चक्रमुकुटस्यष्टाङ्गिपीठत्रियः । श्रीकोटद्वय[भं]
 — — — — — [1*] [ते*]नेयं स्फुटवर्णपा-
 कपटिमशौढेः पदाङ्ग(व(व)रः) मंडहा सुभ-

38

[स:]प्रबो(बो)धजननो संभो: प्रमन्त्रिगृहे ॥६०॥

यावदाद्रो कला संभोर्द्योतते कुटुम्बे । कीर्तिः श्रीमंडलोल्लस तावद-

स्त्वयया भुवि ॥६०'६१'॥ संवत् विक्रम- १११६ . . .

[वा]सभ्यकायस्त्वयोधरमुतासराजेनेयमुत्कीरिता(कली?) [स(स)डा] ॥

B.—ARTHUNA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VIJAYARAJA: VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 1166.

This record was found at Arthūnā in the Bānswāra state in Rājputāna¹ and is now preserved in the Rājputāna Museum, Ajmer. It consists of thirty-one lines of writing, covering a space of 1' 7½" × 1'. Excepting a few letters, the inscription is well preserved.

The characters are Nāgarī of a type which was common in Rājputāna during the period to which the record belongs. The average size of the letters is about ½". The letter *ś* is differently written in lines 15 and 21.

The language is Sanskrit throughout. With the exception of a few words at the beginning of l. 1 and at the end of verses 25, 26 and 30, the record is written in verse.

In respect of orthography it may be noted that *v* is used for *h* in *vaśatā* (l. 2), *vaśā* (l. 12), etc.; *n* for *ṇ* in *nirvanita* (l. 7); *s* for *ś* in *sāsana* (l. 15), *sāgara* (l. 19), etc. and *ś* for *s* in *śalāhā* (l. 30). Consonants with a superscript *r* are doubled in *-pūr-aviddhāna-* (l. 2), *sarva-āyurvachā* (l. 7), etc. *Anusvara* is used for nasals in *Mandallika* (l. 2), *-chakāchārīka* (l. 16), etc. Rules of *sandhi* have been frequently violated. *Jāṇāmālīga* has been used in lines 29 and 30.

The subject of the inscription is the foundation of a Jaina temple and the consecration of the image of Vṛishabhānātha at the town of Uththāpaka during the reign of Vijayarāja, the Paramāra ruler of Vāpāra. After paying homage to Vīṭaniga in verse 1, the inscription records in verse 2 that Mandallika of the Paramāra lineage killed the general Kanha and Sindhurāja. It then speaks of Mandallika's son Chāmundarāja as having destroyed the army of the lord of Avanti in the Sthall country. Verse 3 speaks of his son Vijayarāja, who was a brave and famous ruler and a conqueror of his foes. The inscription then turns to the description of the Jaina family one of whose descendants caused the temple of Vṛishabhānātha to be built. Verses 4-6 inform us that in the territory of Vijayarāja there was a town called Talapāṭaka, the residence of Ambaja, a learned Jaina physician and jewel of the Nāgara family. His son was Pāpaka, who knew the whole of Ayurvāda (vv. 7). He had three sons, Alāka, Sāhasa and Lalāka (v. 8). Alāka was benevolent, well-versed in history and a pupil of Chhatrasena of the Mādhava family (vv. 9-11). He had three sons by his wife Hālā. The eldest was Pāhuka who was well-versed in Sāstras and who became a recluse (vv. 12-14). His younger brother was Bhūshana, a pious Jaina whose glories are described in verses 15-19. He had two wives, Lakshmi and Sūl. By the latter he had three sons, Alāka, Sādhara and Śāntimukhya. It was Bhūshana who re-established this Jaina temple (vv. 20-22). His younger brother was Lalāka. His elder brother Pāhuka had a son named Ambaja by his wife Sūlā (vv. 23-24). Verses 25-26 and the prose line between them inform us that an image of Vṛishabhānātha was established by Bhūshana in the town of Uththāpaka in the year 1166 of the Vikrama era, while Vijayarāja was reigning in the province of Sthall and that the image was consecrated on Monday, the 3rd day of the bright

¹ F. R. S. & E. W. C., 1906-07, p. 49.

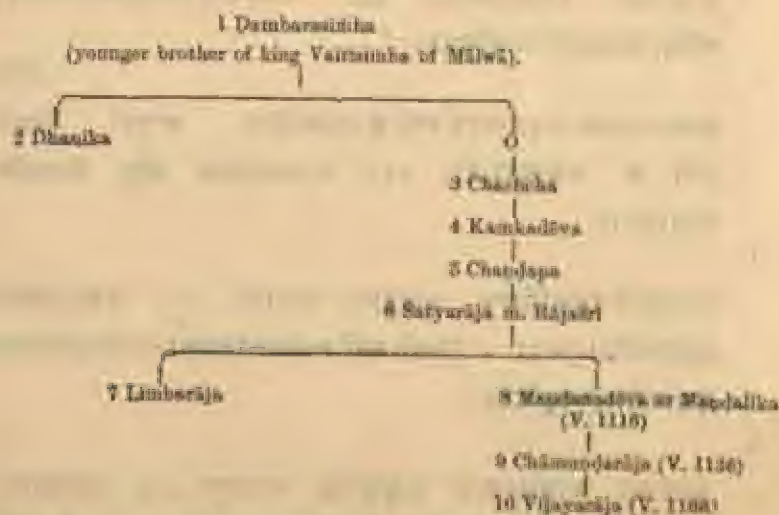
half of *Vaiśākha* of the same year which regularly corresponds to Monday, the 5th April, 1109 A.D. The next two verses inform us that 16 verses from the fourth as well as the first verse were composed by the learned *Kajuka* while the rest was the work of *Bhātuka*, son of the Brahman *Sāvaḍa* who was the son of *Bhātilla* of the *Valha* family. The *prabasti* was written by the *Sāndhivigrahika* *Vāmana*, son of *Kāyaśtha Rājapāla* of the *Vālabha* family (v. 29). The inscription was engraved by the *vijāñāṣika* *Stamāka*. The *prabasti* practically ends with line 26. The next five lines, which seem to have been added later, are herein styled *śloka-śaṅkhana*.¹

As regards the **personages** mentioned in the inscription, much is already known about *Maṇḍalika* and *Chāmunḍarāja* from other inscriptions. The inscription A says that *Maṇḍalika* took general *Kaśha* prisoner and handed him over to king *Jayasinhadēva*, whereas in the inscription B he is said to have killed him. Again, in the *Arthūgā* inscription of V. 1136,² *Chāmunḍarāja*, son of *Maṇḍanadēva*, is said to have overcome *Sindhurāja*, whereas in the present record *Maṇḍalika* is said to have killed him which would be impossible unless the two *Sindhurājas* were different persons, or the word '*Sindhurāja*' was used in the general sense of 'a ruler of *Sindhu*'. Thus the facts mentioned in inscription A and the *Arthūgā* inscription of V. 1136 do not agree with those found in the present record.³ The former inscriptions are earlier and, perhaps, more reliable than the present record.

Vijayarāja, in whose time this inscription was written, was the last known ruler of the *Vāgaḍa* branch. No trace has yet been found of his successors. It is known, however, that *Vāgaḍa*, after a few decades, went under the control of the *Guhila* king *Sāmantasinha* of *Mewār*, who established a kingdom there in about V. 1236 (A.D. 1179) and thus became the founder of the present State of *Dungarpur* in *Rājputāna*.⁴

As to the **places** mentioned in the inscription, *Uthānuka* is the modern *Arthūgā* which is about 28 miles south-west of *Bānswāra*. *Talapātaka* is now a village called *Talavādā* lying about 12 miles to the south of *Bānswāra*.

The genealogy of the *Paramāras* of *Vāgaḍa* according to the inscriptions now available would stand thus :—



¹ [This, I understand from *Maṇi Paryavajjaya* of *Pāṭan*, is some small *śloka-śaṅkhana*—Ed.]

² Above, Vol. XIV. pp. 297 ff.

³ See Dr. Barnett's remarks in the last para. on page 296 of *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIV—Ed.

⁴ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. LIII. pp. 161 f.

TEXT.¹

[Metres:—Vv. 1, 13 and 14, *Mālinī*; vv. 2, 5, 6, 22 and 30, *Sārdūlanīṣṭhā*; vv. 3, 25, 26, 31, 32 and 33, *Aryā*; vv. 4, 11 and 17, *Paśantatīlakā*; v. 7, *Śṛṅgāharā*; vv. 8, 20, 23, 24, 27-29 and 34-38, *Janakābh*; vv. 9 and 10, *Mandākrāntā*; vv. 12 and 21, *Uṣṇādravajrā*; vv. 15, 16 and 39, *Sikharipī*; v. 18, *Prithvī*; v. 19, *Harī*.]

1 श्रीं ॥ श्रीं जमो धोतरागाय ॥

म जयतु जिनभातुर्मध्यराजोवराजो जनित्रवरविकाशो दत्तलोकाप्रकाशः ।

परममयतमोभिर्न स्थितं यत्परस्ताच्चणमपि चपलामहादिखद्योतकैश्च ॥१॥

2 श्रीमोच्छीपरमारवंशजनितः श्रीमंडलोकाभिधः कन्दस्य ध्वजिनोपतेर्विधनकच्छी-
सिंधुराजस्य च । जज्ञे कीर्तिलतालवानक इतस्सामुद्राजो नृपो धोवंति-
प्रभुसाधनानि व(बो)हुयो हंति च

3 देवो स्यलो(जाम्) ॥२॥

श्रीविजयराजना[मा] तस्य सुती जयति जयति विततवशाः । सुभगो
जितारवर्गो गुणरत्नपयोनिधिः शूरः ॥३॥ देवोऽस्य पत्नवरं तत्पटाटकाणां
पञ्चाङ्गनाजनिजिता-

4 मरसुंदरोकम् ।

अस्ति प्रथमस्तुरमंदिरवेजयन्तीविस्तारवृत्तदिननावकरप्र[वा]रं ॥४॥ तस्मिन्नाग-
रवंशशेखरमणिनिःशेषशास्त्राभ्यु(स्त्र)धिर्जनेद्रागमवासनारसमुधाविवास्त्रिम[ज्जो]भवत् ।

5 श्रीमानव(व)टसंज्ञकः कलिव(व)हिर्भूतो भिवपा(ग्वा)मणौगौर्हस्येपि निर्वचिता-
प(प्र)मरो दिगम्बतालङ्कृतः ॥५॥ यस्यावश्यककर्मनिष्ठितमते[नि]ष्टा वनातिभव-
चंतिवासिनदाहिताञ्जलिपुटा-²

6 श्रीराः कृतोपासनाः ।

यस्यानन्त्यसमानदर्शनगुणैरन्त[व]मत्कारिता शश्वपा विदधे सुतेव नततं
देवो च चक्रेश्वरा(री) ॥६॥ पापाकस्तस्य सुतुः समजनि जनितानिकमव्य-
प्रपो(मो)दः

7 यादुर्म-

तप्रभूतप्रविमलधिषणः पारदृष्टा नृतानां [1³] अर्वायुर्वेदेयो विहितसंकल-
वृत्तल्लोकातुर्जपो ।⁴ निर्वो(श्वी)ताशिवदोषप्रकृतिरपगदस्तत्पतोकरमारः ॥७॥ तस्य
पुत्राख्योभूषणभूरिमा-

8 सविगारदाः ।

पालाकः पात्रसाख्यश्च सङ्गकाख्यः परोत्तमः ॥८॥ यस्तथायः सत्तजविमदप्रज्ञया
भासमानः श्रुतादर्शस्फुरितसकलैतिष्ठतत्त्वार्थसारः । संवेगादिस्कूटतरगुणव्य-

¹ From the original inscription.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ The strokes are redundant.

⁴ Danda unnecessary.

[illegible]

- 18 इमं पावय[त्] दुदतारि च
स्त्रिमतिमहास्त्राणा नीती विभूतिविरेः शिरः ॥१८॥ हे भार्ये भूषणस्य स्तः
लक्ष्मीशीलीति विद्युते । पतिव्रतत्वमंयुते कारिचगुणभूषिते ॥२०॥ [१९] स [श्री]-
19 लिकायामुदपादि पुवास्त्रासामयोप्याग्मुदवभक्तः ।
यलोकसाधारणशान्तिमु[स्या]म्बवधु[वभु]चित्तान[ज]विकाशभानून् ॥२१॥ आयुस्त-
ममशोधमारनिहितश्लोकांशु[वभु]वयस्त्र[श]रं
20 संचित्य द्विपक्षवर्षवत्तरां लक्ष्म्या च दृष्टा स्थितिं । ज्ञात्वा शास्त्रसुनिषया-
त्स्त्रिरतरे नूनं ॐ — — ॐ सी तेनाकारि मनोहरं जिनयुद्धं भुमेरिदं
भूषणं[वभु] ॥२२॥ भूषणस्य ज-
21 निहो[ष्टः] शीलहाक इति विद्युतः ।
देवपूजापरी निर्व्यं भ्रातुरादेशकस्तदा ॥२३॥ ज्योहो[ष्टः] पादुकायामा यः सोड-
कायामजो जगत् । शुभलक्षणसंयुक्तं पुत्रमम्ब[वभु]टसंज्ञकं[जग] २४[१९]
22 वर्षसहस्रे याते षट्कृत्तरगतेन संयुक्ते ।
पिङ्गमभानोः काले स्वस्ति[लो]विषयमवति सति विजयराजे ॥२५॥ पिङ्गम-
संवत् ११६६ वैशाख सु[शु]दि ३ मासे वृषभनाथस्य प्रतिष्ठा ॥
23 श्रीवृषभनाथनाथः प्रति[ष्ठितं] भूषणेन विव[विम्ब]मिदं ।
उत्पूषकनगरं चिचिच जगतो[त्वा] वृषभनाथस्य ॥२६॥ युगलं १०॥ तुर्यवृत्ता
कमारम्ब वृत्तात्वे[न्ने]तानि बोद्धव्यं । आयुवृत्ते-
24 न युक्तानि कृतवान्कटुको तु[तु]धः ॥२७॥
भाद्रपदे वृषभसं[शे]भूषणः श्रीसावडी द्विजः । तन्मूर्तोर्भाटुकस्थेयं निःशेषाया-
धरा कृतिः ॥२८॥ वालम्बान्वयकायस्तराजपालस्य
25 कृशुना ।
संधिविषयसंस्थेन लिखिता वाम[ने]न वै ॥२९॥ यावद्वावराभयोः सुतरितं
भूमौ जनैर्मीयते ।^१ यावद्विष्णुपदी जलं प्रवहति व्योम्नस्ति वावच्छगो । यच्च-
26 दृक्कविनिर्मितं यवचकैः यावत्सु[वभु]तं पण्डिते तावत्कीर्ति-
रियं चिराय जयताळस्तुयमाना[ना] जनैः ॥३०॥ उत्कोष्ठा विद्यानिकसुमा-
केन ॥ मंगलं महाश्रीः ॥
27 श्री ॥ लक्ष्मीनिवासनिलयं विनोदकिल[कलु]पं निधाय इति शीरं ।
आत्मातुशाश[स]नमहं य[स्ते] जायकृष्णानां^२ [१]॥११॥ [२१] दुःखादि[वि]भेदि नितराम-
भिवांश्चसि सुखमतो ह्रमध्यामन् । दुःखापहारि सुख-

^१ *It is unnecessary.*^२ *Perhaps we have to read श्रीचाय विष्णु[१]—Ed.*

28. कारमनुसा(शा)स्मि त[वा]नुम[त]मेव ॥२(२२)॥
यद्यपि कदाचिदास्मिन्निपाकमधुरं तदात्वकटु किञ्चित् । त्वं तस्मात्मा भैषो-
र्येषातुरो भैषसादुषात् ॥३(२३)॥ जना जनाश्च वाचानाः सुलभाः सुहृदो-
हिताः । दुर्ग-
29. मा अंतरादास्ते जगदम(स)विहीधेवः ॥४(२४)॥
परायत्तास्तुष्टादुःखं स्वायत्तं केवलं वरं । यन्मया सुखिनामानुभवमा[र्त्ता]
स्तपस्विनः ॥५(२५)॥ उपायकोटिदूरचे अतस्तत इतोन्वतः । सर्वतः
पतनप्राये
30. काये कीयं तवाय जः ॥६(२६)॥
यवस्थं(श्च) नस्त्र(श्च)रैरभिराहुःकायादिभिर्यदि । सास्त्र(शास्त्र)तं पदमायाति
सुवायातमवेदि ते ॥७(२७)॥ गंतुमुच्छासनिष्ठासैरभ्यस्यलेष संततं । लोकाः
प्रवर्तितो^१ वाङ्मत्वाभा-
31. [नमज^२]रामर ॥८(२८)॥
गन्तव्याहुः प्रायः प्रकटितचटोयंचम(स)लिनं खनुः(क्त) कायोप्याहुः सतिमभिपतलेष
भ्रमत् । किमस्य(प्य)न्वैरन्वैदयमयमिदं ज्योषितमिह स्थिती भांत्वानाविष्ट(?)
मिव मनुजे आसु मरणं(णम्)^३ [१^४] ८(२८) [१^५]

No. 10.—MATHURA BRAHMI INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 28.

By S. K. K. K.

In a field opposite the Chaurāsī Jaina temple in Mathurā, 200 yards due south of the Govardhan Road, is a well called Lāl Kūvā. Some eight or nine years ago a pillar of red Mathurā sandstone was found here, and left on the surface till it was deposited in the Mathurā Museum, as No. 1119, on the 13th June, 1929, at the instance of the late Pandit Radhakrishna.

The pillar is 6' 7" high and 11·3" broad at the bottom. Up to a height of 2' 7" it is square, above that, octangular.

The pillar bears an inscription, 14" high and 11" broad, consisting of thirteen lines. The height of individual letters varies between $\frac{1}{2}$ " and 1". The beginning of ll. 12-13 has peeled off. In other respects the inscription is in a perfect state of preservation.*

The characters are Brāhmī of the Kuṣāṇa type. In l. 1, after the word *siddha*, we find the crescent-like stroke with a bar in the middle, which occurs in two other Brāhmī records in the same position. Bühler† explained it as a stop, of the same kind as the crescent used after

* Read वाङ्मत्वाभा.

* मरण is written on the left hand margin with the sign of *idāya-pada* before it.

† After my manuscript was sent to press, the inscription was published by Mr. Jayaswal, *J.B.O.S.* 2, XVIII, pp. 4 & 5, and noticed by Mr. Hari Krishna Deb, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, VIII, pp. 117 & 5. These papers have not brought me to modify my views.

† *Indian Palaeography*, I 38, C. 5.

the first edicts in the Kāśī version of Aśoka's inscriptions. It is, however, possible that it is used to denote final *m*.

Of numerical symbols we find those for 1, 3, 5, 8, 20, 50 and 100.

The characters are well cut, but the shape of individual akṣaras is not always quite the same. Thus the long *ā* is sometimes straight, and sometimes curved: cf. *anādhānā*, l. 8, where we find both forms used side by side. In *ā*, ll. 2 and 4, it is placed about the middle of the bar, in *ā*, l. 6, at the bottom. The *u-mātrā*, which also stands for *ū*, is a straight downward stroke after *u* (l. 4), *p* (ll. 1, 2, 4, 8, 9-13), *tv* (l. 6) and *k* (l. 10); an upward slope after *i* (ll. 3, 4) and *ś* (l. 4); a downward slope after *ś* (l. 7) and *r* (l. 2), and a forward stroke after *t* (l. 11). *R* is straight in ll. 1, 6, 7, 12, while the bottom is curved to the left in ll. 2, 3, 5, 12, 13. The central bar of *ga* in *dhāriya*, l. 5, is bent to the left, so that the letter looks like a *ye*. The object was perhaps to avoid its running into the subscript *ya* standing above it.

There are some cases of carelessness. The *anumāna* is frequently omitted: cf. *vidhā*, l. 1, if we should not read *vidhāna*; *puṇya*, ll. 9, 11, and several plural genitives. Short vowel is written for a long one in *śivī*, l. 3; *nivī*, l. 11; *yachatra* for *yachchātra*, l. 9; *putra* side by side with *putiā*, l. 3; *pāṇādhāna*, l. 9, etc. Other mistakes are *lud* for *ludh*, l. 3; *bahubāhāna* for *bahubāhāna* *pipāṇādhāna*, l. 9; *anādhāna* for *anādhāna*, l. 8; *anādhāna* for *anādhāna*, l. 11; *viārga* before *t*, l. 10, etc.

Some of these inconsistencies and mistakes are due to the fact that the writer attempted to write Sanskrit, but was not able to do so correctly. The language is the mixed dialect, though the Sanskrit element is exceptionally strong. Thus the *ri*-vowel occurs in *viddhā*, l. 3; *krīdā*, l. 8. The form *lāriya* for *lāriya*, l. 7, may be of interest, because the origin of this word, which makes its first appearance in the *Aśokaśāstra-Sūtras* and the *Cāṇakya-Upaniṣad*, is not known. It is, however, not probable that the *ri* is anything else than a misunderstood Sanskritization. The three *s*-sounds are distinguished as in Sanskrit. The word *śā*, l. 7, seems to be certain, but I cannot explain it. *R*-compounds such as *pr*, *br* and *tr* are preserved throughout, and the *ts* in *sonnāśā*, l. 1, is also in accordance with Sanskrit phonetics. Similar cases are, however, well known from other inscriptions in the mixed dialect and from the North-Western Prakrit. Forms such as *brāhmiya*, l. 5, *yachatra*, i.e., *yachchātra*, l. 9, *priya*, *yachh*, *śā*, l. 10, are Sanskrit.

There are, however, numerous **Prakritisms**. Compare *puṇya*, l. 7; *śāpā*, l. 10; *śādhā*, l. 6; *śādhāya*, l. 10; *śādhā*, l. 6; *prabāṇya*, l. 11; the frequent shortening of the termination of the genitive plural; pronominal forms such as *ya* for *ya*, l. 1; *ya* for *ya*, l. 9; *ya* for *ya*, l. 8; *ya* for *ya*, ll. 3, 11; *dhāriya*, l. 6; *chātrā* for *chātrā*, l. 4, etc.

The record is dated on the first day of Gaurpiya in the year 23, and we learn from ll. 9f. that the Dēvaputra Shāhi Ruvishka was then on the throne.

Gaurpiya is the Macedonian month *Gorpiaios*, corresponding to the Indian *Pṛatibhāda*, and this is the only known example of the use of a Macedonian month in a Brāhmi inscription. We have, on the whole, no other example of the use of the Macedonian calendar in Mathurā, and it is *a priori* likely that the person at whose request the inscription was drawn up was a foreigner, from a country where that calendar was known and used, i.e., that he came from the North-West. This inference is also borne out by other considerations, as we shall see below.

The Hidda inscription is dated in the same year as our record, viz., on the 10th Apellaios 23. According to Dr. van Wijk's calculations the corresponding Christian date is the 24th November 155 A.D., and that of our record, the 19th August 156 A.D.

As set out in the introduction to my edition of Indian Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, Part I, this dating is based on the assumption that the epoch of the era used in these inscriptions is the year 128-9 A.D., and I am still convinced, that it cannot be put earlier, but may be later. The common opinion among scholars in India and Europe is, however, apparently that we must refer them to the historical Śaka era.¹

This theory is not based on any indication in Indian sources, but simply on the assumptions that the founder of the era was a Śaka, and that this Śaka must have been Kanishka, the most famous of the Kushāṇa rulers of India.

I have no doubt that the former assertion is correct. Dr. Fleet's remarks about this point are unanswerable. The only question is about the individuality of this ruler. I fail to see how it is possible to get away from Dr. Fleet's remark that the Śaka era is emphatically a southern reckoning.² It must have been instituted in commemoration of an event which was of importance in the history of Southern India, but was of no consequence for the development of Northern India. Else it would be difficult to account for the fact that it has not with certainty been traced in northern inscriptions before the year A.D. 862.

As I have stated in the introduction to the *Corpus*, Vol. II, Part I, we have a tradition about its introduction in the *Kālakāchāryakathānaka*, to the effect that it was introduced by a Śaka ruler who repeated an older Śaka conquest of Mālava, and uprooted the dynasty of Vikramāditya, the ruler who had, in his turn, overthrown the earlier Śaka conquerors. It is expressly stated that the narrative is an incident, introduced in order to explain the origin of the Śaka era: *ayam pūṇanigāṇaḥ samāśāhṛtaḥ Saṃvatsarapārijāyathānāḥ*. It is evident, therefore, that the author of the text knew a tradition about a Śaka ruler, who effected a reconquest of that part of India, and that this second Śaka conquest was commemorated through the introduction of the historical Śaka era, to replace the reckoning introduced by Vikramāditya.³ And we know from Chinese sources that a similar tradition about a reconquest was known at a much earlier date. For the *Hou Han-shu* states that Yen Kao-ch'en, i.e., Wima Kadphises, again extinguished T'ien-chu or Shen-tu, and, according to Professor Karlgren, the Chinese word for again cannot be twisted to mean anything else than again, afresh. Now Yen Kao-ch'en's predecessor, K'in-tsin-k'io, i.e., Kuṣāṇa Kadphises, did not conquer T'ien-chu, and the word again must therefore bear reference to an earlier conquest by kindred tribes. The author of the *Hou Han-shu* had heard about this earlier conquest, and introduced a reference to it, perhaps without noticing that some confusion was, in this way, introduced into the narrative.

It is, I think, unavoidable to draw the inference that two 'Śaka' conquests of T'ien-chu were believed to have taken place at the time when the *Hou Han-shu* was compiled, i.e., in the fifth century A.D. And the author states that his narrative is based on the reports of Pan-yung towards the end of the rule of the emperor An-ti (107-125 A.D.). In other words, the story about the two conquests was known in the first half of the second century A.D., and it has evidently been the same tale which was handed down in India and made use of by the author of the *Kālakāchāryakathānaka*.

The only old traditional account of the introduction of the Śaka era which we possess seems, accordingly, to indicate that it was due to Wima Kadphises. It is not necessary to assume

¹ Cf. especially Professor Rapson, *J. E. A. S.*, 1920, pp. 196 ff.

² *J. E. A. S.*, 1913, pp. 267 ff.

³ In face of the facts drawn attention to by the late Haraprasad Shastri, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 320, I do not understand Professor Rapson's remark that Dr. Fleet has proved that "later research, however, has shown that there was no such King Vikramāditya, and that that story is nothing but a myth, dating from the ninth or tenth century A. D."

that he effected the reconquest in person. That may have been done by one of his governors or generals, e.g., by Sahapāna. And subsequently the Saka rulers of those reconquered districts began to date their records from this reconquest, through which their rule had been established.

There are also other considerations which speak against ascribing the introduction of the historical Saka era to Kanishka. It is hardly possible to deny the justice of the remark made by M. Sylvain Lévi¹ about the defeat of the Yue-shi Shüi by Pan-ch'ao and about the Yue-shi ruler paying tribute to China in A.D. 90, that 'it was not Kanishka, at the apogee of his reign and power, who consented to such a humiliation'.

So far as I can see, weighty reasons speak against the theory that Kanishka's era was the historical Saka era. It cannot be proved simply by being repeated, without any real reasons.² We cannot definitely settle the question about its epoch, but we can confidently state that it was not A.D. 78.

Traditional tales, corroborated by epigraphical evidence, lead to the conclusion that Kanishka added a large territory in Northern India to the Scythian Empire, and it is not to be wondered at that his era was introduced everywhere in the north, though an old Saka era still lingered on in the North-West, and even seems to have been occasionally used in Mathurā.³

Our inscription brings an addition to our knowledge about the chronology of his successors, in so far as it reduces the interval between Vāsishka and Huvishka to some few months. The latest recorded date of Vāsishka is some day in the third month of Hōmanta, i.e., of Pausa, in the year 28, and our record shows that Huvishka was on the throne less than eight months afterwards. He is designated as *dēvaputra Śākā*, and the imperial title is not applied to him in any record before the year 41. It is therefore possible that another Kushāna was the real suzerain at the centre of Kushāna power, in Badakshān. But it is evident that the person at whose request our record was drawn up in Mathurā owed allegiance to Huvishka.

The purpose of the inscription is to record the endowment of a *peyyasālā*, a hall for acquiring merit through distribution of alms, with an *akāṅga-sālā*, i.e., a permanent endowment, wherewith the capital could not be touched. On behalf of the donor, about whom I shall make some remarks below, two *śrēṇī* or guilds were entrusted with the management of 550 *paripās* each. The name of the first *śrēṇī* is written in the part of the stone which has been broken off, and I can only read the last two *akāṅgas sālā*. The second was the *amūṭakara-droṇī*, i.e., probably the makers of *amūṭā*, wheat-flour.

Out of the interest realised from month to month the expenses are to be covered for serving hundred Brāhmanas in the hall, and for daily keeping some provisions at the door for the benefit of hungry and thirsty indigent people, and distributing them on the same day (*aspeṇḍa* to be synonymous with *asṭya*), viz., 3 *śphaka* of groats, one *prastha* salt, one *prastha* *śaka*, 3 *ghaṭaka* and five *maṭṭaka* *horvā-kāṭṭaka*. The reading *sakura*, i.e., *śakā*, is uncertain, the *śakara* also being apparently identical with *śr* in *śrīṣṭa*, i. e. The meaning of the word *śaka* is, as already remarked, unknown to me. *Horvā-kāṭṭaka* must be bundled fresh vegetables. The measures *śphaka* and *prastha* are known, the latter being a fourth of the former. I do not know anything about the size of the *ghaṭaka*, jar, and *maṭṭaka*, bowl.

The *peyyasālā* is characterised as *prāchīnī*, i.e., evidently 'eastern,' perhaps in order to distinguish it from another, western, hall. It is further said to be *chaturā*, i.e., *chaturā*, opening towards the four quarters.

¹ J. A. IX, ix, 1897, p. 26, *Journ. Asiat.*, XXXII, 1903, p. 422.

² Cf. the Kanakli inscription of the year 290, if this is a genuine record.

The principal donor is designated *Kanasarukamānuputra Kharāśādeyaṇapati Vakanapati*.

The first term may be compared with *Kushāpaśāputra* in a Brāhmī inscription on the pedestal of a statue found by Pandit Radhakrishna at Māṭ near Mathurā and described by Professor Vogel.¹ Mr. Jayaswal² has explained this word as 'son of Kushāpa', taking Kushāpa to be the name of Wima Kadphises' father, whom he identifies with the *Maharaja Gushapa* of the Panjtar and the *Maharaja Rajatiraja Kushapa* of the Taxila silver-scroll inscriptions. He finds the same name in the *Kuei-shuang-wang* of the Chinese *Han Annals*, which is said to mean, "according to the established Chinese system," 'King Kuei-shuang,' i.e., 'King Kushan', and in the last word of the coin-legend *shaonana shao Kanashka Kushano*,³ where *Kushano* is explained as *Kanashka* meaning 'descendant of Kushāpa.' I am afraid that these statements cannot well be upheld.

To judge from estampages which I owe to the kind assistance of the Government Epigraphist the beginning of the Māṭ inscription is *Mahāśāyā Rājātirajā dēvaputrō Kushāpaśāputraśc shāhi Vamata* *kishunāya*, essentially as read by Professor Vogel, i.e., a string of titles in the nominative, followed by a name in the genitive, a feature which is well known from other sources.⁴ Here *Kushāpaśāputra* follows after *dēvaputra*, i.e., 'a god's son,' and not 'God's son,' and similarly *Kushāpaśāputra* might mean 'a Kushāpas' son,' 'a Kushāpa scion'. At all events the inscription does not in any way prove the existence of a personal name *Kushāpa*.

I am not in a position to form an opinion about Chinese grammar. But Sinologists have not apparently thought of translating *Kuei-shuang-wang* as 'King Kuei-shuang,' no more than of rendering *Sai-wang* as 'King Sai.' The *Ts'ien Han-shu* says about Tu-hsi that there were five principalities: Hsi-mi, Shuang-mi, Kuei-shuang, Hi-tun and Kao-fu, each under one *li-hui*. The *Hou Han-shu* states that the Yü-chi divided the country into five principalities, giving the same names, only correcting Kao-fu to Tu-mi. It further relates how K'ing-tzu-k'ie, the *li-hui* of Kuei-shuang, attacked the other *li-hui* and styled himself king, the name of his kingdom being Kuei-shuang. These statements can hardly be reconciled with Mr. Jayaswal's new explanation.

Further the form *Kushano* in the coin-legends cannot represent *Kanashka*. The legends are written in Saka,⁵ and in Saka *kushano*, i.e., *kushāno*, cannot be anything else than the gen. plur. of a base *Kusha*, which is rendered *Kin-sha* in the Chinese translation of the *Kalpandamapitika*, where it is stated that Kanishka belonged to the family of the *Kin-sha*.⁶ We accordingly know that the name of Kanishka's family was *Kusha*, and *Kushāpaśāputra* might accordingly be two words, *Kushāpaśa putra*, a son, i.e., scion, of the *Kushas*, as proposed by Baron A. von Stael-Holstein⁷ who reads *Kushāpaśa putra*. So far as I can see, that reading is probable, but also *Kushāpa* can very well be the gen. pl. of *Kusha*. On the other hand, an adjective *Kushāpa* might be formed from *Kusha*, just as we have Saka *balgāna*, lordly, from *balga*, lord, and the existence of this derivative is proved by the use of the inflected base *gushāpa*, *kushāpa* in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions mentioned above.

¹ A. S. I. 1911-12, pp. 120 ff.

² J. R. O. R. S. VI, pp. 12 ff.

³ In the present connexion it is not necessary to give the Greek letters of the legend.

⁴ We do not know this rule from other sources. If there was an interval between Wima Kadphises and Kanishka, as stated by Sir John Marshall, A. S. I. A. R. 1912-13, p. 2, he may have been a successor of the former. Mr. Jayaswal's attempt to show that Wima Kadphises is meant is not convincing.

⁵ Z. D. M. G., 68, 1914, pp. 85 ff.

⁶ *Afraghese, Sāstānshāhī*, tradit. par Édouard Huber. Paris 1908, p. 158. The Sanskrit original has *(li)sh*, but the name of the family is not found in the fragment, a. Lüthke, *Bruchstücke der Kalpandamapitika* &c. &c. *microfilm*, Leipzig 1926, p. 67.

⁷ S. P. A. W., 1914, pp. 643 ff.

I therefore think that *Kushāpa(a)putra* in the Mā inscription must mean 'Kushāpa scion.' And similarly I would translate *Kanasarukamānāputra* in our record as 'the Kanasarukamāna scion,' or 'the scion of the Kanasarukamāna', though it is possible that *Kanasarukamāna* is the name of a person.

It would be possible to read *prāchīnāna Sārikamāna putra*, by the scion of the eastern Sārikamāna, but that would necessitate the assumption of rather many slips in one word, *prāchīnāna* in that case standing for *prāchīnakānāna*, and the other alternative seems to be preferable.

I am unable to offer any explanation of *Kanasarukamāna*, *Kanasarukama*, for *saruka* cannot well be separated out and compared with the ethnic name *Saravata*, mentioned by Trogus,* for which other sources have *Sakarsula*, *Sakaurakol*, and *Sakaraneas*.

The other designations of the donor, *Kharāśālapati* and *Vakunapati*, i.e., the ruler of *Kharāśāla* and *Vakana*, are likewise unexplained. *Vakunapati* is evidently the same title which occurs as *Bakunapati* in the Mā inscription, where the person who erected the chapel of *Vamataleshama* is described as *Bakunapati* *Hem*†. It is possible that *Bakana*, *Vakana* is the well-known *Wakhān*, which occurs as *Vakāśpa* in other sources, such as the *Dugānādīna*. But it would be unsafe to consider this identification as certain. If it should prove to be right, it would perhaps be possible to connect the incomplete *Hem* following after *Bakunapati* in the Mathurā inscription with the old name of *Wakhān* represented by Chinese *Hem*‡, or that of the capital, Chinese *Hu-mo*.

As pointed out by Chavannes,§ *Balāshān* remained the stronghold of the *Yü-chi* down to the fifth century. After their dominion had been established in Mathurā, it would be natural for chiefs from the North West to pay occasional visits to that place, and the use of the Macedonian calendar in our inscription seems to point to a north-western origin of the donor. He was not an Indian, but came from abroad.

TEXT.

- L. 1 Siddham¹ Sāhivata² 20 8 Gurppiya divas³ 1 ayam purya-
 L. 2 śāī prāchīnī. Kanasarukamāna - putrēpa Kharāśālā.
 L. 3 rapati(a) Vakunapati⁴ akshaya-nīvi dim(a) Tu(a)śa vrādhā-
 L. 4 tē mīśa-śūmāśaśa śūdhāya chaturthi purya-śū(a)
 L. 5 yam bahūmāśa-śaśa parivāhita-vyam divas⁵ dāva(a)
 L. 6 cha purya-śūdhāśa dāva-m(a)śa dhārīya sūryam sūtrāśa⁶ x
 L. 7 dhakā 3 lavṛṇa-praśāśa 1 śakn-praśāśa 1 hama-bhāgāśa
 L. 8 ghataś(a) 3 mallaś(a) 5 śam anāś(a)śaśa⁷ kṛtva śūdhāśa(a)⁸
 L. 9 bahūkshāśaśa pūśaśaśaśa⁹ Yach(a)śa purya(a)¹⁰ tam dāva-purāśaśa

¹ Prof. 41, 42: Deinde qui regnante Scythico genere Saturnus et Antiochus comparentur et Septimius Severus. Theobrysius Antiochum interducat Saturnum.

² To avoid misunderstanding I may state that I cannot accept Mr. Jayawald's explanation of these terms.

³ *T'oung Pao* II, viii, p. 187.

⁴ For the inscription see plate facing page 6, J. B. O. E. N., Vol. XVIII (1892) — E4.

⁵ Perhaps *śūdhā*. ⁶ Read *śūdhāśa*. ⁷ Read *śūdhāśaśa*. ⁸ Read *bahūkshāśaśa purāśaśaśa*.

- L. 10. *Shāhīya Huvishkasya¹ yāhā(m*) cha dēvaputra priyah tīhām -api puṇya(m*)*
- L. 11. *bhavatu sarvāyī² cha prithivīyē puṇya(m*) bhavatu akshaya-mivī³ dīna[ā]*
- L. 12. [r]āksa-dēg[ī]yē purāṇa-kāta 500 50 Samitakara-śrēṅgī-
- L. 13. [rē cha*] purāṇa-kāta 500 50

TRANSLATION.

Success. In the year 28, on the first day of Gorpiāsa, this eastern hall of merit was given a perpetual endowment by the **Kanasarukamāna-scion, the lord of Kharāsalēra, the lord of Vakana**. From what is cleared off month for month from the interest therefrom hundred Brāhmanas should be served in the open hall, and day for day, having kept it at the entrance to the hall, on the same day three *āḥaka* groats, one *prastha* salt, one *prastha* luku, three *ghaṭaka* and five *mallaka* of green-vegetable bundles, this should be given for the sake of destitute people, hungry and thirsty. And what merit is herein, may that accrue to the **Dēvaputra Shāhi Huvishka**, and also to those to whom the Dēvaputra is dear, and may the merit accrue to the whole earth. The perpetual endowment was given to the *-rāksa-guild*, 500 *parāṇa*, and to the flourmaker-guild, 500 *parāṇa*.

No. 11.—ADDITIONAL PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA.

By PROFESSOR J. PK. VOGEL, PH. D., LEIDEN.

In addition to the important inscriptions from **Nāgarjunikoṇḍa** edited by me in this journal,* Mr. Longhurst's excavations on that Buddhist site have yielded some more epigraphical documents which it is my intention to publish in the present paper. As regards the site, on which these records have been discovered, and the peculiarities in language and script noticed in them, I may refer to my previous article.

Ayaka-pillar Inscriptions belonging to Stūpa No. 5.

At the south-eastern foot of the Nāgarjunikoṇḍa Hill and about two furlongs from the Great Stūpa or *Mahāśatīpa* there is a group of ruined buildings consisting of a monastery (No. 4), a *stūpa* (No. 5), two apsidal temples and a roofless *mandapa*. The site of the *stūpa* was marked by a large mound of brick debris overgrown with jungle and locally known as *Bikarājjabāḥa*. A pillar inscription from this site published under the letter *G* in my previous paper records the foundation of a monastery by a Queen *Bhāṭṭikā*, who calls herself the daughter-in-law of *Vāsothiput(t)a* *Siri-Chātavalla*, the consort of *Māhārāṣṭra* *Siri-Virapuriśat(t)a* and the mother of *Siri-Bhuvula-Chātavalla*, who evidently was the then reigning king. The *śālā*, which according to this inscription was dedicated to the Masters of the *Bahmāṇ(t)īya* sect, is no doubt the ruined monastery (No. 4) found on this site.

In the course of Mr. Longhurst's explorations two more inscribed pillars have come to light here. They are *āyaka*-pillars and must, therefore, have belonged to the *stūpa* No. 5. The information contained in these two epigraphs agrees with what is found in the pillar-inscrip-

* Looks almost like *Paristhāna*.

¹ Read *śrēṅgī*.

² Read *-āṇa*.

³ Vol. XX, pp. 137.

tion G. They are, however, valuable, because they settle some doubtful points in the latter inscription which has suffered much from exposure. The new inscriptions, which I call G2 and G3, also supply the full date which is the second year of the reign of King Sri-Ehuvula-Chātāmūla, the sixth fortnight of Summer, the tenth day.

The inscription G2 is remarkable, because the method of spelling shows an attempt at greater accuracy than is the case in the other inscriptions. Double consonants are indicated in several instances (*putta*, *samkappasa*, *Purissadattasa*, *bhavyāya*, *Bhaddidevāya*) and even in **patti* where the doubling of the consonant is wrong. In the same way we find a ligature in *Virūpakka*, *puttīkappito*, *Ikkhākumāsa*, *paṭṭha*. This practice, however, is not universally followed; we find a single consonant in *apthama*, *savathasa*, *samvachharam*, and in the genitive ending *-sa*.

The final *m* in *siddham* (l. 1) is expressed by a small letter written under the line.

Ayaka-pillar Inscription G2.

Transcript.

(l. 1) Siddham namo bhagavato Buddhassa Mahārājassa (l. 2) Virūpakkaṇṇapatti-Mahāseṇa-
parigahitassa agihot-[*ā]gīthoma-vājape- (l. 3) y-[*ā]samedha-yājīsa auka-kirappa-koti-go-sata-
sahasa-hala-sataaha- (l. 4) [sa-paḍāyīsa savathasa apatthata-samkappassa Vāsīḥṇiputtasa
Ikkhākumāsa] (l. 5) Siri-Chātāmūlassa aṇḍhāya mahārājassa Mā[ḥa]riputtassa Sri-Virapuri-
(l. 6) sadattassa bhavyāya mahādevīya [Bhaddidevāya] deyyadhamma imam savajjānīyato
(l. 7) vihāro aṇḍariyānam Bāhusutirāṇa[m] puttīkappito Rāṇo Vāsīḥṇiputtassa Ikkhākumāsa
(l. 8) Sri-Ehuvula-Chātāmūlassa samvachharam hitiya gimha-pakkha chhappha 6 divasa
dassamā 10.

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord Buddha. This pious gift, a monastery provided with everything, has been erected for the benefit of the Masters belonging to the Bahusutirāṇa sect by Mahādevī [Bhaddidevā], (who is) the daughter-in-law of Mahārāja Vāsīḥṇiputta Sri-Chātāmūla of (the house of) the Ikkhākus, who is favoured (absorbed) by Mahāseṇa, the lord of Virūpakka, the offerer of Agnihotas, Agnihotoma, Vājapēya, and Aśvamēdha, the giver of many crores of gold, hundred thousands of kine, and hundred thousands of ploughs (of land) and who is of unimpeded purpose in all (his) aims, (and who is) the wife of Mahārāja Māhariputta Sri-Virapurissadatta. In the second year of (the reign of) Rāja Vāsīḥṇiputta Sri-Ehuvula-Chātāmūla of (the house of) the Ikkhākus, the sixth & fortnight of Summer, the tenth 10 day.

Ayaka-pillar Inscription G3.

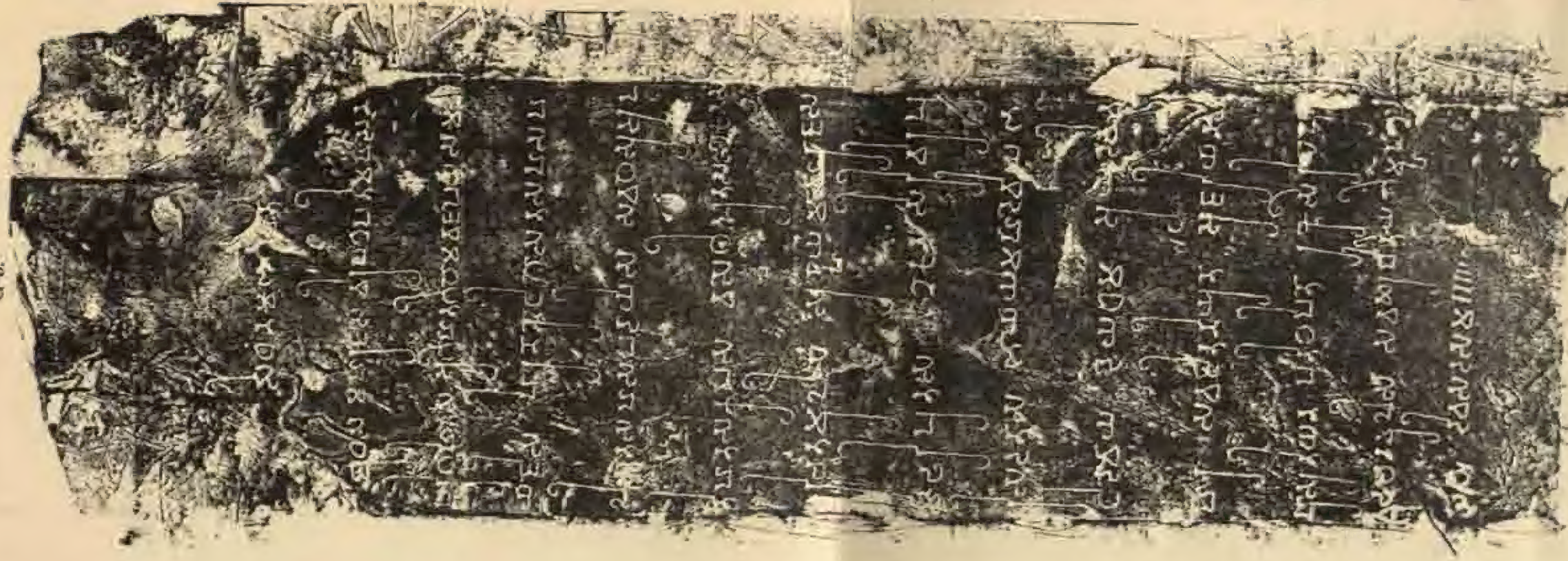
Transcript.

(l. 1) Siddham namo bha(gava)to (l. 2) Buddhassa Mahārājassa Virūpakkaṇṇapatti-Mahāseṇa-
(l. 3) [pa]rīgahitassa agihot-[*ā]gīthoma-vājape-[*ā]samedha- (l. 4) yājīsa kirappa-koti-go-sata-
sahasa-ha- (l. 5) la-satasahasa-paḍāyīsa savathasa spa- (l. 6) thata-samkappassa Vāsīḥṇiputtasa
Ikkhākumāsa] Si- (l. 7) ri-Chātāmūlassa aṇḍhāya mahārājassa (l. 8) Māhariputtassa Ikkhākumāsa
Siri-Virapu- (l. 9) sadattassa bhavyāya mahādevīya Bha- (l. 10) ddidevāya deyyadhamma aṇḍam
Devī-vi- (l. 11) hāro savajjānīyato aṇḍariyānam [Ba-] (l. 12) husutirāṇa puttīkappito
Rāṇo Sri-Ehu- (l. 13) vula-Chātāmūlassa samvachhara hitiya gimha-pakha (l. 14) chhappha
divasaṇṇa dassamā.

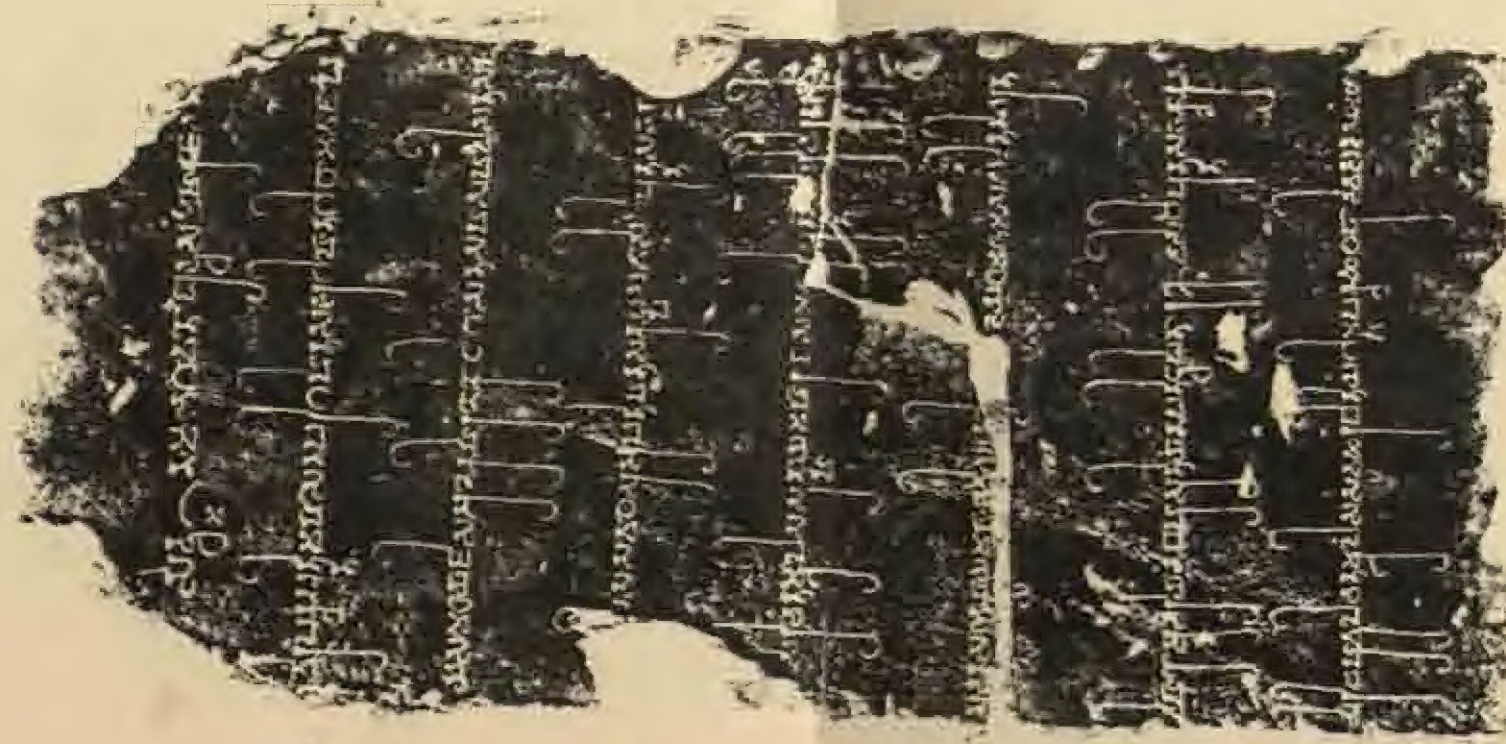
TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord Buddha. This pious gift, the Queen's Monastery, provided with everything, has been erected for the benefit of the Masters belonging to the Bahu-

G-3.



G-2.



PILLAR WITH INSCRIPTION L.



From a photograph.

L.

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10
- 11
- 12
- 13

၁။ နတ်တို့သည် နတ်ဘုရား၏ နေထိုင်ရာကို
 ၂။ နတ်တို့သည် နတ်ဘုရား၏ နေထိုင်ရာကို
 ၃။ နတ်တို့သည် နတ်ဘုရား၏ နေထိုင်ရာကို
 ၄။ နတ်တို့သည် နတ်ဘုရား၏ နေထိုင်ရာကို
 ၅။ နတ်တို့သည် နတ်ဘုရား၏ နေထိုင်ရာကို
 ၆။ နတ်တို့သည် နတ်ဘုရား၏ နေထိုင်ရာကို
 ၇။ နတ်တို့သည် နတ်ဘုရား၏ နေထိုင်ရာကို
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 ၉။ နတ်တို့သည် နတ်ဘုရား၏ နေထိုင်ရာကို
 ၁၀။ နတ်တို့သည် နတ်ဘုရား၏ နေထိုင်ရာကို
 ၁၁။ နတ်တို့သည် နတ်ဘုရား၏ နေထိုင်ရာကို
 ၁၂။ နတ်တို့သည် နတ်ဘုရား၏ နေထိုင်ရာကို
 ၁၃။ နတ်တို့သည် နတ်ဘုရား၏ နေထိုင်ရာကို

SCALE - ONE-HALF.

sutīya set by Mahādevī Bhagīdevā (who is) the daughter-in-law of Mahārāja Vāseṭṭhiput(t)a Siri-Chāntamūla, of (the house of) the I[k]khākus, etc., (see above, sub-G 2), (and who is) the wife of Mahārāja Mādhariput(t)a Siri-Virapurisadat(t)a of (the house of) the I[k]khākus. In the second year of (the reign of) Rāja Siri-Ehruva-Chātumūla, the [sixth] fortnight of Summer, the tenth day.

Inscription on carved pillar found near Stūpa No. 9.

Next we have an inscribed carved pillar found underground near stūpa No. 9. This stūpa, measuring 42 feet in diameter, is an isolated monument near a fortified hill which stands on the south-western side of the valley and not far from the river. The pillar which is rounded at the top is carved with five panels placed one above the other. The carving has suffered from exposure; but, as far as we can see, the subject of the reliefs does not appear to relate to the Buddha legend or to any of the *jātakas*. The uppermost panel contains a domed building. The next one shows a corpulent male person, perhaps a king, seated in the midst of four females, one of whom seems to hold a *chāstret*. In the third panel there is apparently the same royal personage,¹ attended by five women, of whom three seated on the floor seem to be making music. The fourth panel shows an elephant mounted by two persons and surrounded by four marching attendants. The man seated on the neck of the elephant must be a *rājā*, as is evident from the parasol visible over his head and held by the attendant sitting behind him. The scene exhibited in the fifth or lowermost relief is very curious. It shows a group of eight men; most prominent among them is a bare-headed corpulent person who seems to hold a staff in his left hand. He wears sandals, but for the rest his dress is remarkably simple. Notwithstanding the plainness of his attire, he must be a king, for behind him we notice an attendant holding a parasol, the emblem of royalty, over his head. On his right there is another attendant holding a vessel in both hands. The other persons of which the group is composed have the appearance of monks. In the midst of the group there is what looks like a heap of stones.² Possibly the supposed stones are intended to be seen in perspective, so that in reality they are meant to be placed in rows on the ground. In that case, however, there is no reason why the legs of the attendant holding the vase should be partly concealed.

The inscription, which we call L, is engraved immediately under the last-mentioned panel. It consists of thirteen lines of close writing. The letters are small and partly worn like the carvings above. The result is that in several places the reading is uncertain. The main purport, however, is perfectly clear. The inscription records that the pillar was set up by the sisters, mothers and consorts of King Vāseṭṭhiput(t)a Siri-Chāntamūla. The names of these ladies, thirty in number, occupy lines 7-13 of the inscription. It is dated in the twentieth year of the reign of King Chāntamūla's son, King Mādhariput(t)a Siri-Virapurisadat(t)a.

As the pillar was evidently erected in memory of the deceased king Chāntamūla, perhaps on the spot of his cremation, there is some reason to suppose that the five reliefs carved on it relate to that ruler and that we may recognise him in the corpulent personage who occupies a prominent place in three of the five panels. The royal elephant-driver in the fourth panel would then likewise represent King Chāntamūla. In the fifth panel he seems to be shown in the act of performing some ceremony, perhaps a donation, as may be surmised from the vessel held by one of the attendants.

Pillar-inscription L.

Transcript.

(L. 1) Sāṁhath Mahārājasa samamāha-yājasa anekā-hirapa-kotā-paṭṭāyasa (l. 2) Siri-Chāntamūlasa putasa raṭṭa Mā[dha]riputasa [Ikhākumā] Siri-Virapurisadatasa (l. 3)

¹ See my remarks in *J. S. R.*, 1929-30, Epigraphical Section, under Inscriptions from Nagarjunikonda.—Ed.

² Possibly ingots of gift-money.—Ed.

vāṣaṁsiya sathyaachhara vishaya[th] vāsa-pakham prathamam[th] diyasa[th] hiriya[th]
 saga-gataa (l. 4) rāṣa aghot-[*ā]gīthoma-vāpura-[*ā]samadha-yājina hiraṇa-koti-go-astasahas-
 (l. 5) hāṣa-satasahas-pādāyina sevuthesu apatihita-saṁkapaṇa Vāsa[th]hiputasa (l. 6) [Khā]kusa
 [sāmi]-[Siri-Chamdamāla] sahodar[ā]hi m[ā]pahr mah[ā]bhūhi Sūthiśiriya (l. 7) Khamdaśiriya
 Vijaṣṭhaśiriya M[ā]sa[th]siya Samuśiriya [Nā]ga[th]va[th]siya (l. 8) [Nā]gaśiriya Khamdaśi-
 śiriya Mahāsaśiriya Ratumaśiriya Māsaśiriya (l. 9) Ayakośuśiriya Maduśiriya
 [Nā]gaśiriya [Rā]maśiriya Golmaśiriya (l. 10) Velaśiriya [K]alhiśiriya Khamdaśiriya Satthiśiriya
 Paraśatiśiriya (l. 11) Paruṭṭaśiriya Sivanagaśiriya Samudasiya Rapuśiriya Nadiśiriya
 (l. 12) Ayasiya Ratumaśiriya Sivanagaśiriya subhatarikāhi cha (l. 13) Saranikāya Kusma-
 latāya [Uva[th] *tha[th]bhā.

TRANSLATION.

Success! In the twentieth year of the reign of Rājan Maḍhariput[th]a Siri-Virapurisadat[th]a
 of (the house of) the [K]hāḍka, the son of Mahārāja Siri-Chamdamāla, the officer of an
 Asvamaḍha, and the giver of many crores of gold, in the first fortnight of the rainy season, the
 second day, this pillar (has been erected) by the sisters, mothers and consorts of the late *
 Rājan Vāsa-[*ā]hiput[th]a Svāmin Sri-Chamdamāla, etc., (see above, sub-*l* 2), (to wit), by
 Sūthiśiri, Khamdaśiri, Vijaṣṭhaśiri, Māsaśiri, Samuśiri, [Nā]ga[th]va[th]siya, [Nā]gaśiri,
 Khamdaśiśiri, Mahāsaśiri, Ratumaśiri, Māsaśiri, Ayakośuśiri, Maduśiri, [Nā]gaśiri,
 Rāmaśiri, Golmaśiri, Velaśiri, Edhośiri, Khamdaśiri, Satthiśiri, Paraśatiśiri, Paruṭṭaśiri,
 Sivanagaśiri, Samudasiya, Rapuśiri, Nadiśiri, Ayasiya, Ratumaśiri, Sivanagaśiri and by the
 subhatarikāhi Saranikā and Kusumalatā.

Fragmentary pillar inscriptions (M 1-19) belonging to the monastic hall (maṇḍapa) of Chāṁtiśiri.

Not far from the Mahāchetiya and close to the eastern side of the first apadal temple which,
 according to the long inscription on the pavement,¹ was founded by Chāṁtiśiri, the maternal
 aunt of King Siri-Virapurisadata in the 18th year of his reign, Mr. Longhurst discovered the
 remains of a large stone-paved hall. A number of stone pillars belonging to this building are
 still extant, but all in a broken condition. The tops of the pillars are provided with a groove
 or mortise to receive the longitudinal beams of the roof which must have been of timber. The
 pillar-shafts are inscribed, but, owing to their mutilated condition, not a single inscription has
 been preserved entire. Altogether twenty fragments were recovered, two of which can be
 pieced together (M 4). In some cases several lines of the epigraph are partly preserved (M 4
 consists of eight lines), but some of the smaller fragments contain only a single word (M 16,
 18 and 19).

Immediately above the inscription, the pillars were adorned with the carved figures of two
 recumbent animals, probably lions, turned sideways.² From this we can tell that the two
 largest pieces (M 1 and 2), where these animals are visible over the lettering, must contain the
 upper portion of the inscription. One of the small fragments (M 16), too, shows a recumbent
 animal, perhaps a bull, so that the few *atthas* preserved on it must have belonged to the first
 line of the inscription. By comparing these three fragmentary inscriptions, we arrive at the
 conclusion that the epigraphical records engraved on the pillars are not identical and do not
 represent a single text. On the other hand, the preserved portions show recurring passages.

¹ There is mention above this letter and the *atthas* is more like *ṣ*. The reading might be *Ka[th]aka*.—Ed.

² *Prakrit saṁgraha*, Sat. *saṁgraha*, III. 'gone to heaven'.

³ It seems to read *cha dāgi*.—Ed.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 21, First Apadal Temple inscription E, plate III.

⁵ In the same way the pillar on which the inscription G is found shows the figures of two animals (lions) running to the left. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, plate V.

which are also found in the *Śyaka*-pillar inscriptions belonging to the Mahāchetiya and in the first Apāṇḍal Temple inscription *E*. This resemblance leads us to assume that the inscriptions on the pillars of the monastic hall, though somewhat different in their wording, were meant to record the same fact, namely, the foundation of the pillared hall or *maṇḍapa* by the same lady Chāṇḍiśiri (or Chāṇḍisiri), who was the foundress of the adjoining Mahāchetiya and the Chetiya-ghara or Apāṇḍal Temple. Like these two edifices, the pillared hall, too, was dedicated to the Masters (*Āchariyas*) of the Buddhist sect of the Apāramahāvīraseliyas.¹ The date of the foundation is preserved in the two combined fragments (*M 4*); it is the 15th year of the reign of Siri-Vīrapurisadatta(t)a, the 8th fortnight of the rainy season, the figure indicating the day being lost.

It would seem at first sight that the fragments which were recovered, do not indicate what kind of building it was, the foundation of which the inscriptions were meant to record. One of the fragments (*M 11*), however, retains the *akṣaras* -*ṭa* and -*ṭa* which can easily be restored into *maṇḍapa*. It should be remembered that the first Apāṇḍal Temple inscription *E* refers to a stone hall, surrounded by a cloister and provided with everything at the foot of the Mahāchetiya (*saṃvṛṇṇa(ā) chātusṭhī-parivāṭa(ā) sūla-maṇḍapa(ā)*). There can be little doubt that this stone *maṇḍapa* is the stone-paved hall with its inscribed pillars of stone which had been built three years before. No trace was found of the *chātusṭhī* mentioned in the inscriptions.

The inscriptions found at Nāgārjunikonda enable us to draw up the following chronological list showing the order in which the various Buddhist buildings were raised.

Reign of King Mātharīputta Siri-Vīrapurisadatta.

6th year.—Mahāchetiya founded by Chāṇḍiśiri and dedicated to the Masters (*Āchariyas*) of the Apāramahāvīraseliya sect.

14th year.—Second apāṇḍal temple founded by the nun Bodhiśiri.

15th year.—Pillared *maṇḍapa* founded by Chāṇḍiśiri and dedicated as above.

18th year.—First apāṇḍal temple founded by Chāṇḍiśiri and dedicated as above.

20th year.—Carved pillar erected in memory of the late king Vāseṭhīputta Siri-Chāṇḍamūla by his sisters, mothers and consorts.

[*20th year*.—Five *Śyaka*-pillars erected near the eastern gate of the Mahāchetiya at the village of Velagiri (now Jaggaṇṇapeta) by the artisan Siddhattha.]

Reign of King Vāseṭhīputta Siri-Ehuvula-Chāṇḍamūla.

2nd year.—Monastery (No. 4) founded by Bhag(ṭi)devā, the mother of the reigning king, and dedicated by her to the Masters (*Āchariyas*) of the Bahm(s)uttaya² sect.

11th year.—Monastery (No. 5), founded by Kodabalaśiri, the sister of the reigning king and consort of the king of Vanavāsa, and dedicated by her to the Masters of the Mahāśaśka³ sect.

Pillar-inscriptions M1-19.

*Transcripts.*⁴

Pillar-inscription M 1.

- (l. 1) Mahārājasa saṃmedhā-yājasa (l. 2) anka-hiraṇya-koṭi-paṭṭāyasa Siri-Chāṇḍamūlasa
(l. 3) śhodarā bhāgini mahāsaṃpātisa (l. 4) mahāśaśka-Vaṣeṭhīputasa Pūkiyānath
(l. 5) Kamāśasirisa bhari(ya) mahāśaśkavari Chāṇḍiśiri (l. 6) [a]paga jāmāyakaśa rathāsa

¹ Sanskrit *Āpāṇḍaliya* (?).

² Sanskrit *Bhāṣavuttaya*, Pali *Bhāṣavuttaya*.

³ Sanskrit *Mahāśaśka*, Pali *Mahāśaśka*.

⁴ Owing to the very incomplete condition of these inscriptions we have abstained from giving transcriptions.

Māṭharipu[*a]sa Ikhāku[nam] (l. 7) [Sri]-Virapurisadatasā āyuvadhānke vejayike
(l. 8) [*apano] cha ubhaya-loka-hita-sukha[n] [*vāspathanāya]....

Pillar-inscription M 2.

(l. 1) [Apatihata-sath]kupasa [Vā]s[ā]p[ā]thana[n] (l. 2) [Kandasa]śrīsa
bhariyā Khasdasaśgarasaka-mātā (l. 3) [Sri]-Virapurisadatasā āyuvadhānke vejayike
cha (l. 4) aticchhitam-anāgata-vatamāna[ka] nīkapanike cha (l. 5) [mahā]chetiya-
pādamāle Aparama[h]vinasa[h]vānani pari-gahe (l. 6) [bhikhu]saṅghasa
patihapitān ti.

Pillar-inscription M 3.

(l. 1) aticchhitam-anāgata-vatamānake) (l. 2) apano cha ubhaya-loka-hita-
sukha-nivāpathanāya (l. 3) mahāvihāre mahāchetiya-pādamāle pavajitānani (l. 4) (nānā)śa-
saman-āgatānani mahābhikhu-saṅghasa pa[ri]gahe (l. 5) [Sri]-Virapurisadatasā vasa[n]āya
sathva 10 [*+] 5 vā (l. 6) [Aparama]hvinaseliyānani pa[ri]gahe sa-cha[n]āya
(l. 7) [pa]tīhapitā[n]ti.

Pillar-inscription M 4.

(l. 1) [nī]yutani chātusāla-parigahita
(l. 2) [Sri]-Virapurisadatasā sathva 10 [*+] 3 vā pa. 8 [diva]

Pillar-inscription M 5.

(l. 1) [Kandasa]śrīsa
(l. 2) [-m]ātā Chātusāri apāno jānātukasa
(l. 3) ... [sath]ke Māṭharipu[sa] Ikhākunani
(l. 4) ... [āyuvadhānke] vijaya-vijayike
(l. 5) ... [hita-sa]kha-nivāpathanāya bhagavate
(l. 6) mahāchetiya-pādamāle

Pillar-inscription M 6.

(l. 1) savathesu apat[h]ata-sathkapasa ...]
(l. 2) Dikhāsa Sri-Chātusālasa sa[hodarā] ...]
(l. 3) ... [ma]hātavalasa Vāp[h]iputasa
(l. 4) ... [mahā]talavari
(l. 5) Mātha[ri]putasa] ...

Pillar-inscription M 7.

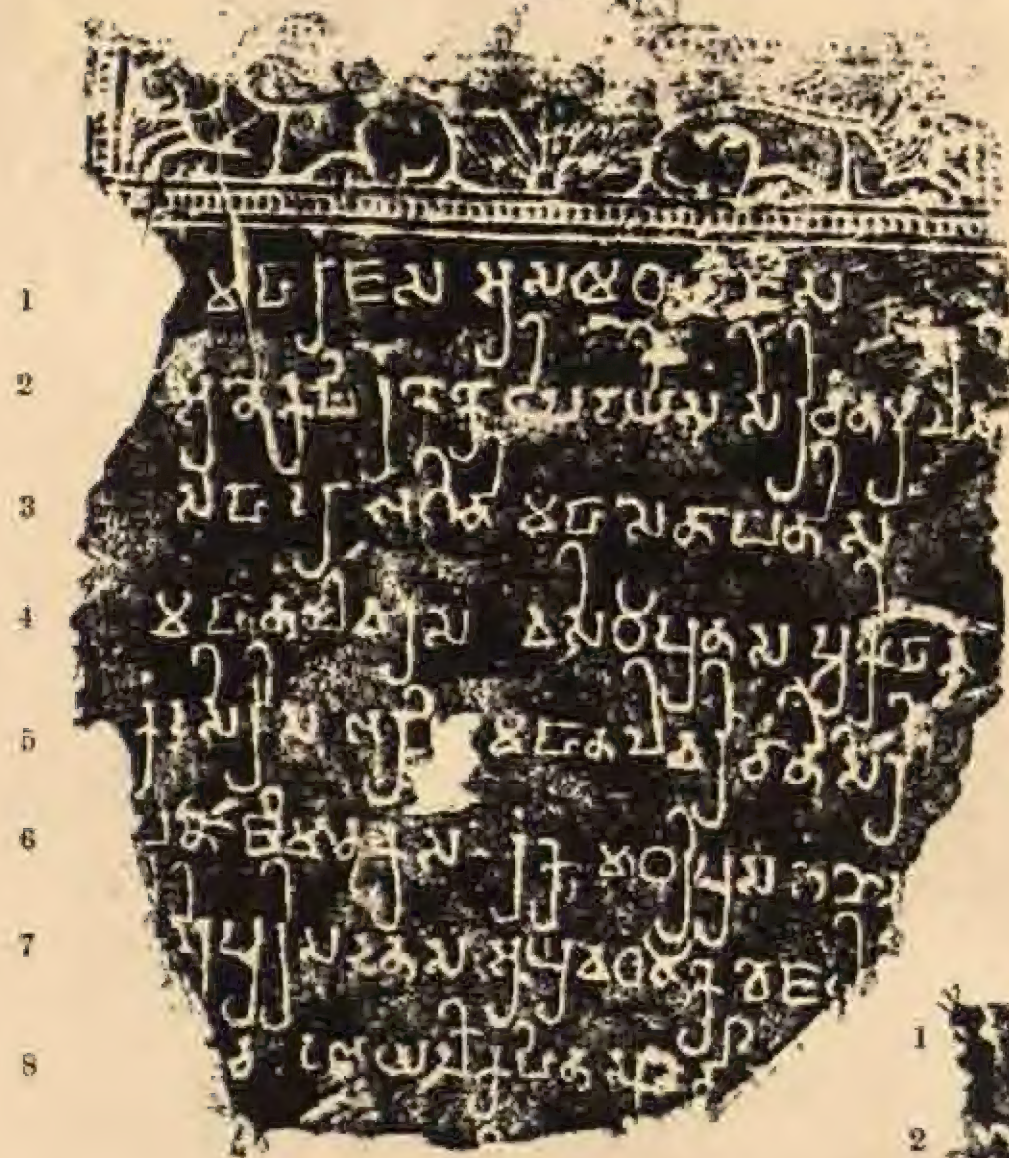
(l. 1) ni
(l. 2) Kandasaśrīsa
(l. 3) Chātusāri apano

Pillar-inscription M 8.

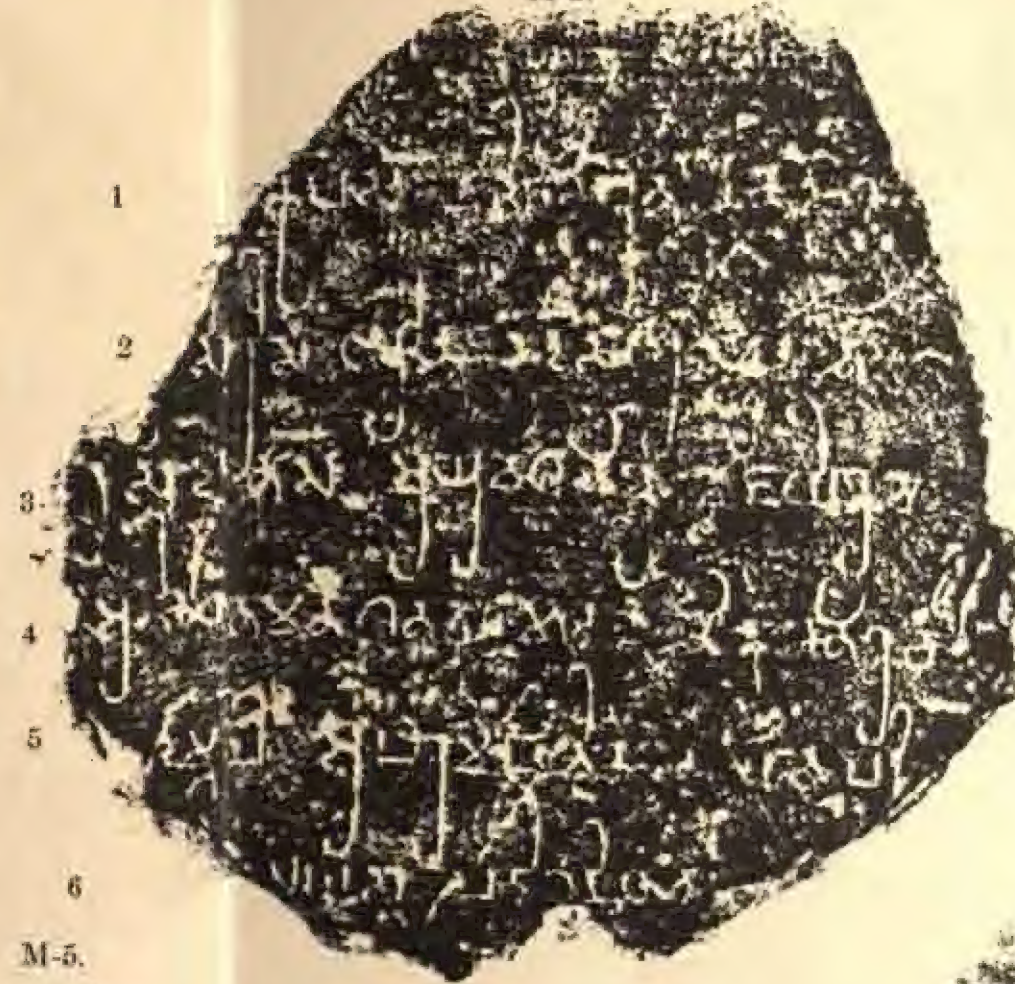
(l. 1) [sath]kapasa
(l. 2) [sath]kapasa-hala-sathkapasa-[pudiyā]
(l. 3) [apatihata] sathkapasa Vāp[h]iputasa] ..
(l. 4) [bhā]gini mahā[sa]nāpatīsa]

[There are traces of another line before this. See above, Vol. XX, p. 10, line 4 of inscription C 2.—Ed.]

M-1.



M-2.



M-3.



M-7.



M-9.



M-5.



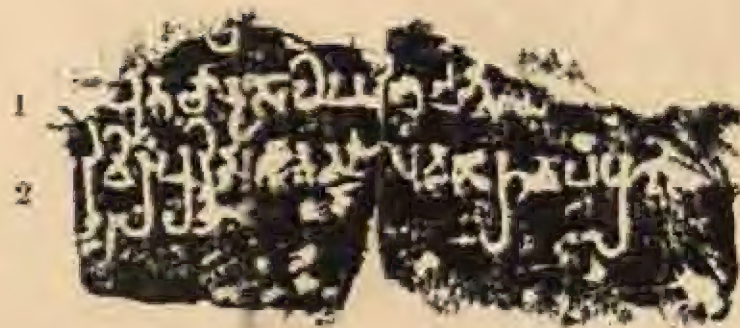
M-6.



M-8.



M-4.





etc

ADDITIONAL PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA (III).

PILLAR-INSCRIPTIONS M 10—19 & N.

M-10.



M-11.



M-12.



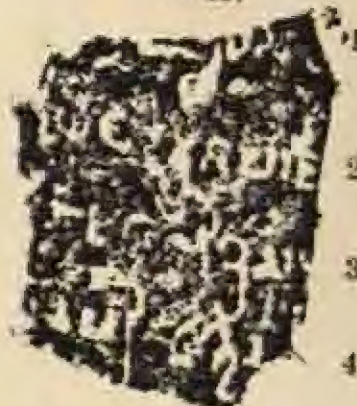
M-13.



M-14.



M-15.



M-16.



M-17.



N.



M-18.



M-19.



Pillar-inscription M 9.

- (l. 1) ... aghot-[ā]githoma-vā[japeya-]
 (l. 2) ... padāyisa savathesu ...
 (l. 3) ... [Vā]sithiputasa Puki[yānath] ...
 (l. 4) ... Ikhākunath Siri-Virapu[rivadatasa] ..
 (l. 5) ... [a]pano ubhaya-kulasa ...¹

Pillar-inscription M 10.

- (l. 1) na[th] nānādesa-saman-[āgatānath] ...
 (l. 2) api cha apano ubhaya-kulasa a[icchita] ...
 (l. 3) ... nikapanūke parināmetuna ma
 (l. 4) parigahe savani[yutath]
 (l. 5) patiphatath

Pillar-inscription M 11.

- (l. 1) nivāgathanāya
 (l. 2) tasa
 (l. 3) n-āgatānath
 (l. 4) dhiva
 (l. 5) tath
 (l. 6) [mash]tavan

Pillar-inscription M 12.

- (l. 1) sa vasa ...
 (l. 2) nikapa[nike] ...
 (l. 3) parigahe
 (l. 4) vā pa 8

Pillar-inscription M 13.

- (l. 1) ma
 (l. 2) agilo[t-ā]
 (l. 3) neka-hiraṇya-koṭi-go[-satasaḥasa]
 (l. 4) [-padā]y[ino]

Pillar-inscription M 14.

- (l. 1) [sa]vajātan[yutath] chataśāla)
 (l. 2) stano ubhaya-kulasa ...
 (l. 3) [ke] parināmetuna
 (l. 4) pu[ta]

Pillar-inscription M 15.

- (l. 1) [putasa]
 (l. 2) . [mahācheti]ya-[pādama]le pava[jitānam] ..
 (l. 3) . [mahābhi]khu-sa[ghasa]
 (l. 4) na pari[nāmetuna]

Pillar-inscription M 16.

- (l. 1) [-par]igahāsa

¹ Traces of another line are discernible below this line. See line 11 of inscription G 3 above. Vol. XX, p. 16.—Ed.

Pillar-inscription M 17.

(l. 11) [Sri-Vira[ra]sadatasa]

(l. 2) [ve[ṣ]ayiko ap[ī]cha]

Pillar-inscription M 18.

(l. 1) ... mahāsenap[ī]tisa] ...

Pillar-inscription M 19.

(l. 1) [Sri-Virap[ur]isadatasa]

Ayaka-pillar Inscription N belonging to Stūpa No. 9.

The Stūpa No. 9, to which we have had occasion to refer above, must have been provided with āyaka-pillars in the same manner as the Mahācetiya. But only one inscribed pillar was recovered on this site, and the inscription engraved on it is incomplete. The preserved portion contains nothing but a string of names, so that a translation is superfluous.

Transcript.

(l. 1) ... rinasthānam Mūlāstrinaka[sa] Sādhathā- (l. 2) [ka]pa Chādambhāsa
Pudhīnakam bhālika(ā) (l. 3) Mahatuvapika Sādhathāmpikā Jakhana

Addenda and Corrigenda to the previous article.

In the First Apśidal Temple Inscription E, translation, read 'stone hall' instead of 'stone shrine' (*śala-maṣṭara[ś]*) and 'chaitya-shrine' instead of 'chaitya-hall' (*chaitya-phara*).

The Second Apśidal Temple Inscription F, line 3, contains the following passage:—*Kaṣṭakavale mahācetiyaṃ pava-dāre śala-maṣṭara*. As explained in the 'Glossary' (p. 35) the text has *Kaṣṭakavale*; but as in the Nāgārjunikonda Inscriptions errors with regard to vowel-marks are very common, I ventured to correct the word into *Kaṣṭakavale*, which would correspond to Sanskrit *Kaṣṭakavallī*. Cf. *Pucavale* (Skt. *Pārvatallī*) in the same inscription.

At the time it had escaped my notice that an inscription from Amarāvati¹ contains the genitive singular of the noun *Kaṣṭakavallī*, meaning 'a resident of K'. As here the vowel-mark attached to the *v* is clearly the *e*-sign, we shall have to assume that, after all, the reading *Kaṣṭakavale* is correct. The form with *ā* agrees, indeed, more closely with Ptolemy's *Καντακασαῖλα*. The entry in our 'Glossary of Geographical Names' s.v. *Kaṣṭakavale* should be corrected accordingly.

In this connection it may be pointed out that another Amarāvati inscription makes mention of a locality, probably a town, of the name of *Vijayapura*.² It is, of course, impossible to decide whether this place is identical with the Vijayapura referred to in the second Apśidal Temple inscription F, line 2; in the following passage: *Sripavata Vijayapurīya-pava-dāre śala-maṣṭara mahācetiyaṃ pava-dāre śala-maṣṭara*. It may, however, safely be inferred from this passage that the town once situated in the valley of Nāgārjunikonda was named Vijayapura. For there can be little doubt that the *chaitya-phara* mentioned here is the Apśidal Temple, on the stone floor of which the long inscription is engraved. All details tend to corroborate this assumption. Not only does this building embrace a *chaitya*, measuring 5 feet in diameter, and is it paved with

¹ J. Burgess: *The Buddhist Stūpas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, p. 106, No. 24.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 105, No. 20, plate LVIII.

stone slabs; but, what is more remarkable, it is associated with a monastery (*vihāra*) and both edifices are raised on the southern and higher end of a hill, now known by the name of Nāharā[labōdu, which rises on the eastern side of the valley in which the town of Vijayapuri was once situated.

The 'Glossary' contains the word *Apāramahāvīrasaḍḍiya* which is the name of a Buddhist sect. It is of some interest that an Amāravatī inscription mentions a locality *Mahāvanasala*.¹ The vowel-marks are not very certain and we may perhaps assume that the correct form of the name is *Mahāvanasala* or *Mahāvīrasala*. The inscription in question does not give any clue as to the position of the place, but in all probability it was situated in the lower Krishna valley.

GLOSSARY.

- āgīkha-āgīkhamu-vāḥapay-āmmudha-gāḥi* (G 2, l. 2; G 3, ll. 3-4; L, l. 4; M 9, l. 1; cf. M 13, l. 2).
arhaviya (G 2, l. 7), *araviya* (G 3, l. 11).
atichhātum-arōḍḍata-vatamānaka (M 2, l. 4; M 3, l. 1 *ex conj.*).
aveka-kiravāḥa-koti-go-satasahasā-kala-satasahasā-pudāgi (G 2, ll. 3-4; M 8, l. 2; cf. M 9, l. 2 and M 13, l. 3).
aveka-kiravāḥa-koti-pudāgi (L, l. 1; M 1, l. 2).
Apāramahāvīrasaḍḍiya (M 2, l. 5; M 3, l. 6).
Ayakoṭṭasiri (L, l. 9), a personal name.
Ayasiri (L, l. 12), i.e. *Ayyasiri*=Skt. *Āryasiri*.
ammudha-gāḥi (L, l. 1; M 1, l. 1; M 8, l. 1 *ex conj.*).
āyuvadhavika (M 1, l. 7; M 2, l. 3; M 5, l. 4).
Ikḥāka (G 2, ll. 4 and 7; G 3, ll. 6 and 8; L, l. 2 *ex conj.*, and l. 6; M 1, l. 6; M 5, l. 3; M 6, l. 2; M 9, l. 4).
ubhaya-kula (M 9, l. 5; M 10, l. 2; M 14, l. 2).
ubhaya-loka-hita-subha-avivāḥanāya (M 1, l. 8; M 3, l. 2; cf. M 5, l. 5 and M 11, l. 1).
Edhisiri (L, l. 10), a personal name.
Kasidasiri (M 1, l. 5; M 2, l. 2 *ex conj.*; M 5, l. 1 *ex conj.*; M 7, l. 2).
Kosumalatā (L, l. 13), a personal name.
Khasinakotiṣiri (L, l. 8)=Skt. *Skandakotiṣiri*, a personal name.
Khasināsāgaravāṇaka-mātā (M 2, l. 2; cf. M 5, l. 2).
Khasināsiri (L, ll. 7 and 10).
gimha-pakḥa (G 2, l. 8; G 3, l. 13; also G, l. 10)=Skt. *grishma-pakḥa* 'a fortnight of Summer.'
Golasiri (L, l. 9), a personal name. Cf. *Gold* in Bharhut inscription. Lüders' *List*, no. 836; also no. 596.
Chandamukha (N, l. 2), i.e. *Chandamukha*=Skt. *Chandramukha*, a personal name.
chāṇuṣā-paraḥaṇa (M 4, l. 1). Cf. *sa-chāṇuṣā*, and *chāṇuṣā* in E, l. 2.
Chāṇuṣiri (M 1, l. 5; M 5, l. 2; M 7, l. 3).
chhaḥa (G 2, l. 8; G 3, l. 14 *ex conj.*), i.e. *chhaḥa* 'sixth.'
Jakhma (N, l. 3), a personal name (l). Cf. such proper names as *Yakhulāsi*, *Yakhudina*, *Yakhī* and *Yakhila*. Lüders' *List*, nos. 329, 211, 254, 500, 344, 376, 580, 549.
jāṇṭuka (M 1, l. 6; M 5, l. 2).
thambha (L, l. 13)=Skt. *stambha* 'pillar'. Cf. *śalathambha* in C 2, l. 8.
deyadha(m)ma (G 2, l. 6; G 3, l. 10)=Skt. *deyadharma* 'a pious gift'. Also in footprint-slab inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 37).

¹ Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 91, No. 33, plate LVIII. Cf. p. 105, No. 49, plate LX.

Devī(-)vāhara (G 3, ll. 10-11) 'the Queen's Monastery'.

Nandisiri (L, l. 13), i.e. *Nandisiri* Skt. *Nandisiri*, a personal name. Cf. the name *Nandisiri* in Nāśik cave inscription. Lüders' List, no. 1127.

Nāgavamsiri (T) (L, l. 7), a personal name.

Nāgasiri (L, ll. 7 and 9), a personal name, also found in Jaggaṃyapeta inscriptions. Lüders' List, nos. 1202-4.

nānādeśa-saman-āpata (M 3, l. 4; M 10, l. 1 *ex conj.*),

vāhapanika (M 2, l. 4; M 10, l. 3; M 12, l. 2), a word of uncertain meaning. Also in B, l. 2.

patipadda in footprint-slab inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 37). The word apparently indicates the object on which it is found.

Parājitāsiri (L, l. 11) = Skt. *Parājitaśiri*, a personal name.

Parajatisiri (L, l. 10), perhaps = Skt. *Parijātaśiri*, a personal name.

pariāmatana (M 10, l. 3; M 14, l. 3; M 15, l. 4),

parajita (M 3, l. 3).

Padhinaka (N, l. 2), a personal name.

Pākiya (M 1, l. 4; M 9, l. 3).

Popisiri (L, l. 11), a personal name.

Bahnūtiya (G 2, l. 7; G 3, ll. 11-12; cf. G, l. 8).

bālikā (N, l. 2) 'a daughter'.

bātiya or *bītiya* (G 2, l. 8; G 3, l. 13; also G, l. 9; L, l. 5) = Skt. *dvitīya* 'second'. Cf. *bīya* and *bis* (Pischel, *Grammatik*, §§ 82, 165, 300 and 449).

Budhi in footprint-slab inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 37), i.e. *Buddhi*, a personal name.

bhagiri (M 1, l. 3; M 8, l. 4 *ex conj.*). In footprint-slab inscription from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 37) we have the form *dhagini*.

Bhaṭṭi(-)devā (G 2, l. 8; G 3, ll. 9-10).

bhariyā (M 1, l. 5; M 2, l. 2) and *bharyā* (G 2, l. 6; G 3, l. 9) = Skt. *bhāryā*.

manjara (M 11, l. 6 *ex conj.*), i.e. *manjara* = Skt. *manjara*.

Mahariput(-)a or *Māhārīputa* (G 2, l. 5; G 3, l. 8; L, l. 2; M 1, l. 6; M 5, l. 3; M 8, l. 5 *ex conj.*).

Maduvīsiri (L, l. 9), a personal name.

Mahatuvāṣika (N, l. 3), a personal name.

mahācetiya-pādamāla (M 2, l. 5 *ex conj.*; M 3, l. 3; M 5, l. 6).

mahātalavara (M 1, l. 4; M 6, l. 3).

mahātalavari (M 1, l. 5; M 6, l. 4).

mahādevi (G 2, l. 6; G 3, l. 9; L, l. 6).

mahābhikṣu-saṅgha (M 3, l. 4).

mahāvihāra (M 3, l. 3).

mahāsaṃpatti (M 1, l. 3; M 8, l. 4 *ex conj.*; M 18, l. 1).

Mahārasiri (L, l. 8) = Skt. *Mahārasaśiri*, a personal name.

Misiri (L, l. 7) = Skt. *Misraśiri*, a personal name. Cf. the name *Misi*, i.e. *Misā* in P, l. 3.

Mulasirivāṣika (N, l. 1), a personal name.

Mūlasiri (L, l. 8) = Skt. *Mūlaśiri*, a personal name.

Moda in footprint-slab inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 37), a personal name.

Ratumatiriri (L, l. 8), a personal name.

Ratūtasiri (L, l. 12), a personal name.

Rāmasiri (L, l. 9) = Skt. *Rāmaśiri*, a personal name.

- rasamanaya*¹ (L, l. 3; M 3, l. 5), a term of uncertain meaning.
- vāṣa-pakṣa* (L, l. 3) or *vā. pa.* (M 4, l. 2; cf. M 3, l. 5; M 12, l. 4) Skt. *varsha-pakṣa* 'a fortnight of the rainy season'.
- Vāsūhiputa* or *Vasethiputa* (G 2, ll. 4 and 7; G 3, l. 6; L, l. 5; M 1, l. 4; M 2, l. 1; M 6, l. 3; M 8, l. 3; M 9, l. 3).
- Vijhathavisiṁ* (L, l. 7), a personal name. Cf. the name *Vijha*=Skt. *Vindhya*, Lüders' List, no. 579.
- Virūpa(k)kṣapati-Mahāsana-parigāhita* (G 2, l. 2; G 3, l. 2).
- vihāra* (G 2, l. 7).
- vī(ā)ṣaya* (L, l. 3) 'twentieth'.
- vejayike* (M 1, l. 7; M 2, l. 3; M 17, l. 2) and *vijaya-vejayike* (M 5, l. 4).
- Śaka* in footprint-slab inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 37)=Skt. *Śaka* 'Scythian'.
- sagagata* (L, l. 3), i.e. *sagga-gata*=Skt. *svarga-gata* 'gone to heaven'.
- sa-chātumāla* (M 3, l. 6).
- Satilisiri* (L, l. 10), a personal name. Cf. the name *Sātīla*, Lüders' List, no. 259.
- Samuddasiri* (L, l. 11), i.e. *Samuddasiri*=Skt. *Samudrasiri*, a personal name.
- Samusiri* (L, l. 7), a personal name.
- Sarasikā* (L, l. 13), a personal name.
- savapāṇigata* (G 2, l. 6; G 3, l. 11; cf. M 4, l. 1 and M 14, l. 1).
- savathesu apatihata-saṁhāp(p)a* (G 2, l. 4; G 3, ll. 5-6; L, l. 5; M 2, l. 1 *ex conj.*; M 6, l. 1 *ex conj.*; M 8, l. 3 *ex conj.*; cf. M 9, l. 2).
- svanigata* (M 10, l. 4).
- sa(ś)vauchhara* (G 2, l. 8; G 3, l. 13) or *saśca* (M 3, l. 5; M 4, l. 2).
- śahodarā* (L, l. 6; M 1, l. 3; M 6, l. 3).
- śāmi* (L, l. 6 *ex conj.*) Skt. *śrāmiṇ*. A royal title found associated also with the name of the Andhra king Siri-Pulumāvi. Cf. Amarāvati inscription no. 1, Burgess, *Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati*, p. 100, pl. LVI, no. 1.
- Siddhatthaka* (N, ll. 1-2), i.e. *Siddhatthaka*=Skt. *Siddhārthaka*, a personal name.
- Siddhatthasikkā* (N, l. 5), i.e. *Siddhatthasikkā*, a personal name.
- Siri-Khuvula-Chātumāla* (G 2, l. 8) or *Khuvula* (G 3, ll. 12-13).
- Siri-Chātumāla* (G 2, l. 5; G 3, l. 7; L, ll. 2, 6; M 1, l. 2; M 6, l. 2).
- Siri-Viraparisaṁdatt(a)* (G 2, l. 5; G 3, ll. 8-9; L, l. 2; M 1, l. 7; M 2, l. 3 *ex conj.*; M 3, l. 5; M 4, l. 2; M 9, l. 4 *ex conj.*; M 17, l. 1; M 19, l. 1 *ex conj.*).
- Sicandapurisi* (L, ll. 11 and 12), a personal name.
- Sunṭisiri* (L, l. 6), a personal name.
- śuśā* (G 2, l. 5; G 3, l. 7; cf. P, l. 3 and G, l. 5)=Skt. *śuśā* 'a daughter-in-law'.
- śubhatarikā* (L, l. 12), a word of uncertain meaning.
- śira śaya-kāpi-go-samāhara-hala-samāhara-patāyī* (G 3, ll. 4-5; L, ll. 4-5).

POSTSCRIPT.

For the sake of completeness it should be mentioned that two words, apparently consisting of seven and two akṣaras respectively, occur on an uncarved stone slab found near *Stupa No. 9*. A third inscription, evidently a single word of four akṣaras, is cut on the base of a carved slab belonging to the same monument. The lettering of these short epigraphs is partly indistinct and I have not succeeded in making out their meaning.

¹ Can it be *śamastha*?—Ed.

No. 12.—THE CLAY SEALS OF NĀLANDĀ.

By HIRAKANDA SASTRI.

Some sixteen years ago the archaeological exploration of the ancient site of Nālandā was taken up by our Department and it has been continued all these years. During this period very valuable seals or sealings have been found but they have not been fully described anywhere as yet. In the memoir which I am writing on Nālandā I intend to notice them in detail but as that will take some time to come out I propose to publish here a few of them as specimens. These relics of the past, minor though they might be called, are invaluable not only for the past history of Nālandā but of Northern India as well.

For the sake of convenience these seals or sealings—I shall call them seals—might be put under two main heads, namely, Religious or Ecclesiastical and Secular or Civil. Under the former head I would classify those seals which are either votive or are connected with some religious congregation, communities or monastic orders, and under the latter head I would put such of them as are personal, whether they belong to royalties, officials or private individuals or are related to offices, villages and village communities. The majority of these seals are votive and Buddhist, a number of them only giving in Sanskrit or in Prakrit the well-known formula

ये धर्मो हितप्रमथा हितुलोपा तथागता ज्वदत् ।

तेषाञ्च दो निरोध एव वादी महायमणः ॥

which, we are told, Āśvajit read to Śāriputra, and is usually interpreted¹ as

'Of those things (conditions) which spring from a cause

The cause has been told by Tathāgata;

And their suppression likewise

The Great Śramaṇa has revealed.'

This formula is found written usually in the northern script of about the eighth century (A.D.), and even later, not only on the seals or plaques but also on a number of images, stones and bricks, excavated at Nālandā. Some of these seals or plaques only give a Buddhist text, while others bear the figure of the Buddha, single or accompanied by the attendant Bōdhisattvas, Mañjārī and Avalokiteśvara, with or without the above-mentioned creed formula. Some have a text or the representation of a stūpa or stūpas. Such seals or impressions were, evidently, meant for offerings, or for being taken as mementoes. Among the seals connected with Buddhist Congregations or *Saṅghas*, the majority belong to the Mahāvihāra of Nālandā and give the legend:—

योगानन्दमहाविहारोपायभिक्षुसङ्घम्,

meaning

'Of the Community of the Venerable Monks in the Mahāvihāra of Śrī-Nālandā.' The symbol they bear is practically the same as the one connected with the 'Preaching of the Law' (धर्मचक्रप्रवर्त्तन) by the Buddha. They are mostly circular in shape and the device, which occurs in the upper field above a line of dotted ornament, consists of the Wheel of the Law flanked by two garlands, recumbent, with heads upraised, looking towards the Wheel. This device is a copy of the insignia of the monastery at the "Deer Park" where the Buddha first turned the 'Dharmacakra' (=Wheel of Law). It is an appropriate symbol for both the places. At Sārnāth or the Deer Park the Great Teacher preached the First Sermon. At Nālandā many *śālikas* were engaged in expounding or preaching the 'Law'. To form an idea of what this device is,

¹ Kern, *Indian Buddhism*, p. 26.

reference is invited to the seal of Dēvapāladēva, attached to the copper-plate I excavated at Nālandā in 1921, which has already been published in this *Journal*.¹ That the Pāla kings of Bengal had adopted this symbol as their insignia is evidenced by their grants, a number of which have now been published. These rulers were very liberal patrons of Buddhism and the insignia was quite appropriate for them. But whether they adopted it from the symbol of the monastic order of Nālandā or whether the 'Ārya-bhīkṣu-saṅgha' of Nālandā took it from their royal patrons I cannot say for certain.

The other group, i.e., the Civic or Secular seals, is historically much more important. A few of the seals or plaques coming under this category have already been noticed by the late Dr. Spooner,² Mr. Dīkṣit,³ and the late Mr. R. D. Banerji.⁴ I need not recapitulate what has been stated by them in regard to these seals including the seal of King Bhāskara-varman of Prāgyōtiṣṭha.⁵ At present I want to make a special notice of the two seals of Śarvavarman Maukhari and of Harsha of Thānēsar which were recovered in a much better state of preservation than the other specimens of the seals of these potentates. The original of the Asirgadh seal is not forthcoming, and the Sonpat seal, as represented by the facsimile⁶ given by Fleet, is too worn to give a clear reading. Consequently, these clay plaques are very valuable in that they help us in settling the reading of the legends and vouch for the genuineness of those two documents.

The seals of King Śarvavarman Maukhari.

One of the two seals of Śarvavarman, which I reproduce here, is almost entire, and might well be called, rather, a replica of the Asirgadh seal. The other is cut into two parts, almost perpendicularly, but gives the whole of the legend, excepting some of the initial letters of lines 3-6 and, perhaps, of line 7 also. The transversal break about the middle has damaged all the eight lines of it though the damaged letters can be restored easily. It would appear that these two seals are the impressions taken from different moulds or dice. A close inspection of the facsimile published by Fleet would show this. For instance, if we compare the symbols for *ka* in the word *Maukhariḥ*, occurring in the last line of the Asirgadh seal, and the seal marked A, we shall see that they are not identical. Similarly, in A1, the symbol for *la* in line 6 is practically clear but it is not so in the Asirgadh specimen. There are other differences also which it is needless to dilate upon here. But it is significant that the defects in the reading of the legend noticed by Fleet in the Asirgadh specimen are to be met with in these two plaques also, as I shall show while giving the text below. The device is quite distinct in all these specimens. It shows a bull in the centre, walking to the proper right and decorated with a garland going round his body—though broken in A1. Over him there is, on the other side, an open umbrella, the staff of which is decorated with two streamers. In front we see a man leading the bull and carrying a curved double axe in the right hand and a standard with a wheel on the top in the left. Behind the bull we see another male figure having in the left hand a long handled double axe and a *chavari* stick in the right hand, apparently to drive the bull on. The exact significance of the whole symbol is not clear. The bull usually stands for *dharma*: *इषो हि भगवान् धर्मः*.⁷ The two male figures are, perhaps, the *chāṇḍālas*, who want to kill the

¹ Vol. XVII, plate facing p. 321. *A. S. R.*, 1922-23, plate XV(d).

² *Annual Report of the Arch. Survey of India, Eastern Circle*, for 1916-17, p. 42.

³ *Ibid.*, for 1917-18, pp. 448 ff.

⁴ *Journ. B. O. R. Soc.*, Vol. V (1919), pp. 302 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. V (1919), p. 302.

⁶ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, plate xxiii B.

⁷ *Cf. Fleet, C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 212.

⁸ *Mumukshupāṭi* (VIII, 16).

animal. The idea underlying the emblem seems to be that the tampering with the seal is as heinous as the killing of a bull or violating the *dharma*.

As to the text of the legend, there is hardly any difference from what was given by Fleet. One might say, it rather confirms his reading and is, practically, alike in all the three specimens. It runs as given below; the slight difference which is seen here and there is pointed out in the foot-notes.

TEXT.

- 1 Chatur-varṇa-śikhrānta-kīrtiḥ prajāp-ānuraḡ-āpanat-ānya-rā[?] varṇa-śrama-
vyavasthā-
- 2 puṇa-prāvṛtta-śakirā-śakiradhara iva puṇjānura-śikhrā[?] śrī-Mahārāja-Hari-
varma[?] Tasya
- 3 putras-tat-pād-ānuddhyātō Jayaśvāminī-bhaṭṭārikā-dēvyām-utpannaḥ śrī-
Mahārāj-Adityava-
- 4 rma[?] Tasya putras-tat-p[?] ānuddhyātō Harahaguptā-bhaṭṭārikā-dēvyām-
utpannaḥ śrī-Mahārāj-
- 5 j-Śaśvaravarmanā [?] Tasya putras-tat-pād-ānuddhyātō Upaguptā-bhaṭṭārikā-
dēvyām-utpannaḥ
- 6 Mahe[?] rājādhirāja-śrī-¹¹ Lakṣṇavarmanā [?] Tasya putras-tat-pād-ānuddhyātō
Lakṣmīva-¹²
- 7 ś-bhaṭṭārikā-Mahādēvyām-utpannaḥ-paramamāhēvyar¹³ Ma-
- 8 hārājādhirāja-śrī-Śarvavarmanā Maṅkharīḥ [?]

The genealogy shown in these seals up to Lakṣavarmanā is identical with that given in the Haraha inscription which I published in this journal long ago.¹⁴

The seals of Haraha or Harshavardhana.

I may publish here only one of the seals of Haraha of Thānāwar. The Sonpat seal which Fleet reproduced¹⁵ in 1888 must have belonged to some plate which is not forthcoming. The Nālandā specimens so far recovered seem to be the impressions taken from some independent moulds. As we see even nowadays, the originals are only the negatives which, when pressed at the time of sealing documents, give the positives. Several specimens of the seal of Haraha

¹ Like the Adigaḍh seal both these specimens give 'rāḥ' for 'rāj'.

² The *varṇa* is left out in these seals also.

³ I think it is so in all the three documents. Cf. the symbol in line 2.

⁴ The letters *putra* and the *t* of *ita* are lost in A1.

⁵ It is clearly *śikhrā* in both these seals.

⁶ Letters *raśa* *śa* *śa* are missing in A1.

⁷ The length mark is obliterated in both the seals.

⁸ Both these seals give 'Mahe'.

⁹ The *śikhrā* *j-Śaśvata* are missing in A1.

¹⁰ In both these seals, too, the symbol after *v* is more like *na* than *pa*; cf. Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 220, f. n. 2.

¹¹ The length mark is not to be seen in both the seals. The initial letters *śa* *śa* are lost in A1.

¹² Both these seals give *śrī*; cf. the *śrī* symbol in line 2. The *śrī* in *śrī-śaśvata* is intentional, evidently.

¹³ The *śa* symbol is clear in both these seals and the reading *Lakṣmīva* is pretty certain. Fleet's conjectured reading of this name is therefore correct.

¹⁴ A *śikhrā* gives *Mahe* though the length mark is not so clear in A1.

¹⁵ O mark is clear in both.

¹⁶ Vol. XIV, pp. 119 ff.

¹⁷ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 221 f. and plate XXXII-B.

THE CLAY SEALS OF NALANDA (I).

A

A-1



HIRANANDA MASTRI

SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.



HIRASARDA, SASTEL.

SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE.

2



SEVENY UP INDIA. CALCUTTA.

were excavated at Nālandā and are all broken or fragmentary. The one reproduced here, marked B on the plate, consists of two fragments which, when put together, seem to form a complete seal, excepting some letters about the middle of almost every line of the legend and the proper right portion of the upper field, containing the device together with the head of the recumbent bull. Owing to the transverse cut the specimen is broken in twain. The seal appears to have been oval in shape, the axes being about $4\frac{1}{2}$ " and $3\frac{1}{8}$ ", measuring the surface encompassed by the first curve going round the written portion and the emblem. The legend consists of twelve lines of which the five lines at the end are written in letters smaller than those seen in the rest. Evidently, the engraver found that he would not be able to manage the whole legend in the limited space and had to reduce the size of the *abakata* after writing out the first seven lines. Like the inscription on the Sonpat seal the legend in this specimen is written in the dowerly script of the seals of Śarvavarman. The Sonpat seal is larger and the legend is written in bigger letters. Possibly that also had twelve lines of writing, though they are not distinct on the facsimile given in the *Corpus*. According to the transcript given by Fleet they also ended like the lines in the present specimen. The legend on the seal under notice is, practically, a genealogical table of the family of Harsha or Harshavardhana, the pedigree being identical with what is given in the Madhuban¹ and the Banākhera² copper-plates of this potentate.

TEXT.

- 1 Symbol³ [I⁴] Mahārāja-ri-Nara[varddhana-⁵ta]⁶[aya] puttā-⁷tat-pād-ānudhyātā[h⁸]⁹
Śrī-Vajrāt-
- 2 dēvyām-utpānnaḥ paramādityabhaktiḥ Mah¹⁰ārāja-ri-Rājyavarddhanaḥ¹¹[T¹²aya
puttā-¹³tat-pā-
- 3 d-ānudhyātāḥ ri-Apsarōdēvyām¹⁴-utpānnaḥ¹⁵ para¹⁶mādityabhaktiḥ Mahārāja-¹⁷śrīmad-
Aditya-
- 4 varddhanaḥ¹⁸[I¹⁹] Taya puttā-²⁰tat-pād-ānudhyātāḥ²¹ ri[Ma²²hā]sānaguptādēvyām-
u[tpā²³]-²⁴nnāḥ chātuhṣṇu-
- 5 dr-śikhrānta-kr[tiḥ] prajāp-ānura-²⁵ga[nat-ānya]²⁶-rājō varypātrama²⁷-vyavasthāpna-
pravṛtta-
- 6 chaktra śaśakhratāḥ iva prajānān-²⁸artihā[rah]²⁹* paramādityabhaktaḥ³⁰ parama-
bhāṭṭāraka-
- 7 Mahārājāhīrāja-³¹śrī-Prabhākaravarddhanaḥ³²[h³³]³⁴ Taya puttā-³⁵tat-pād-ānudhyātāḥ³⁶
atīlayita-
- 8 pūrvvarāja-charitō dēvyām-annala-³⁷vaśōmatyān[ri-³⁸vaśōmatyām-utpānnaḥ³⁹] parama-
saugataḥ Suga-

¹ See above, Vol. I, pp. 22 f.

² See above, Vol. IV, pp. 216-17.

³ Or *asiddhā*.

⁴ Such letters are taken from the Madhuban and the Banākhera copper-plate inscriptions.

⁵ Fleet gives Ma[¹⁰hā]rājā[¹¹rdhā] instead, but the question marks would show that he was not sure of his reading. The name is clearly Apsarōdevī.

⁶ Possibly the length mark was shown in two ways: by a stroke above the top line, and by projecting the top line upwards and giving a small bend to its end.

⁷ Fleet gives utpā[¹³]-¹⁴nnāḥ in his reading of the Sonpat seal.

⁸ The Madhuban and the Banākhera records show *śaśak* here—"*śaśa*".

9 [ta i]va parahit-ānuraṭaḥ paramabhaṭ[ā]raka-Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Rājyavarddhana-
[ā]r[ā]ṭa-

10 ay-ānura-tat-pād-ānudhyātāḥ paramabhaṭ[ā]raka-Mahādēvi-śrī-Yasōma[tyāra]ṇa[dē-]

11 vyāma-śrī-ā[ś]pennāḥ paramamā[ḥ]śvaraḥ Mahāśvara iva sarva-sa

12 tv-ānukampaka[ḥ] paramabhattāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Harshaḥ[ā]r[ā]ṭa

The text of this seal is not entirely identical with that of the Sonpat seal as deciphered by Fleet, nor with the genealogical portion of the above-mentioned copper-plate grants. The difference, however, is not material and the pedigree is practically the same. The name of the king as given in this and other specimens recovered from Nālandā is not Harshavardhana but only Harsha. The latter name is found not only in the two copper-plate inscriptions, but also in the Sign-Manual or autograph on the Banakhara plate. The facsimile of the Sonpat seal is very indistinct. A genius like Bhagavulal Indrajī or an epigraphist of the type of Fleet alone could make so much out of it. While giving the name Harshavardhana Fleet could not help remarking that the three *akṣaras vardhanaḥ* are rather small and cramped in the centre of the bottom of the seal. Other differences need not be pointed out here.

Out of the official seals the beautiful specimen bearing the legend—

1 Nagara-bhuktan kumār-ānāṭy-ādhi-

2 karapaśya [ā]r[ā]ṭa

which is written in the Gupta script of about the 6th century A.D. under the standing figure of Lakṣmī, flanked by an elephant, is reproduced as C in the accompanying plate.

Among the seals belonging to dignitaries or private individuals the one of śrī-Paśu-patīśinḥa, marked D on the accompanying facsimile, looks noteworthy. On palmographic grounds it may be relegated to about the 7th century A.D. The legend on it reads as follows:—

1 Vijit-śrīti-gaṇaśya nyāyavatō rāja-

2 vṛtti-nipuṇaśya aśa-guṇ-ābhataśya

3 śrī-Paśupatīśinḥasya la[kakma-edaṇ] [ā]r[ā]ṭa

This may be rendered as —

'The token of the illustrious Paśupatīśinḥa, whose excellences are his ornaments, who was just and expert in (performing) royal service and who has completely conquered the group of (his) foes.' The use of the word *lakṣma*, meaning 'token', is significant, for it clearly proves that such seals were used as tokens sent in support of the genuineness or authenticity of documents despatched along with them.

Of the remaining two seals reproduced here one, marked E on the accompanying plate, is specially interesting in that it enables us to comprehend the import of the word 'pāṇapada'. The device we see on this seal consists of a seated male figure, nimbate, with left hand holding, probably, a *phala* or *maṇḍalakalāśa*, the right, a *rosary* or *akṣamālā* (?) and flanked by a tree in a railing or enclosure and on a platform. Below this device there is a short legend of two lines reading:—

1 Purikā-grāma-jā-

2 pāṇapadaśya [ā]r[ā]ṭa

* *Śrī* is used for the sake of emphasis—both were serving brothers.

THE CLAY SEALS OF NALANDA (III).

D



E



F



and means '(The seal) of the *Jānapada* or Community of the *Purikā*-village.' Obviously, the word *jānapada* is not used here in the sense of '*Jāna*', which is the dictionary meaning of it, but has to be taken in the sense of **community or unit or corporate body**. In the collection at Nālandā I have now found several other '*jānapada*' seals which are being described in the Memoir.

The other seal, marked F on the accompanying plate, belongs to the village of **Pādapāk** (or 'g') and the legend which it bears reads:—

Pādapāk-grāmasya [10*]

In several cases these seals, whether they belong to royalties, offices, communities or villages, either show long, flat or rectangular grooves, or have holes drilled right through from top to bottom. Evidently, they were meant for being tied to documents by means of strings, cloth, or palm-leaves. Some of these seals appear to be sun-dried and were probably fastened when they were still fresh or wet and then dried in the sun. Others were probably burnt in some kiln and kept ready for future use. No document has yet been found at Nālandā with any of these seals and it cannot be determined how they were fastened. That such seals or tokens were tied to letters by means of a thick and strong *sūtra* or string may be inferred, however, from the following description of the *lakṣa-hāra* or courier from Kriṣṇa, the brother of Śrīharṣa, which Bāṇa gives in the *Harṣacharitam*:—

यद्य तेनानीयमानम्, यत्निविडसुखवन्धनिष्ठितान्तरालकृत-
व्यवच्छेदया लेखमालिकया परिकलितमूर्धानम्, . . . प्रविशन्तं लेखद्वारक-
मद्राचोत्.

'Then he beheld the messenger entering as he was brought before him,—his legs tired and heavy with the long journey, with his tunic girt up rightly by a mud-stained strip of cloth, the knot hanging loose and fastened up by a rugged clout swinging behind him, and having his head wrapped with a bundle of letters, which had a deep division pressed into it by a very thick thread that bound it:.....' Such seals as were found in their entirety, like the one of *Paśupatiśiṃha*, were probably fastened to strings whose ends were secured on the documents themselves either by being sealed with the same seal or by another seal or token. The string might have been of hemp or of cotton. In the hole of one seal I have recently seen a piece of white '*Jādi*' cloth. In the absence of any specimens cannot be determined whether these documents or books, etc., were written on wood, leather, palm-leaves, paper or any other material. But an idea as to how these seals must have been tied to them can be formed from the description of the remarkable documents which Sir Aurel Stein discovered at Niya and has described with good illustrations in his *Ancient Khotan and Serindia*. These seals were usually broken when a document was read after its receipt to avoid forgery. That is the reason why they are found more or less damaged. This is done even nowataya. In ancient India it was rather the potter's mud or clay which was generally used instead of the shellac or sealing wax, and the *lakṣa-hāra* was like the *harḍra* of to-day.

POSTSCRIPT.

My recent examination of the whole collection has led me to the valuable discovery of several seals representing the Gupta kings **Narasimhagupta**, his son **Kumārāgupta**, **Budhagupta** and **Vaiṇyagupta**, and also the kings [Bha]gavatachandra, **Supratishthita-varman**, and others. The Gupta seals would show among other points of historical interest that the name of **Kumārāgupta's** mother has to be read as **Mitrādēvī** and not **Śrīmatīdēvī** or **Lakṣmidēvī**, and that of **Puragupta's** mother, as **Vaiṇyadēvī** not **Vatsadēvī**. All these seals are being fully treated in my forthcoming monograph on Nālandā.

No. 12.—BAIGRAM COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE [GUPTA]-YEAR 128

By RADHAKRISHNA BASAK, M.A., DACCA

This copper-plate was discovered in 1928 near a wooden structure which surrounded an old well opened by some tenants of Rai Sahib Kumardhā Das, Zamindar of Hill, while excavating a tank at Baigram (P. O. Hill) in the District of Bogra, Rajshahi Division, Bengal. One more copper-plate, which was found along with it, was taken away by the culins and has not yet been secured. The document under publication was kept with one Pūṣara Alexander till it was brought to Hill early this year by Babu Kriahna Chandra Saha, Manager of the Rai Sahib's estate. Afterwards Babu Jyotirindranath Das, Advocate, High Court, Calcutta, presented it to the Ganga Research Society, Howrah, and it is now in the possession of that Society. Babu Niradabaran Mishra Chakravarti, Secretary of the Society, brought it to my notice and gave me a set of its estampages on which my reading of the inscription is based. It is very gratifying, indeed, that within the last few years we have recovered eight valuable records of the Gupta period from North Bengal itself (i.e., ancient Pundravardhana-*śāstā*). Out of these eight documents, seven have already been published, viz., the Dhanadatta copper-plate inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I; the year 118,¹ the Five Damodarpur copper-plate inscriptions² and the Pāṭālpur copper-plate grant of the Gupta year 159.³ The eighth forms the subject of the present paper.

Like the seven charters already published, this inscription is also a deed of sale and registers the purchase by private persons of *bhūta* (fallow) and *śāsta* (homestead) land belonging to the State for the purpose of donation to a temple. The Faridpur copper-plate grants⁴, marked A, B and C by Patgister, are also of the same type. The general procedure followed in ancient Bengal for purchasing State lands by private persons as laid down in this grant is identical with that given in the Damodarpur grants or in the Pāṭālpur copper-plate inscription. The intending purchaser of a State land had to submit an application to the administrative authority concerned and the Government had to refer the matter to the record-keepers before giving the required sanction.

The plate measures 9" x 6", approximately, and bears writing on both the sides of it; the obverse side has fifteen lines and the reverse only ten. The left side of it is somewhat protruberant in the middle and this part was circular at its end with a portion cut off and bent. The hole here would show that a seal was probably attached to the plate, though it is not now forthcoming. The writing is well executed and the document is fairly well preserved.

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets of the 5th century A.D. and are almost similar to those used in the Damodarpur plates Nos. 1 and 2, which also belong to the same period. As in the Damodarpur, the Dhanadatta and the Pāṭālpur copper-plates, here, too, the medial *ḍ* is at times indicated by means of a hook-stroke attached to the lower right side of an *āśāra* as, for example, in *grāmaḥ* (l. 2). The form of *ṣ* in *rāṣaḍa* (ll. 8 and 10) is also noteworthy. As one would ordinarily expect in the inscriptions of this period, the letter *h* is distinguished from *x* in this document also (see, for example, *Brāhmaṇa* l. 2 or *śāstāgṇa* l. 2). The sign for the conjunct letters *ha* and *ka* appears to be almost identical. The form of the four-lettered conjunct *śāśāḥ* occurring in the word *śāśāśāḥ* (l. 10) may be noted. The form of the medial *ḥ* and *ḥ* in the letters *m*, *x* and *s* requires attention (see, e.g., *māḥa* in l. 2).

¹ Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 348 ff.² *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 89 ff.³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 112 ff.⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 102 ff.

śākhā in l. 24 and *yachā* in l. 25). This form of *ś* is to be found with the letter *ś* also, as, for example, in *śākhā* (l. 23). The sign for the lingual *ṣ* is used in *śākhā* (ll. 18-19). The form of the final *t* and *m*, often found joined with the preceding letters slightly below the top line, as, for example, in *śākhā* (l. 23), *śākhā* (l. 22), is also noteworthy. The numerical symbols for 100, 20, 8, 10 and 9 are found used in line 25 and those for 3 and 2 in line 18.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose excepting in the three imperative verses found in lines 21 to 25. As in some of the Damodarpur plates (Nos. 1 to 4) and the Facidpur plates (Nos. A, B and C) the superfluous *k* is found in this inscription also, as in *kākhā* (ll. 18-19) and *śākhā* (l. 4). *Śākhā* has been neglected in some places, as in *śākhā* (l. 10) and *śākhā* in line 17.

As regards orthography the following peculiarities require attention: (1) Consonants are usually doubled before *g*, as in *śākhā* (l. 5) (but in the same word in line 13 *k* seems to be single) and *śākhā* (l. 1). (2) The consonants *k* and *t* are doubled before the subscript *r*: e.g., *śākhā* (ll. 6 and 12) and *kākhā* (ll. 5 and 11). (3) The consonants *k*, *g*, *t*, *k*, *t*, *g* and *s* are doubled after the super-script *r*: e.g., *śākhā* (ll. 5 and 11), *śākhā* (l. 23), *śākhā* (l. 20), *śākhā* (l. 12), *śākhā* (l. 19), *śākhā* (l. 20) and *śākhā* (l. 23) respectively.

The inscription is dated in *Saka* 128 on the nineteenth of *Māgha*. This *saka* evidently refers to the Gupta era and the record undoubtedly refers to the reign of the Gupta monarch Kumāragupta I whose dates, known from coins and inscriptions, range from 113 to 136 G.E. Consequently the year given in the inscription must correspond to the year 447-48 of the Christian era. It may be noted here that one of the Damodarpur plates of Kumāragupta I is also dated in this very year, viz., 128 of the Gupta era. The use of the Gupta *saka* was current in North Bengal during this period. The name of the reigning king is omitted in this inscription as well as in the Pāṇḍurpur plate. Evidently the words *Śākhā-kākhā* in lines 1 and 13 refer to the reigning sovereign, viz., Kumāragupta I.

The object of the inscription under publication is to record the purchase of three *kākhā* of revenue-free *kākhā* (fallow) lands and two *śākhā* of state-*śākhā* (homestead) land belonging to the State and lying in two localities connected with Vāyagrāma, viz., Trivṛtā and Śrīgṛhā, by two persons named Bhāṇḍa and Bhāṇḍa for the purpose of making a donation, to meet the expenses of flowers, perfumes, etc., required for daily worship and occasional repairs to the temple of Gōvindaśākhā which was founded by their father Śivamaṇḍin. The name of the place whence the charter was issued was Pāṇḍanagari, possibly the district (*śākhā*) headquarters. The administrative officer, who was in charge of the district court (*śākhā-śākhā*) and approached by the two intending purchasers of the State land, was named Kulavṛddhi and had the title of Kumārahastya. The application was granted and the land was sold to them in accordance with the decision of the Government record-keepers (*śākhā*) arrived after the land was properly surveyed and measured by means of the *śākhā* in use there. The members of the *śākhā-śākhā*, the other Government officers, as well as the chief householders of the villages concerned were addressed by the head of the *śākhā* regarding this sale of the land by the Government after having received its price at the fixed rate of 2 *śākhā* per *kākhā* which was in vogue in that *śākhā*. These persons were directed to maintain the grant as a permanent endowment according to the principles of *śākhā-śākhā*.

It is not unlikely that like the Kōtivarṇa of the Damodarpur grants and the Bhāṇḍāpāra of the Dhansidhā plate, the Pāṇḍanagari of the inscription under publication was one of the *śākhā* of the old Pūṇḍaravardhana-*śākhā*; but I am unable to identify it, nor am I able to locate Trivṛtā and Śrīgṛhā. I cannot say for certain if the village named here as Vāyagrāma

is the village of the same name that is mentioned in No. 4 of the Damodarpur grants. If they are identical, the village must have been situated somewhere on the boundary line between Kōṭi-varsha and Pañchanagari. That Baigram, where this plate was unearthed, is the ancient Vāyigrāma mentioned in this plate (l. 2) cannot be doubted. Consequently it may reasonably be assumed that the localities mentioned in the inscription were situated somewhere near Hill in Bogra. The name Śrigōhālī, however, reminds us of the names Vāja-Gōhālī and Nītra-Gōhālī of the Pāṭṭarpur inscription.

A note on the relation in value between a *diṇḍra* and a *rūpaka* coin as met with in this inscription may well be added here. The name *diṇḍra* is of foreign origin and is derived from the Latin *denarius*, as we all know. The word *rūpaka* occurring in this inscription, I think, requires an explanation. As two *drōṇas* of land are priced at 8 *rūpakas* in lines 6 and 14 of the inscription it appears certain that 8 *rūpakas* are equivalent in value to $\frac{1}{2}$ *diṇḍra* because 1 *kulyaṇḍpa* (=8 *drōṇas*) is explicitly priced at the rate of 2 *diṇḍras* according to the prevailing custom of sale described in the inscription. Hence 1 full *diṇḍra* will be equal to 16 *rūpakas*. We may, therefore, surmise that the term *rūpaka*, which may ordinarily stand for a coin of any variety, refers to silver coins in this charter. In Kautilya's *Arthasastra* the word *rūpa* seems to mean a coin which may be of silver or copper, i.e., *rūpya-rūpa* (silver coin, e.g., *paṇas*) and *śmśa-rūpa* (copper coin, e.g., *māsha*). The officer who examines coins or controls currency is called *Rūpa-darśaka* in that work.¹

As regards the different rate of price of *bbāla* and *śāta* land we find that in some of the Damodarpur plates the rate was three *diṇḍras* for a *kulyaṇḍpa* (*tridīnāṛīkya-kulyaṇḍpa*), but in our inscription as well as in the Pāṭṭarpur one, we have the rate of two *diṇḍras* for a *kulyaṇḍpa* (*dvīdīnāṛīkya-kulyaṇḍpa*); whereas in almost all the Parīḍpur plates the rate is that of four *diṇḍras* for a *kulyaṇḍpa* (*chaturdīnāṛīkya-kulyaṇḍpa*). This difference may have been due to the difference of localities and also, probably, to the character of the land sold.

From the Pāṭṭarpur inscription it has become clear that one *kulyaṇḍpa* of land is equal to 8 *drōṇas*, for there 12 *drōṇas* are totalised as one and a half *kulyaṇḍpas* and the same result is also obtained even by reference to the money value proposed in the grant in accordance with the prevalent rate. The formula found in some Sanskrit lexicons for one *kulyaṇḍpa* being equal to 8 *drōṇas* is, therefore, established.

The most striking point of historical importance that can be mentioned in this connection is that in our inscription also, as in the other North Bengal grants of the Gupta period, we find the same administrative system in force during the age, viz., that the *vishayapati*, who enjoyed the use of the usual title of *Kumārāmātya*, were appointed to be in charge of the *vishay-śāhībhāṇḍas* by the Gupta emperors, undoubtedly on the advice and approval of the higher officer of the larger unit, the *bhukti*, or the *aparānta-saṁhātājña*. The prevalence of such a procedure of administrative relation between the different Government authorities is supported more by the other North Bengal inscriptions of the period than by the present one, as Kulaviddhī, the *vishayapati*, is here described as directly meditating on the feet of His Majesty (*Bhagāvala-pāda*). But this probably alludes to the fact that the appointment of such an administrative head of a *vishaya* by the *bhukti* governor required the sanction of His Majesty, the imperial Gupta monarch. The position of *Kumārāmātya* Kulaviddhī here must be exactly the same as that of *Kumārāmātya* Vātravarman of Kōṭivarsha appointed to his responsible post by *aparānta-saṁhātājña* himself enjoyed the favour of the imperial ruler, *paramataraṇḍa*, *paramādhipāraṇa* *Mahārājā-dhīrāja* Kumāragupta I, as mentioned in Damodarpur plates Nos. 1 and 2 of 124 and 128 G.E., respectively. Kulaviddhī and Vātravarman must, therefore, have been contemporary officers under the same sovereign in the two separate *vishayas* in North Bengal.

¹ Dr. Shamasastry's Translation, p. 66. Cf. Mr. N. P. Jayawar's remarks above, Vol. XX, p. 81.—Ed.

First Side.

[illegible]

Attention may be drawn to the curious fact that in this new grant we do not find any reference to the Board of Advisors mentioned in the Damodarpur grants Nos. 1, 2, 4 and 5, as having aided the *vishayapati* of Kōṭivarsha in the administrative work of the *vishay-ādhipālaya*, the four members forming that Board being (1) the *magān-trīlokyā* (the President of the town-guild), (2) the *prathamā-sūtrānāṭha* (the representative of the merchant class), (3) the *prathamā-kulika* (the representative of the artisan class) and (4) the *prathamā-lāyānāṭha* (probably, the chief scribe,—the head of the Government officials). The absence of such a reference in a document of the year 128 G.E. (Damodarpur grant No. 2 of Kumāra-gupta I's reign being also of the same date) belonging to a different part of Puṣṭravardhana's *bhukti* is difficult to explain, excepting on the tentative theory that Kōṭivarsha (of Damodarpur grant No. 2) was perhaps a more important *vishaya* where Government had to keep better administrative arrangement for the *vishay-ādhipālaya* than in Pañchanagari of this grant, which may have been a newly formed district at the time. It may also be noted that in this inscription we do not come across the name of the *bhukti* Governor known from two of the Damodarpur grants (i.e., Nos. 1 and 2).

TEXT.

First Side.

- 1 Svasti [1*] Pañchanagaryyā Bhāṭṭāraka-pād-lānāṭha Kumāra-māyā-Kula-
vṛddhir-īśad-vishay-ādhipālaya-cha
- 2 Vāyigrāmika-Trivṛta(tā)-Śrīgōhālyōḥ Brāhmaṇa-Cetanā-samivayavāhātī-pramukhān-
grāma-kupumbināḥ kuśalan-ama-
- 3 varṇya bōdhayanti(tī) [1*] Vijnāpaya(tō)-ti-siva-rāstavya-kujumbi-Bhōyila-
Bhāskarav-āvarōḥ pītṛā Śivamaṇi-
- 4 nā kārj[ta]ka Bhagavatō Gōvinda-svāmīnāḥ dēvakulā(āṭh)-īśad-māt-saipa(tā)-
adō-īpa)-vṛttikāḥ(am) [1*] Iha vishayā samudaya-
- 5 bāhy-ādya-asatumba-khila-kahēttrāgām-akinchit-pratikarāgām śaśvad-śchandr-ārkkā-
tāraka-bhōjyānām(nām)-skahaya-nivya
- 6 divi-dināṭikya-kulyavāpa-vikkrayō-nuvṛttas-tad-achath-āvarōḥ = sakāśāt-shaḍ-dinārān-
ashṭa cha rūpakān-āṭ-
- 7 [kr]itya Bhagavatō Gōvinda-svāmīnō dēvakulō [kha]yā-phuṭṭa-pratibhāṭa(akā)ra-
karapāya gandha-dhūpa-dipa-
- 8 mamasā[1*] pravaritanāya cha Trivṛttāyām Bhōgi(yi)lasya āhila-kahēttra-
kulyavāpa-trayāḥ Śrīgōhālyā(ā)-ch-āpi
- 9 tala-vājak-ārtha[m*] sthala-rāstunō drōgavāpam-ēkch Bhāskarasy-āpi sthala-
rāstunō drōgavāpān-cha dāt-
- 10 m-ā[ti] [1*] Yatō yashmān-bōdhayāma[1*] Postapāla-Durgādatt-ārkkadāsyōr-
avadhāraṇyā¹ avadhṛita-
- 11 m-asat-Iha vishayā samudaya-bāhy-ādya-asatumba-khila-kahēttrāp[1*] śaśvad-
śchandr-ārkkā-tāraka-bhōjyānām divi-di-
- 12 nārīky-kulyavāpa-vikkrayō-nuvṛttāḥ [1*] Śvadevidh-āpratikara-khila-kahēttra-
vikkrayō cha na kaichid-rāj-ārtha-
- 13 vīrōḥ upachaya Śva Bhāṭṭāraka-pādānām dharmma-phala-shaḍ-bhāg-āvrāpti-
cha tad-diyatām-iti ślayōḥ

¹ Read *apāyāṭha*. *Phuṭṭa* is evidently a Pāli form.² Read " *magān-trīlokyā*."

enjoyed for all time to come as long as the moon, the sun and the stars endure, and free from the liability of payment of any kind of taxes.

[Ll. 5—10] So design to make a grant to (me), **Bhōyila**, of three *kulgarāpas* of *khala* (i.e., waste) land in **Trivṛttā** and one *drōṇarāpa* of *vāta* (i.e., homestead) land, for (dwelling) site (*śāla*) and paths (*vīthā*) in **Śrīgōhāli**, and to (me), **Bhāskara**, one *drōṇarāpa* of homestead land for the purpose of repairs to the temple of Lord Gōvindasvāmin when damaged or dilapidated and for the performance of the daily worship with perfumery, incense, lamp and flowers, by getting from us an income of six *dināras* and eight (*silver*) coins.

[Ll. 10—15] Since we inform you that it has been determined by the record-keepers, Durgādatta and Arakmāsa (*thes.*),—there exists in this *vidhaya* (the procedure of) sale at the rate of two *dināras* for each *kulgarāpa* of shrubless fallow fields, which are beyond the possibility of yielding revenue (to the king), to be enjoyed for all time to come as long as the moon, the sun and the stars endure. Moreover, there can be no objection (out of fear of any loss) on the king's behalf in the matter of such sale of *khala* fields, free from taxes: (rather) there is (possibility of) some income for the *Rhātāśaka-pāda* (or the king) and also of the acquisition of one-sixth of the religious merit (*merit*) from such an act). Hence the (land) should be given (by sale).

[Ll. 15—18] Thus on making an income of six *dināras* and eight (*silver*) coins (*rūpās*) from **Bhōyila** and **Bhāskara** for the sake of the temple of Lord Gōvindasvāmin, three *kulgarāpas* of *khala* fields in **Trivṛttā** and one *drōṇarāpa* of *vāta* land in **Śrīgōhāli** were granted (by sale) to **Bhōyila** and one *drōṇarāpa* of *vāta* land in the very same place (i.e., **Śrīgōhāli**) to **Bhāskara**, by the execution of a copper-plate (*śāstī*) in accordance with the principle of perpetual endowment (*akṣayapūrṇa*), thus the total measurement of land (sold) being three *kulgarāpas* and two *khala-drōṇarāpas* (stated in figures as *ku* 3 and *akhalas* 2 respectively).

[Ll. 18—21] (So) you shall make over (to the two applicants the portion of land) by fixing their boundaries on four sides with marks of chaff and charcoal which will be permanent, after having distend (the area) by the measurement of 8×9 reeds by the hands of Darvīkurnama, in places which have no conflict with your own agricultural work, and shall preserve it for all time to come by the principle of perpetual endowment. The present and the future administrative agents and others also should preserve it out of regard for religious merit.

[Ll. 21—25] (Here follow three imprecatory stanzas.)

[L. 25] (Here the charter) ends. The year (*samv.*) 128, the 19th day of Māgha.

NO. 14.—MAURYAN BRAHMI INSCRIPTION OF MAHASTHAN.

By D. R. BRANDARKAR.

This interesting inscription in Mauryan Brāhmī was discovered at Mahāsthān on the 30th of November 1931, by one Barn Fajir of the Mahāsthāngāph village in the Bogra District of Bengal. Mr. G. C. Chandra, who was then Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, acquired it for the Department, and it was for some time lying in his office at Calcutta. Under the orders of the Director-General of Archaeology, it has now been deposited in the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Soon after the discovery of this plaque, a very brief account of its contents, I am told, was printed in the columns of a Bengali daily of Calcutta, the *Baṅga-dīpī*, though I have not seen it as all. The account which has appeared in the *Liberty*, dated Friday, 22nd April, 1932, p. 4, I was able to see, but it does not touch any important detail of this epigraph. My transcript

and account of it are based upon an impression sent to me by Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Government Epigraphist for India, and a photograph forwarded later by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, Director-General of Archaeology in India. Recently when the plaque was deposited in the Indian Museum, I was able to inspect it personally, and found, what I knew long ago, that it was impossible to exaggerate the importance of carefully examining the original whenever possible, as impressions and photographs are often not enough to enable a scholar to prepare an accurate transcript.

The inscription is incised on a piece of hard limestone which measures $3\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}'' \times \frac{1}{4}''$. Though it is in a fragmentary condition, yet it is possible to determine, more or less approximately, what was its original extent. That no complete line was engraved after the last line of this fragment can reasonably be inferred from the space remaining blank at the end, which is not less than what we find between any two actual lines of this epigraph. Again a careful examination of the stone shows that the original surface of its sides is still traceable here and there and that many letters, consequently, cannot have been destroyed from the sides. Thus while *śmā* is the last word of l. 2, *dhāyemā* is the first word of l. 4. It is thus clear that the sides of the inscription have not been much damaged. One or two letters at the most may have been obliterated from each line whether at the beginning or at the end. Line 1 of our fragment cannot however be really the first line of the original inscription. But even here we may be pretty sure that more than one line could not have been so effaced.

The fragment, as it is, contains six lines of writing in Brāhmī character of the Mauryan period. The alphabet remarkably resembles that of the Aśokan records. The only difference that is perhaps worthy of note is that the vertical part of the letters t, p, k, c and s is a bit more prolonged than is generally seen in Aśokan inscriptions. Our record again has one peculiarity which it shares in common with the Kāśī recension of the Fourteen Rock Edicts of Aśoka. It is in regard to the letter s which occurs also in a form resembling ś. That these two forms do not mean two different letters in our inscription, namely, s and ś, is quite certain. The word *śāṅgīyānā* occurs twice, once in l. 1 and once in l. 3; and whereas the first letter in the first case is a clear s, it has the form of ś in the second. There can however be no doubt as to *śāṅgīyānā* being the word intended. The ś-looking letter must therefore be regarded as a cursive form of s and has consequently to be read as s, and not ś. Similarly in regard to *śāṅgīyānā* (l. 2) and *śāṅgīyānā* (l. 3), the first letter in each one of these words is evidently s, but whereas the former character is distinctly s, the latter looks like ś. This ś-like form is noticeable, as remarked above, in the Kāśī copy of Aśokan Rock Edicts. Up till and including Rock Edict IX, the regular form of s is alone noticeable. In Rock Edict X the ś-like form occurs side by side with the regular one, but the former is almost invariably prevalent in the subsequent Edicts. Perhaps Multaśh is not right in reading it invariably as ś, as it seems to be but a cursive form of the regular s.

As regards the language of our inscription, it is the same as the one used in the Pillar Edicts of Aśoka. It was the language of the Madhyasthī influenced by Māgadhī or rather the converse language of Māgadhī. Here we have to notice the change of s to f and of the ending -ā to -a. These are the peculiarities of Māgadhī. We have, on the other hand, the dental s only as in the Pillar Edicts, and not the palatal ś which is the third characteristic of Māgadhī, according to the Prakrit grammarians. The locative singular ends in -i, and never in -e. As regards Orthography, we have to note first that the doubling of consonants caused by assimilation is not graphically shown. We have also to note the constant use of the perpendicular stroke as a vowel or stop to mark the words and the clauses of the record. Instances of such upright virgulas may be found in the Kāśī and Sahasrār Edicts of Aśoka though there they are sometimes inserted meaninglessly. To give one instance, Kāśī Rock Edict XIII has the following: *Atthā- [va] śśā- [va]*

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MAURYAN BRAHMI INSCRIPTION OF MAHASTHAN.

From an estampee.



ACTUAL SIZE.

From a photograph.



SLIGHTLY LARGER THAN ACTUAL SIZE.

BRONZE MAURYAN

STONES OF INDIA, CALCUTTA

khishita + *zha* [De] *yanamipiyasha* *Piyashina* [āyina] (Hultzsch, *C. I. I.*, Vol. 1, p. 45). In our inscription, however, it seems to have been properly employed to punctuate divisions or sentences.

The transcript of our record is as follows —

1. *nena* *Sa*(n*)*ya*(n*)*gīyā*(ā)*naṁ* [*Galadana*] | *Damaḍina*-(nāhā*)
2. *māte* | *śulakhita* *Puṇanagala* | *e*(ta)n
3. [n]**rahīpaṭṭeti* | *Sathva*(n*)*piyānaṁ* [*cha* *di*]**ne* [*nathā*]*
4. [dhā]**paṭraṁ* | *nivahisati* | *da*(n*)*gā*(ā*)*nyā*(i*)*kā* [*e*] *d*(vā)*
5. [tiyā]**ji*[kasi | *su-atthāyika*(ā) *pi* | *gadhā*(kahi*)
6. [dhāni]**ji*[kahi *sa* *kothāgāle* *kosam* [*bhara*]*
7. [*piyo*]

We have seen that the inscription is a fragmentary one. We cannot therefore entirely do without some amount of conjecture while interpreting it. The record, however, can be treated best by considering it line by line and word by word. The fragment begins with the two letters *nena*. The word originally must have been either *sānana* or *nachana*, more probably the former. If we carefully examine l. 1, at the most one letter could have preceded *nena* with which our fragment opens. Thus whether this word was *sānana* or *nachana*, the first letter of it could not have been engraved in the present l. 1 of the fragment but rather in the line preceding it which has now been lost. Similarly, the words [*nā*]**ya*(n*)*gīyā*(ā)*naṁ* [*Galadana*], punctuated by the *virāma* of l. 1, make no complete sense as they stand. They surely must have been preceded by some words in the line previous which is now broken and which told us what was the exact nature of the *śāna* and who the ruler was that issued it.

The next word is *Saragiyānā*, as it stands. The same word occurs in l. 3 as *Sasamagiyānā*, where the *anuvāda* after *sa* is distinct. The word may be equivalent to the Sanskrit *Samvargyānā*, which, however, yields no good sense. It may stand for *vargyānā*, 'of the class-folks, or the clansmen', with *anuvāda* prefixed to it. But this prefix *anuvāda* remains meaningless and inappropriate. Besides, what is meant by saying that something was given by *sāna* to 'Galadana of the clansmen' ? Who were these clansmen ? Why is their name not specified ? It will be better to insert another *anuvāda* this time after *sa*, and read the whole word as *Sasamagiyānā*, 'of the Sathvagiya (tribe)'. The insertion of an *anuvāda* after *sa* cannot be unjustifiable in view also of the fact that in l. 3 we have *Puṇanagala*, which obviously stands for *Puṇanagala*. That *Vadgiya* is, like the *Vajji*, the name of a tribe can scarcely be doubted. And just as the confederation of the different *Vajji* clans is sometimes called *Samvajji*, it is not impossible that the various *Vadgi* clans were similarly summed up under the name *Samvargiya*. We shall dilate upon this point later, but what we have here to note is that the second word in l. 1 is in all likelihood intended for *Sasamagiyānā* which yields good sense and which can also be read as such, having regard to the fact that in old inscriptions an *anuvāda* is not unfrequently omitted.

The third word in l. 1 cannot be read with certainty as the upper part of its letters is damaged. It reads like *Galadana*—(Sk.) *Galādānaya*. It seems that *Galadana* was a leader or chief of the *Samvargiyas*, to whom something was granted by *sāna*. The next word, though a little damaged, is pretty certain and reads *Damaḍina*. Then followed two letters, the first of which is partially preserved and the second completely lost. Thus first is either *e* or *ne*. These two letters together with the first two, namely, *māte*, of the second line formed one word, which is marked by a *virāma*. Thus the letters intervening between this and the preceding *virāma* may be read either as *Damaḍina*-(v) [*o*]*māte* or *Damaḍina*-*nāhāmāte*. The former alternative is less preferable, because the force of *sa* after *Damaḍina* is undetermined. Is it a genitive termination, or a part of an individual's name, whatever that may mean ? If the former is the case, it makes no

The next batch of interpunctuated letters is *an-āṇḍāgāḍai pi*. But these two words by themselves do not form a clause, and have therefore to be taken along with those that follow. Of these only *gandaka* has been preserved in L. 5. At least two more were originally included in this line, but they have now been destroyed. The next line, which is the last preserved one, has lost at least two letters at the beginning and three at the end, but those that have been preserved can be clearly read as *[g]āḍai an kothāgāle kasaṁ*. The lacunae may be tentatively filled up as follows: *gandaka[ḍai*] [āṇḍā*]gāḍai an kothāgāle kasaṁ [āṇḍāgāle*]*. The whole may thus be rendered into English: "when there is an excess of plenty, this granary and the treasury may be replenished with paddy and the *gandaka* coins". Here two things are mentioned, (1) *kothāgāle*=*kothāgāḍa*=granary, and (2) *kasaṁ*=*kaṣaṁ*=treasury. Corresponding to *kasaṁ* we have the mention of *gandaka*, which means "a coin of the value of four carites". The *gāḍai*, with which the last line begins, can thus be easily rendered to *[āḍai*]gāḍai*=*āṇḍāgāḍai*, as it corresponds to *kothāgāle* and as we know it has already been mentioned as being distributed among the *Sauvāṇḍiyas*. What we have thus to understand here is that as soon as the time of superabundance returned, they were to remit *gandaka* coins into the royal treasury and paddy into the royal granary.

L. 5-4 refer to the doling out of paddy to these people. It is thus perfectly intelligible why at the end of the record they have been asked to return the corn. But why should there be any mention of *gandaka* coins at all at this place, as they have not been referred to above? Were the *gandaka* coins anywhere mentioned as being distributed among the *Sauvāṇḍiyas*, which they were expected to pay back into the treasury with the return of prosperity? We have said above that the first original line of this inscription has been lost, which told us about the nature of the *śāsana* granted to *Gaḍadana* (*Gallidana*) of the *Sauvāṇḍiyas*, who is mentioned in L. 1 of the preserved portion. And it is not at all unreasonable to surmise that this *śāsana* referred to the *gandaka* coins which were handed over to *Gaḍadana* for disbursement among the *Sauvāṇḍiyas* and which they were asked to return as soon as the day of plenty dawned upon them.

The inscription may thus be briefly summed up as follows: It appears that some ruler of the Mauryan period, if not of the Mauryan family, had issued an order to the *Mahāmātra* stationed at *Puṇḍranagara* with a view to relieve the distress caused, apparently, by famine to the people called *Sauvāṇḍiyas*, who were settled in and about the town. Two measures appear to have been adopted to meet this contingency. The exact nature of the first is not clear as the first original line of our record has not been preserved. But it may be surmised that this measure consisted of the advance of a loan in *gandaka* coins to *Gaḍadana* who, presumably, was a leader of the *Sauvāṇḍiyas*. The *Mahāmātra* of *Puṇḍranagara* was entrusted with the execution of this order. The second measure consisted of the distribution of *śāṇḍya* or paddy from the granary. A wish is then expressed that as soon as these measures are carried out, the *Sauvāṇḍiyas* will be able to tide over the calamity. With the restoration of profusion and affluence they have been asked to return the coins to the treasury and the corn to the granary, in other words, to pay the State back in kind and cash.

We may therefore translate the text as follows:—

"To *Gaḍadana* (*Gallidana*) of the *Sauvāṇḍiyas* (was granted) by order. The *Mahāmātra* from the highly auspicious *Puṇḍranagara* will cause it to be carried out. (And likewise) paddy has been granted to the *Sauvāṇḍiyas*. The outbreak (of distress) in the town during (this) outbreak of superhuman agency shall be tided over. When there is an excess of plenty, this granary and the treasury (may be replenished) with paddy and the *gandaka* coins."

We now turn to other matters revealed by the critical consideration of our epigraph. The inscription stone, Mr. Chandra told me, was originally picked up near a tank not far removed

from a high mound, where excavations were being conducted and which is presumed to contain the remains of a *stūpa*. Whether any characteristic parts of a *stūpa* were recovered in this work of exploration is not known. I am informed that no such definite results have been achieved. On the other hand, we have to note that the words *eva kothāpalle* occur in the last line. The word *eva* shows that the stone plaque was originally stuck into the granary itself from which paddy was doled out. And if our inscription *stupa*, when it was discovered, was lying not far from its original place, the monument which is being cleared of debris at present may after all turn out to be, not a *stūpa*, but the royal granary into which the plaque was originally fixed.

Our historical gain from a critical study of this record is by no means inconsiderable. In the first place, it places beyond all doubt the identification of Puṇḍravardhana with Mahāsthān, which was proposed by Cunningham half a century ago. In his account of Bhāsa Bihar, four miles to the west of Mahāsthān, he remarks that the Buddhist remains at that place corresponded both in description and position with those noted by Yuan Chwang at the *Pe-shih-p'o* monastery, which was situated just twenty *li*, or four miles to the west of the capital of the country of *Pu-na-to-tan-na* which transcribed itself into Puṇḍravardhana but is intended for Puṇḍravardhana.¹ "This city" says Cunningham "is a pilgrim place at 600 *li*, or 100 miles, to the east of the Ganges, near Rajmahal. Now, this description corresponds exactly with the relative positions of Rajmahal and Mahāsthān, the latter being just 100 miles to the east of the former".² The suggestion of Cunningham was shortly thereafter confirmed by the *Karotōyō-mahātmya*, which was first published forty years ago. The *Mahātmya* mentions many holy spots which are all found at present in Mahāsthān. But the *Mahātmya*, though it calls itself *Karotōyō-mahātmya*, purports to describe the sacred sites of Puṇḍra or Puṇḍravardhana-kāśātra. It is thus evident from it that the present Mahāsthān is identical with the old Puṇḍravardhana. Now, Mr. Prabhas Chandra Sen, who has edited the *Mahātmya* for the second time and for the Varanasi Research Society, rightly points out that one verse from it is cited by Sarvaśatka (1159 A.D.) in his *Vijā-sarvasa* on the *Amarakośa* and two in the *Smṛitichandriṣā* by Dāvanabhagya who is himself quoted by Hemādri (12th century).³ This shows that the *Karotōyō-mahātmya* is a composition which could not have been later than 1100 A.D. We may thus take it that the identity of Mahāsthān with Puṇḍravardhana was known before the twelfth century A.D. But this identity is now placed beyond all doubt by what our inscription tells us. It tells us that two remedial measures to alleviate the distress of a famine were contemplated and that the Mahāmātra of Puṇḍranagara was charged with the execution of them. One of these measures consisted in the distribution of paddy from the royal granary, which, as shown above, must have been situated in Mahāsthān itself as the inscription speaks of it as *eva kothāpalle*. As the *kothāpalle* was thus in Mahāmātra of Puṇḍranagara, it is quite clear that Mahāsthān is identical with Puṇḍranagara. And this identity between the two is now established by evidence not of the twelfth century A.D. to which the *Mahātmya* belongs, but of the fourth B.C. to which our record has to be assigned.

The second point of historical interest that we have to note is the manner in which the state in Ancient India endeavoured to combat the ravages of a famine. In this connection one is reminded of what Kaṭṭiya says in his *Arthasastra*: "*daridrikāle rājā bīja-bhakti-samgraham kṛtvā, Gangrahām kuryāt. Durgā-situ-karṇa vā bhakti-samgrahāṇa, bhakti-samgrahāṇa vā, 'During a famine, the king may show favour by giving *gratis* seeds (*bīja*) and food (*bhakti*). Either he may carry out work in forts and on dams with the distribution of food, or he may distribute food *gratis* (without exacting work)'. It will be seen from this passage that the state in ancient times*

¹ Watter's *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, pp. 124-5.

² *A. S. L. R.*, Vol. XV, p. 110.

³ *Varanasi Res. Soc.'s Monograph*, No. 2, p. 23.

encountered the contingency of famine either by starting works of public utility or by a free distribution of food. Neither of these, however, seems to be adverted to in our inscription. There is absolutely no mention of any public work being started in the interest of the famine-stricken people in Pundranagara. Mention is no doubt made of the distribution of paddy, but this paddy seems to have been given neither *gratis* nor in lieu of any work in the fort or on an embankment, just as the distinct understanding that it shall be returned to the State District Granary, as soon as the days of plenty and prosperity were restored. Here again what was given to the *Saṁvaidhyas* was not *accusa* or boiled rice, but rather *dhāngush* which is unhusked rice. This paddy obviously must have been used as seed for sowing operations and, also, when husked, must have served the purpose of food. It may now be asked: Why money was at all distributed among the *Saṁvaidhyas*? In this connection we have to remember that in East Bengal where nature is so plentiful a famine can take place only through the inundation of a river. *Mahāsthān* or *Pundranagara* is situated on a river, namely, the *Karātōvā*. And when a town is seated on a river, the floods cause devastations not simply to the crops in the fields but also to the buildings and huts which are perched on its borders. To meet this contingency, a money grant has to be made to the people whose belongings have been washed away or seriously affected by the floods. This is perhaps the only explanation that can be given of the disbursement of *grāṇika* coin among the *Saṁvaidhyas*. What again we have to note here is that this disbursement of money and this distribution of unhusked rice were made to this people without any interest. If they had been charged with any, there would have been some reference to it in our record. Or it may be that they were tacitly understood to return the money at the usual rate of interest.

Perhaps ours is not the first known inscription which relates to the putting up of a granary as a fortification against scarcity of food. Of practically the same period is a copper-plate found at *Sohgaura* "about fourteen miles south-east from Gorakhpur". This was first edited by Bühler in the *Vienne Ori. Jour.*, Vol. X, pp. 138 ff and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 281 ff, afterwards by Fleet in *JRAS.*, 1907, pp. 519 ff, and lastly by Prof. B. M. Barua in *Ann. Bhand. Ori. Res. Ins.*, Vol. XL, pp. 32 ff. A cursory glance at its contents will convince anybody that it refers not to one but two granaries. But the inscription, in spite of the fact that it has been revised thrice, has not yet been properly punctuated, read and interpreted. The last line should have been read *atītyāyika* na *gāhita*ya "nothing should be taken in excess (of plenty)". Our record speaks of two *atītyāyikas*, one of which is *vratyāyika*. It is this *atītyāyika* which is probably understood at the end of the *Sohgaura* copper-plate. Similarly, this last epigraph speaks of the granaries being stored with various provisions. In fact, if any fourth scholar makes an attempt to again revise the *Sohgaura* inscription in the light of our record, he may be able to show that the former also is an order to some *Mahāsthān*, probably of *Śrīvastī*, to open the two granaries and distribute their contents when any dire contingency called for it. In fact, the idea of countervailing the ravages of a famine by the erection of granaries and store-houses is pretty ancient in India and it is not therefore a matter of surprise if the *Mahāsthān* inscription also adverts to the measures commonly employed by the state to combat the devastations caused by a famine in ancient Bengal.

Let us now see what further light our record throws on the ancient history of Bengal. It is unfortunate that the first line of the inscription has not been preserved. The name of the ruler, if any was mentioned, is thus lost irretrievably. But as the alphabet and the language of our record are exactly like those of the Asokan edicts, it is not impossible that he was a prince of the Mauryan dynasty. We have already seen that the language of this epigraph is the language of *Madhyadīśa* influenced by the *Māgadhi*.¹ It was really the language of the Mauryan Court

¹ For a more detailed consideration of this point, see D. B. Bhandarkar's *Asoka* (2nd Ed.), p. 210-1.

in Magadha, which, owing to its outgrowing imperialism, had spread not only over the whole of Madhyadāśa but also over parts contiguous to it. Places like Kāśī in the Dehra Dun District, Dhāuli in the Puri, and Jangadā in the Ganjam District, where also the Fourteen Rock-Edicts of Aśoka have been found, were never included in Madhyadāśa, and yet we notice that these inscriptions are couched in the Madhyadāśa-Māgadhī dialect which had become the *lingua franca* of almost the whole of North India. We now see definitely that this *lingua franca* had spread even to Bengal and was in vogue there as early as the third century B.C. as our inscription conclusively proves it. It is true that Brahmanism took a long long time to spread over Bengal. In fact, there is no evidence to show that Brahmanism had any firm hold over this province earlier than the Gupta period. The *Āltarāpa-Brahmaṇa*, no doubt, speaks of the sage Viśvāmitra as having adopted Sunahśēpa as his son and caused much chagrin to the first fifty of his hundred sons, who were therefore cursed by him "to live on the borders of the Aryan country".¹ The descendants of these exiled sons of Viśvāmitra, we are further informed, formed the greater bulk of the Dasyus, and one of these Dasyu tribes specified in the *Brahmaṇa* was the Pūṣya, who at that time must have been settled round about Mahāsthān and can be still recognised in the Pūras, an aboriginal caste in Bengal.² The utmost that this tradition mentioned in the *Āltarāpa-Brahmaṇa* indicates is that some scions of the Viśvāmitra family carved tiny kingdoms in the countries of the alien tribes. This does not, however, show that Aryan culture had spread to the Pūṣya or any other country, far less imbibed by the people there. The Aryan culture seems for the first time to have been disseminated in Ancient Bengal by the Jains. This is clear from the fact that the *Kalpasiṭra*, an ancient scripture of the Jains, mentions, not one, but three *śākhās*, of the Godāra Gaṇa of Jain monks, named after the three places in Ancient Bengal, namely, Tāmralipti, Kōṭivarsha and Pūṣṭavaradhana. Of these Tāmralipti is the same as Tamruk in the Midnapur, Kōṭivarsha, the same as Rāgūth in the Dinājpur, and Pūṣṭavaradhana, the same as Mahāsthān in the Bogrā District of Bengal. It is curious to note that while Bihār and Kosala were taken up by the Buddha and his adherents, Bengal was selected by Mahāvīra and his followers for their proselytising activities. It is true that no traces of this original Jainism are now left in Bengal. But even as late as the middle of the seventh century A.D. the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang testifies to the Nirgrantha Jains being numerous in Pūṣṭavaradhana. Very recently a copper-plate charter was discovered during excavation at Pāhāpur in Bengal, which is dated G.E. 159—477 A.D. and registers a grant for the worship of Arhats at a Vihāra situated not far from this place and presided over by the disciples of the Nirgrantha preceptor. Nirgranthism, having been prevalent in Bengal up till the 7th century A.D. And it is these Jains settled in Tāmralipti, Kōṭivarsha and Pūṣṭavaradhana, who for the first time and in the pre-Mauryan period appear to have carried Aryan culture to ancient Bengal. This, however, at the most, may explain the employment of the Brāhmī alphabet in our inscription, but the use of the court language of Pāṭaliputra is a clear indication of Bengal, at any rate North Bengal, being included in the Mauryan dominions.

The last point of historical interest that we have now to consider is : Who were the Sathavahgiyas, supposing that was the name really intended ? Sathavahgiyas in the first place reminds us of Sathavajji. We know that to the account of *Fu-li-chih* (=Yüji) by Yuan Chwang a note is added by the commentator, saying that "Fu-li-chi was in 'North India', and the north people called it the *Sem-ja-chih* (or Sathavajji) country".³ On this point Beal makes the following per-

¹ For a full discussion of this subject, see *Ann. Bhadr. Ori. Soc. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 104 ff.

² It is curious that the Pūras of even so late a period as that of the Pāṇinis are placed in China. Nagpur in *Cambridge Hist. of Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 317 and Map 5.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 61 ff.

⁴ *Watter's On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 81.

minent comment: "The country of the Vrijja or Samvrijja, i.e., united Vrijja, was that of the confederated eight tribes of the people called the Vrijja or Vajja, one of which, viz., that of the Lichhavis, dwelt at Vaidali."¹ Just as the eight confederate clans of whom the Vajja were once the most important were called collectively the Samvrijja or the United Vajja, it is not at all unreasonable to conjecture that there were some confederate clans in East Bengal who were similarly conglomerated under the collective term of Samvaghgyas. This shows that the most prominent of these at the beginning was the Vaghgyas, after whom the confederation was styled the Samvaghgyas or the United Vaghgyas. The second point to be noted here is that the people of East Bengal are now called Vaghgs, and it may be asked where was the necessity of coining a name which is an obvious derivative from it, namely, Vaghgya. If we now turn to the *Vāṇḍ* and the *Maṇḍ* *Purāṇas* and study the chapters dealing with *Bhuvana-viṇḍān*, we find that they mention the two allied clans, Pravaṇḍas and Vaghgyas. But let it be noted that there is none which has been called Vaghga. Secondly, the second of these names, namely, Vaghgya comes so close to the Vaghgya of our inscription, that our inscription being earlier than any one of these *Purāṇas* and being a genuine record of its time, Vaghgya must doubtless be considered to be the original name, and the reading Vaghgya of the *Purāṇas* thus becomes a corrupt form of it. Again, the fact that Pravaṇḍas are coupled with Vaghgyas (wrongly called Vaghgyas) in these early *Purāṇas* shows that they were confederated clans and fell under the Samvaghgyas. And further the reference to the Samvaghgyas in connection with Puṇḍranagara goes to indicate that the Puṇḍras also belonged to the Samvaghgya confederacy. And just as in the time of the Buddha the capital of the Samvaji confederacy was Vesālī which was the headquarters not of the Vajja but of the Lichhavis who were then prominent, it seems that in the time of our inscription the capital of the Samvaghgyas was Puṇḍranagara, which was the headquarters, not of the Vaghgyas but of the Puṇḍras after whom it was undoubtedly called Puṇḍranagara.

No. 15.— JUBBULPORE KOTWALI PLATES OF KING JAYASIMHADEVA.
KALACHURI YEAR 918.

BY RAJ RABADUR HIRALAL, B.A., KATNI.

While digging for the foundations of a new Kotwali building at Jubbulpore two copper-plates were found in a stone box and were, in the ordinary course, sent over to the District Superintendent of Police, Mr. A. G. Scott, who gave them to me for decipherment. The letters were so thickly covered with accretions of ages that they were not visible except a few here and there. The crust had become exceedingly hard and could not be removed locally. I, therefore, sought the aid of the Archaeological Chemist through the Director General of Archaeology in India with the result that Mr. Mohamamad Sana Ullah, M.Sc., F.C.S., thoroughly cleaned the plates without injuring any letters, but he could not help where the copper had corroded. Thus many letters, especially in the first plate, have been damaged, as would appear from the accompanying plate. The original plates are now deposited in the Nagpur Museum. The first plate gives the genealogy of the donor in verses many of which are common to other records of the family. The second records the grant and also gives the usual imprecatory and benedictive stanzas.

The plates measure 14" x 9½", each weighing 6 lbs. There are altogether 40 lines in the record, 20 on each plate, both of which are written on one side. It appears that the writer did not care

¹ *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 77, n. 100.

to mention the name of the engraver who in order to immortalise himself engraved 3 more lines on the back of the second plate in much bigger characters than those of the grant, the letters averaging 1" against ½" of the record. In fact, the engraver commenced the record with that size, but after writing 11 letters in the first line he, probably, made a calculation and came to the conclusion that the whole would not go within the two sides of the two plates, so he reduced the size. Had he not made the initial mistake his name also would have come within that space but as it did not, he apparently induced the head of the Department of religion to compose a eulogistic verse about the latter to serve as an excuse for engraving on the reverse of the second plate before he could insert his name.

The characters of the record are Nāgarī and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography there is nothing special to add to what has been noted in respect of other Kalachuri records previously found. *ṭ* has invariably been used for *ṭ* in single letters but where the latter forms part of a compound letter its older form has been used, see, e.g., *abṭa* (l. 1), *abṭa* (l. 2), etc. The old form of *i* with two dots and a comma-like figure below them is conspicuous in the record.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a village *Agarā* near *Akharsauā* at the time of a lunar eclipse on **Saturday, the full-moon day of Āsvina in the (Kalachuri) year 918, i.e., the 30th September 1167 A.D.** The donor, the *P. M. P. Jayasimhadēva*, the devout worshipper of Mahādeva and the lord of the three Kālīngas, after bathing in the *Rivā* (Normada) at Tripuri, the well-known Kalachuri capital, made the grant to *Paṇḍita* *Viṭṭhala Śarma*, son of *Paṇḍita* *Dāmasaka* of the *Agastya-gotra*, with 3 *pramāṇas*, in the presence of self, the Queen (*Consort*) *Kāṣhapadevi*, the Her-aparent, the Prime-minister, the Royal Preceptor *Vasulativa*,¹ the Royal Priest, the Head of the Department of religion *Paṇḍita* *Rādhava*, the Chief Scribe *Thakura* *Vatsarāja*,² the *Sādhavagatika* (Minister for Peace and War) *Thakura* *Puruṣottama*, the *Pratidāra* (Chief Warden) *Kamalasiṃha*, the *Duṣṭasādika* (Mentor of criminals) *Paṇḍita* *Siṃha*, the *Mahāśākhika* (Generalissimo), the *Alakaputika* (Record Keeper),³ the Judge, the *Arasādhanika* (Equerry), the Treasurer and the inhabitants and political bodies of the gift-village for augmenting the religious merits of self and his parents. It appears that all the village rights, including a variety of taxes, were transferred to the donee. The village is given to the extent of its limits with boundaries marked on its four sides, with pasture for cows, with lands and water, with mango and *śakud* trees, with salt-pits, with mines and quarries, with the right of ingress and egress, with forest and river-bank lands, with trees, groves, creepers and plant gardens and grass, etc., with the river and mountain, with revenues and taxes levied at the resting place or camping ground, with pasture dues, toddy dues and lands not available to tenants, with *Gāṇa* (river-crossing) dues, village headman's dues and tax for mending the incorrigibles and the District rates.

These details give a glimpse of the revenue administration during the 12th century A.D. This record mentions some peculiar offices and taxes, which are usually not found in other records. The office of *Duṣṭasādika* which I have translated as Mentor of Criminals may be identical with that of *Duṣṭasādhanika* usually found in the inscriptions of the Pālas. *Paṇḍitadāra* seems to be a mistake for or a corruption of *Pratidāra*. The transfer of the river and the mountain

¹ The name suggests that he probably belonged to the line of the *Sāra* section of the *Mattamgata* clan—See Banerji, *History of Tripuri and their Monuments* (Mem. A. S. I.), pp. 116 ff.

² The two officials *Vatsarāja* and *Puruṣottama* are mentioned also in the Kumbhi plates—See Banerji, *History*, etc. p. 29 and *J. A. S. E.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 491 ff. and Vol. XXXI, pp. 116 ff.—*et.*

³ According to R. H. Bagnart *Sāha* (See *Journ.* Vol. XIV, p. 196 or 'Head of the Office of Accounts', according to Dr. Banerji [*J.A.S.E.* Vol. XII, p. 146].

⁴ It is very likely that *Duṣṭasādika* are represented by the present day *Duṣṭa*, & criminal tribes, as suggested by Dr. Ramesh Chandra Sastri.

and of the district or provincial rates appear to indicate abandonment of sovereign rights in favour of the domes. *Dugādhāyādāna*, which I take to be a tax for mending the incorrigibles, presents a new feature. So do the *Pravagādhā chārī rāvatā kāmata mānimāddāya* which are the forerunners of the modern dues for occupying camping grounds, for grazing cattle, extracting toddy, and crossing rivers. *Kāmata* was a right form of *hāmā-tāna*, which is still referred to in law books, but has become practically obsolete.

On the top of the first plate २ is written in small letters, which apparently means दत्त or gift No. 2 given on the same day.¹ The mark was probably meant for the writer's guidance.

The **genealogy** of the **demar** as given in the plate starts from the beginning of the creation, that is, from **Brahmā** born from the **Lotus** emanating from the navel of **Vishnu**. **Brahmā's** offspring was **Atri**, from whose eye was born the moon. From the latter was born **Bḍhiana**, from whom sprang **Purūravas**, in whose family **Bharata** was born. In the latter's family was born that highly glorious **Kārtavīrya**, who allowed the title of King only to the moon. He was the ancestor of the **Bālīyava** Princes, from whom sprang the **Kalachuri** race. In that race there was a prince named **Yovarājadēva**, who purified the town of **Tripurī**, so that it became like the **Indra's** city. Their name **Kōkalla** whose son was **Gāṅgēyadēva**, who died at the foot of the holy fig tree at **Prayāga** with his 100 wives. His son, the victorious **Karṇadēva**, succeeded him. He founded **Karṇāvati** and married a **Hāpa** lady **Avallādēvi**, from whom was born **Yasahkaradēva**. His son was **Gayākarṇadēva** whose consort was **Alhaṇadēvi**. From these were born **Narasimhadēva** and **Jayasimhadēva**, the latter being the donor of this grant. He occupied the **gaddi** during the waning period of the **Kalachuri** supremacy, for the line came to an end during his son and successor's rule. **Jayasimhadēva** succeeded his brother **Narasimhadēva**, who, we know from other records, was on the **gaddi** in 1159 A.D. The present record of **hadēva**, who, we know from other records, was on the **gaddi** in 1159 A.D. The present record of **Jayasimhadēva**, of whose times three other records have been found, brings him nearer to his brother's reign by at least 8 years.

The geographical names occurring in the record are the well-known Tripurī (present Tawar, 6 miles from Imbelpore), the river **Hēvā** or **Narmadā** near it, **Karnāvatī**, the present Karanbel, a part of Tripurī and the villages **Agarā** and **Akharaudā**, both of which are untraceable at present.

The character was prepared by an officer called *Dakṣaśilpi* or *Dakṣaśilpa*, named Vatsarāja, son of Ithama and grandson of Abhyūddhara and engraved by the silversmith Tālhaṇa, son of Pālhaṇa of the Kākka family.

TEXT.

[Metres.—*Māhāt*, verses 1, 9, 12; *Āpachchhandanika*, v. 2; *Vasantatilaka*, vv. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 14, 15, 16; *Āryā*, v. 6; *Sūktī*, vv. 11, 18; *Padmavijā*, v. 13; *Amṛtābhā*, vv. 14, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, and *Saṁskṛtāśṛīṭa*, vv. 17, 30.]

1940 年 10 月 1 日

- सिद्धम् ॥ [१॥] श्री नमो ब्रह्मणे ॥ जयति जनजनाभस्तस्य नाभी-
सरोजं जयति जयति तस्माज्जातधानजसुतिः । अथ जयति स तस्या-
पत्यमविष्मदत्तास्त[द]त्तु जयति जन्मप्राप्तवानश्विब[ो]धुः ॥ [१॥] अथ
बो[धो]धनमादि [रा]जपुत्रं यक्षया[का]मातरमजया[वा]भ्यवस्य । अथ
तनयं जनया[व]व

^a Flaming seems to be δ 2 which may be an abbreviation of digit 2.—Ed.

² See Bernal's *List of Inscriptions* (in *C. P. and Bernal* (1st edition), Nos. 31, 32, 44.

is represented by a symbol.

- 3 भूव राजा गगनाभोगतडागराजहंसः ॥ [२ ॥^a] पुच पुकरचममौरसमाप
सुनईवष ममजलरागिरसाधनस्य । यामीदनन्दसम-
- 4 भागगतीपभोग्या यस्वीर्ष्यशी च सुक[लच]मिहीर्ष्यरा च । [३ ॥^a]
यचा[न्यवे] किल [गता]धिकसमिधयूपोपस्यमुनोक्तविविक्तकीर्तिः । स-
- 5 सावि[न्वि]रत्नरसनाभरणाभिगमविश्वभरागुभरती भरती य[व]भूव ॥ [४ ॥^a]
वेला[ष्टकीत]पुनरुक्तस[म]स्तगयो गोचे जयत्वधिकमस्य
- 6 स कान्तवीर्यः । यचै[व] हैहयदृष्टान्वयपूर्वपुमि राजेति नाम शशजच्छाणि
यचमे या ॥ [५ ॥^a] [स] सि[माच]ल इव कलतुरिवशमसु-
- 7 त जगतीभृतां भ[र्त्ता] । सुतामणि[भि]रिवामलतलेः पूतं महीपति-
भिः ॥ [६ ॥^a] तचान्वये नयवतां प्रवरो [नरेन्द्रः] पौरंद[री]मिव
पुरी च-
- 8 पुरी पुनानः । यामीकदान्धदृपगन्धजाधिराजनिर्वाधकमरियुवा युवराज-
देवः ॥ [७ ॥^a] सि[न्हा]मने नृपतिर्निहममुष्यसूनु-
- 9 [मारु]पचवनिभर्तुरमात्वमुखाः । कौकलमर्षवच[तुष्टय]वी[चि]मंचमंचदृह[व]चतु-
[रंग]चमुप्रचारं ॥ [८ ॥^a] मरकतमणिपट्टादय-
- 10 चाः [क्षिता]लो नगर[परि]व[दैर्ध्वं] लंबयन्दोर्ध्वेन[। शिरसि] कुलिश-
पातो वैरि[णां] वी[र]रत्नक्षीपतिरभवदपलं यस्य गाद्वेयदेवः ॥ [९ ॥^a]-
- 11 प्राप्ति [प्रयागव]टमूल[नि]वेश[व]च[व]भ्यो मार्ष] शतेन यद्वि[लोभि] रसुच मुक्ति ।
पुषोस्य खड्गदलितारिकरीद्रकुंभमुक्ताफलेः [स्य] ककुभोर्ध्वेति
- 12 [कर्ण]दे[वः] ॥ [१० ॥^a] यष्टं [वा]म चै[यसो] वे[दधि]याव-
[जी]क[न्दः] स्यःस्रवंत्वाः[] किरीटं । [व[व]द्यास्यभ्यो] येन [कर्णा]-
वतीति प्रत्यक्षा[पि] क्षात[ल]व[व]द्यालो-
- 13 कः ॥ [११ ॥^a] य [जनि] क[लतुरी]णां स्वामिना तेन ज्ञा-
न्ययजलनिधि[लचम्पा] श्रीमदा[व]व्रदेवा । श[शभृदुदय]शङ्खाचुव[स्य]-
दुग्धावि[न्वि]वीचीम
- 14 ह च[रित]रशःवी[र्यो] य[व]कर्ण[देवः] ॥ [१२ ॥^a] [नचाकजो]-
भूद[तुलपतापः] श्रीमद्वकाकं इति प्रतीतः । यथाहवेपूतवैरि-
कंठ[कण्ठ]च्छेदा-

First Fleet.

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२ ४ ६ ८ १० १२ १४ १६ १८ २०
 २ ४ ६ ८ १० १२ १४ १६ १८ २०
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- 15 स[पुण्यं] व ध[रानुरक्ता] ॥ [१३ ॥*] असावत्तणदेव्यां श्रीनरसिंहनर-
श्वर । सर्वदेव[मि]वेच्छायां प्रयत्नं सुपुत्रं सुतं ॥ [१४ ॥*]
उच्चैर्हरिश्चकशि-
- 16 यं प्रतिपादनेन प्रीतिं परां विभु(वु)धसं[च]तिषु प्रकुब्ध[न] । सौंदर्यसार-
विनिवारितमारगव्येष्विचं तदाप्ययमहो नरसिंहदेवः ॥ [१५ ॥*]
- 17 तस्यानुजो विजयतां जयसिंहदेवः शौर्योज्ज्वलैरपि कृपाः क्रियमाणसेवः ।
यहामनुमयग्रसेव सुरदुर्मेण व्यद्रावि भूतल-
- 18 तले व(व)लिना प्रलीनं ॥ [१६ ॥*] नष्टं गुर्जरभूभुजा भुजव(व)लं मुक्तं
तुरुष्केण च त्यक्तः कृतलशासकेन सहसा कंदर्पकेलिक्रमः । श्रुत्वा
- 19 श्रीजयसिंहदेवनृपतेराज्याभिषेकं कृपाः मंचामादपरं पृथग्यस्य जगतीं पारं ययु-
व्वारिधेः ॥ [१७ ॥*] परमभहारक-
- 20 महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीवामदेवपादानुध्यात परमभहारक महाराजाधिराज-
परमेश्वर परममाहे-

Second Plate, first side.

- 21 श्वर चिकित्साधिपति निजभुजोपाख्यताम्यपति गजपति नरपति राजचयाधि-
पति श्रीमज्जयसिंहदेव एते विजयि-
- 2 नः ॥ महाराजो श्री केल्लणदेवो । महाराजपुत्र । महामात्य । श्री-
महाजगुरु विमलशिव । महापुरोहित । धर्मप्रधान
- 23 पं । श्रीराघव । महाप्रधानाथेनोसि ठकुर^१ श्रीदशमूलिक । मांघि-
विप्रहिक ठकुर श्रीपुरुषोत्तम । प्रतीहार श्रीकमलसिंह ॥
- 24 दुष्टसाध्व श्रीपद्मसिंह । महासामन्त । अक्षपटलिक । प्रमत्तधार ।
चक्रसार्धनिक । भांडागारिक । इत्येतानन्यांश्च प्रदास्यमा-
- 25 न घामनिर्वासि जनपदांशाह्वय यथाई मानयन्ति वो(वो)धयति समान्नापयति च ।
विदितमस्तु भवताम् । संवत् ८१८ आश्वि-
- 26 न सुदि पौर्णमास्यां त्रिथौ स(श)निदिने त्रिपुर्या श्रीमघवने रवार्था
विधिवद्वात्वा श्रीमहादेवं समभ्यर्च्य मातापित्री-
- 27 रामनय पुण्ययोगिभृद्दये चक्षुरौदसमीपं अग्रा यामः स्वसोमापयंतचतुरा-
घाटविग्रहः सगोप्रचारः ।
- 28 सजलसलः सास्त्रमधूकः सत्तवचाकरः सगर्तोपरः सनिर्मासप्रवेशः सजाह्न-
लानूपो वृक्षारामोद्दिदोद्या-
- 29 नद्वन्नादिसन्तितः सनदीपर्वतः भागकर प्रवणिवाड चरो रसवती कामत
विभेणिमादाय पङ्क्तिमादाय दुःसाध्यादा-

^१ The name of Vatsaraja seems to have been omitted here through oversight or modesty, Vatsaraja being himself the writer of the charter as mentioned below, l. 49 of the text.

- 30 य विवयिकादाद्यादिकृत कश्चिन्माणादायेः सह अयस्सगोचाय विप्रवराय
पंडित श्रीदामोदरपुत्राय पंडित श्रीदेवराज-
31 शर्मेण वा वा/ज्ञाणाद्योदकपुष्पकत्वेन ग्रामनीकृत्य प्रदत्तः । अथ चाभ्यर्चना
दातुर्भवेति यथा ॥ सर्वान्निताम्नाविनः पावित्र्ये-
32 म्नाम्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । मामान्धोयं धर्मोत्तुल्लु/पाणां
काले काले पान्थनीयो भवति ॥ [१८ ॥] वः/भूमिर्वसुधा भुक्ता
राज-
33 मिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा/भूमिस्त्रास्य स/त/स्य तदा फलं ॥ १८ ॥
सुवर्णमेकं नामिकां भूमिरप्येकमङ्गलं । हरचक्रमाप्नोति वाक्-
34 दाभूतसंज्ञं ॥ [२० ॥] तत्तमानां महत्सेव अश्वमेधजातेन च । गवां
कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता न शुध्यति ॥ [२१ ॥] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां
वा यो हरति व-
35 सुन्दरा । स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितुभिः सह मज्जति ॥ [२२ ॥]
पट्टिं वर्षमष्टमाणि स्वर्गं वसति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चातुमत्ता च
तान्य-
36 व नरकं वसेत् ॥ [२३ ॥] कारिणीतेष्वरक्षेणु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः ।
कृष्णमर्थास्तु जायन्ते देवव्र/ज/पुत्रहारिणः ॥ [२४ ॥] अन्धार्थिन
37 हता भूमिरन्ध्यायेन तु हारिता ॥ हरतो हारयतश्च दहत्यासन्नमं
कुलं ॥ [२५ ॥] भूमिं यः पतियच्छति यच्च भूमिं प्रयच्छ-
38 ति । उभो तौ शुष्यकर्मणो निवर्तं स्वर्गोभामिणे ॥ [२६ ॥]
शंखो महामनं [च]वं वराखा वरवारणा [१] भूमिदानस्य विज्ञा-
39 नि फलमितत्पुरंदर ॥ [२७ ॥] अक्षिन्वंशे पवित्रीणि यः कश्चिदुपति-
र्भवेत् । तस्मात्तं वस्तुलम्नोऽपि शासनं न क्षतिक्रमेत् ॥ [२८ ॥]
40 अभ्युदयस्य पौषेण श्रीमहर्षेण सुनूना । लिखितं वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्
दशमूनिता ॥ [२९ ॥] मङ्गलं ॥ महावीरः ॥

Second Plate, second side.

- 41 सिद्धम् [१] अस्य श्रीजयसिंहदेवदुपतेः श्रेयोर्ष्वं प्रीत्यन्तुषां शीत-
मरीचिरचित्तमैरभ्यर्चितः सहजैः । विद्याः
42 कंदलवृक्षमामि दलवृक्षिन् पतिर्वृक्षनां भूयाद्भूतिसुखोदयाय विदुषां शाश्वतो
राघवः ॥ [३० ॥]
43 श्रीकाकासर्वशपाह्नसुनरूपकारताकृषेनोत्कीर्णं ॥

No. 16.—NALANDA INSCRIPTION OF VIPULASRIMITRA.

By N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A., INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA.

The stone bearing this inscription, which is now in the Museum at Nālandā in the Patna District, was recovered in two fragments from the latest stratum of Monastery No. VII at Nālandā in the course of excavations carried on there in 1928-29 and 1929-30. I edit the inscription from the original stone and from a set of excellent estampages kindly furnished by Maulvi Muhammad Hamid Kuraishi, B.A., Officiating Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Central Circle. For a number of suggestions I am indebted to Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, M.A., Ph.D., Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy at Ootacamund.

The writing, which is very neatly executed, covers a space of about 19½" by 8½" and consists of 15 lines. The average size of letters is ½". The characters are a form of Nāgarī that was current in North-eastern India towards the end of the Pāla period. The only point that calls for notice is the way in which the superscript *r* is indicated, namely by a short slanting stroke attached below the *mātrā*, which, in many cases, is difficult to recognize. Palaeographically the inscription should be placed between the Gayā inscriptions of the time of Narapāla (civ. 1030 A.D.)¹ and the Bodhi-Gayā inscription of Jayachandra (civ. 1183 A.D.).² The record to which it bears the greatest resemblance is the Govindapur inscription of the poet Gaṅgādharma in the Indian Museum, dated in Śaka year 1059, i.e., 1137 A.D.³ The inscription, although not dated, may, therefore, be assigned to the first half of the twelfth century A.D.

The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of the phrase *Om namo Buddhāya* at the beginning, the text is in verse throughout. There are thirteen stanzas in all, composed in a variety of metres.

The inscription calls itself a *prastāva* (l. 15), recording the benefactions of a Buddhist ascetic named Vipulaśrimitra. It opens with an obeisance to the Buddha which is followed by a hymn (V. 1) addressed to the divine Dharmachakra and Tārā. Then it tells us of an ascetic named Karuṇāśrimitra of Sōmapura, who went to heaven when his house was set on fire by an army of Vaṅṡāla (V. 2). His disciple was Maitrīśrimitra (V. 3) whose disciple again was Aśokaśrimitra (V. 4) and Aśokaśrimitra's (disciple) was Vipulaśrimitra (V. 5). Vipulaśrimitra made an offering of a casket (*mañjushā*) at a temple of the god Khasarppaṇa, for the *Prājñāpāramitā* manuscript and four images at its alms-houses on the occasion of a festival (V. 6), carried out repairs to the monastery of *Piṭṭhaka* (i.e. Buddha) at Chōyapṇaka, and installed an image of Jina Dīpaṅkara (i.e. Dīpaṅkara Buddha) at Harṣapura (V. 7). At Sōmapura, he built a temple of Tārā, with an attached court and a tank, effected the reconstruction of cells (V. 8), and, evidently at the same place again, presented a gold ornament for the embellishment of a Buddha image (V. 9). Lastly, he erected a monastery which he made over to the *Mitras* (V. 10), that is the line of ascetics to which he himself belonged. Where this monastery was erected is not stated; but there is no doubt that it was at Nālandā and identical with the building in whose debris the inscription has been discovered. In Verse 13 the eulogy is stated to have been manifested by Kanakaśrī and Vāśiṣṭha, the former being apparently the composer and the latter the writer or engraver.

Of the geographical terms mentioned in the record, Chōyapṇaka and Harṣapura are not known from any other sources and for the present remain unidentified. Sōmapura is identical

¹ *Mem. A. S. B.*, Vol. V, No. 3, Pls. XXV and XXVI.

² *Ibid.*, Pl. XXXII and *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. V (1929), p. 13.

³ *Asia*, Vol. II, p. 330.

with the place of that name occurring in the inscription *Śrī-Sōmapurī Śrī-Dharmapālādhammaśrīdhārā*, etc., on certain terracotta sealings¹ discovered by Mr. K. N. Dikshit in his excavations at Pāhārpur in the Rājshahi District of Bengal. According to the evidence of these sealings, there was a monastery named after the Pāla king Dharmapāla at Sōmapura which has been identified by Mr. Dikshit with Pāhārpur. This place must have gained considerable repute as an important seat of Buddhism in Northern India during the Pāla period. A Bodhi-Gayā inscription² mentions the *śāstī-vihāra* or 'the Great Monastery' of Sōmapura. In Taranātha's *History of Buddhism*³ it is stated that king Dharpāla, the son of Dharmapāla, built a Buddhist temple at 'Sōmapura'; and, according to the *Paṇḍita-saṅg*,⁴ the same king built the Great Monastery of 'Sōmapurī' after his conquest of Varāṇasī or North Bengal. It however appears probable from the information supplied by the Pāhārpur sealings that the monastery owed its foundation to Dharmapāla, and not to his son.⁵ Further references to the monastery at Sōmapura are found in the Tibetan translations of certain Buddhist Sanskrit works, e.g., the *Dharmakīrtiparivāṇī* and the *Madhyamakaratantraparīkṣā*.⁶ The latter was translated by the great scholar Dharmakīrti Śrījñāna (11th century A.D.) with the help of Virasūkhā and Jayapāla at the Sōmapurī-vihāra. The cells renovated by Vipulakīrti at Sōmapura must have belonged to the great monastery consisting of some 177 cells which have now been laid bare at Pāhārpur. Vaṅgāla, which is probably East Bengal, is mentioned in the Tirumalai inscription of Rājendrachōla I⁷ and in the Buddhist Sanskrit text *Ākāṅgika*.⁸

TEXT.

[Metres :—vv. 1, 2, 8, 10, 12, Śārdūlavikrīḍita; v. 3, Mandākrantā; v. 4, Sāharinī; v. 5, Mālīnī; vv. 6, 11, Vasantatīlakā; v. 7, Indrayajrā; v. 9, Ūpajātī; v. 13, Anukūṭikā.]

1 Ōm* namō Buddhāya | Astu svastyayanāya vaḥ sa bhagavan śrī-Dharmachakraḥ |
kīvaḥ-yan-nāma hrutavān-Bharṣ-¹āthra-vapur-nirivam-uttāyati | tatra
Śrīghana-āśan-āpīta-rasatḥ samābhya

2 Bauddhō padō tam dhēyād-apunarbhavaṁ bhagavat | Parā jagat-sārijā || [1*]
Śrīmat-Sōmapurē vaḥ[ū]va Karuṇāśrīmitra-nāma-² yathā kīrtayād-guṇa-
sampadō hita-mukhādhūnād-³api pīṭhā-

3 nām, yō Vaṅgāla-balaś-upētya dhama-kāśpā]-jvalaty-ālayā⁴ sandhiguna-
charaḥ-āravinda-yugālō Buddhāya yātō dīvaḥ || [2*] Tasy-kāśchidra-vra-
parichitasy-śalita-mūṛṣa-kīrtiḥ śishyō-dharmah

4 sūkṛta-ghatīḥ buddhimān buddhimāta | Matriśrī-⁵ity-upatī viditā mitta-
vat⁶ Mītra-nāmā [sa]vasy-⁷ārthā svam-udayam-upādīśur-mahāyān yath ||
[3*] Pradīkhyō-py-⁸ānukhy-āraya-

¹ A. R. A. S. L. 1927-28, pp. 105-6.

² Bhask. A. R. A. S. L. 1908-9, p. 158; and Majumdar, *Sikhya-Purichat-Purichat*, Calcutta, 1923 (A. S. L. p. 71).

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. IV, p. 205.

⁴ Ed. Sarat Ch. Das, pp. 111 and 116.

⁵ [It is possible that Dharpāla built the monastery and named it after his father.—Ed.]

⁶ Cordier, *Catalogue des Fonds Titulaires de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Part II, p. 160 and Part III, p. 236.

⁷ *Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 233.

⁸ H. P. Sastri, *Description Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. I, 1917, p. 22.

* Expressed by a symbol.

¹ Read - m. - Mītra-

[illegible]

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- 5 m-alghhamānair-iva gūṇair-adhītaḥ samābhāṣy yatir-amala-śīlaḥ samabhavat |
Asōkaśrimitrō gūṇa-samudayō yaśya hrīdayō saṁsārair-aśābhīḥ prativasati
Sambuddha-jana-
- 6 -ai || [4*] Tad-ann cha **Vipulaśrimitra** ity-āvirāsīd-vipula-vimale-kīrttiḥ
saḥ-jan-ānanda-kandaḥ | amṛitamaya-kalābhīḥ kṣānti-śīla-śīla-śīlaḥ satatam-upa-
chita-śīḥ śukla-pa-
- 7 kāśe śāś-iva || [5*] Śrīmat-Khasarppaṇa-mah-āyatanē prayatnāt maḥ/ūchayā
vihitayā jananī Jinānām | yēna bhūmaty-aviratam pratināḥ chātaraḥ
antarāhu parvvaḥ samarppayati ama
- 8 yaś-cha || [6*] **Chōyapṇakē** yaś-cha Pitāmahaḥ vihārikāyām nava-
karmma chitrām | **Harsh-ābhīdhānē** cha purē Jinaya Dipaṇkaraḥ
pratināḥ vyadhata || [7*] Ashtau yaś-cha mahā-bhāyāni jaga-
- 9 tāḥ niruddham-annūṣṭamā Tāriyā bhavanam vyadhata aukṛti śīla-hrad-
āchakṛtiḥ | śrīmat-Sōmapurē chaturāhu layanāhu antar-vahūḥ khaṇḍayō- yaś-
ch-ābhata nava-karmma jagatām
- 10 nātr-atka-viśāna-bhūḥ || [8*] Adatta hām-ābhārayam vi-kitrām Buddhāya
bōdhau janatāḥ vidhātām | ity-ādī-puṇya-kriyayā na kālāḥ vaś-iva dīr-
gham nayati ama tatra || [9*] Kṛtvā tē-
- 11 na vihārikā kṛtāvātā-lakṣāna-bhūtā bhuvō **Mitrābhyō** -dibhuta-Vaijayanta-
jayini datt-āyana-unnulati | yaśyām viṁpitārāṇa-nivāsa-rasikāḥ Śātā tri-
lōk-patīḥ
- 12 Buddhāvāsa-nivāsam-arthi-janatā-duḥsaṁchāra-prāntaram || [10*] Harṣam Harṣ
padam-iv-ājani tatra tatra kīrtti-yaśā vasumatī kṛta-bhōṣaṇā bhōḥ |
tāvach-chizata jayati nō-
- 13 tra-sudhā stāvanti yāvāt-samjīdyati na Maḥjurava-pratīḥ || [11*] Tat-
tat-kīrti-vādhau sudhā-nidhir-iv-āmbhōdihau samounilitam puṇyam yad-
bhuvan-antarāla-tulanā-pātram pavitram ma-
- 14 ma | astu prastuta-vyastuvāt kara-talē paśyanti viśvāḥ Jinā yatr-āśma-
padē mhitāḥ tri-jagatām tat-prāptayō tach-chirāt || [12*] Tarkka-śīpa-prasaṅgē
yau dhāvātō jagatām hṛdi | **Kanaka-**
- 15 **ārīr-Vaśiṣṭhō** vā prastatī-vyakti-kāraḥ || [13*]

TRANSLATION.

Om ! Adoration to the Buddha !

(Verse 1). May the divine and illustrious Dharmma-chakra bring you prosperity hearing whose name, even to some extent, Bhava (i.e., worldly existence), restless in body, gets exhausted and lifeless; thereafter besprinkling him with the nectar juice of the Law of Śrīghana (i.e., Buddha),* may the goddess Tārā, the Deliveress of the world, place him, free from re-birth, at the foot of the Buddha.

(Verse 2). In the illustrious Sōmapura there was the ascetic Karuṇāśrimitra, so called on account of his compassionate disposition¹, abundance of merits, and his efforts towards

* Read *pragatāḥ* *saṁjīdyati*.

¹ For this name of Buddha see H. P. Sastri, *Catalogue of Sans. MSS.*, in A. S. B., Vol. I (1917), p. 95.

² The three qualities indicated in the three components of the name, viz., *karuṇā* (compassion), *śrī* (splendour) and *mītrāṇa* (friendliness) are here referred to.

the welfare and happiness of living beings; who, when his house was burning, (being) set on fire by the approaching armies of **Vaṣṭāla**, attached (himself) to the pair of lotus feet of the Buddha, (and) went to heaven.

(Verse 3). The disciple of him, who was celebrated for his uninterrupted religious observances and possessed bright and appropriate fame, was known as **Maṭṭhārimitra**. He was invincible (in argument), endowed with merit and the talented amongst talented men, and possessed of energy and desirous of his own prosperity for the sake of living beings,¹ like the Sun himself.

(Verse 4). The disciple's disciple (of **Karupārimitra**) was the ascetic **Aśokaśrimitra** of blemishless character. Good qualities, not finding, as it were, an abode which they sought for, had (at last) taken refuge in him and remained inseparably attached. There in his heart full of good qualities dwells 'the mother of the Buddhas' in eight thousand² (verses).

(Verse 5). After him there came **Vipulaśrimitra** of extensive and bright fame, the very source of the delight of righteous men. He was of ever increasing beauty like the moon in the bright half (of the month), washing away (i.e., brightening) the entire night by nectarine digits (or who wiped away all blemishes by (his knowledge of) the elegant arts).

(Verse 6). With the casket, executed by him with skill, at the great temple of the illustrious **Khasarppa** (i.e., **Avalokiteśvara**), the mother of the Jinas (i.e., **Prajñāpāramitā**) incessantly moves about.³ He also presented in the alms-house⁴ four images on the occasion of a festival.

(Verse 7). He also carried out varied repairs to the monastery of **Pitāmaka**⁵ (i.e., Buddha) at **Chōyapṛakā**, and (installed) an image of the Jina **Dīpaṅkara** at **Harahapura**.

(Verse 8). In the illustrious **Sōmapura**, with a view to dispel entirely the Eight Great Fears⁶ of the people, that meritorious person built a temple of **Tārā** (i.e., **Tārā**) adorned with

¹ There seems to be a pun on the words *mītra* and *śāya*. The former would mean 'the sun' and 'friend' and the latter 'rice' and 'prosperity'.

² The allusion is evidently to the fact that he was thoroughly conversant with the text of the *Aśokaśrimitā* *Prajñāpāramitā*. The goddess *Prajñāpāramitā* is 'the mother of all the Buddhas', e.g., in *Aśokaśrimitā* (Bib. Ind.), p. 329. She is often identified with *Tārā*, e.g., in verse 2 of the inscription of Chālukya *Vikramāditya VI* (Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 185). That is why *Tārā* is also called 'the mother of the Buddhas'.

³ The casket offered by *Vipulaśrimitra* at the temple of the god *Khasarppa* (who is the husband of *Tārā* or *Prajñāpāramitā*) must have been so nice that it never left the deity (i.e., the manuscript); in other words the holy manuscript was thereafter invariably exhibited in the casket. It is not clear where the temple of *Khasarppa* stood.

⁴ For the use of *śāstra* in a Buddhist inscription see *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. V, p. 29, l. 15. For other references see P. X. Acharya, *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, pp. 615 ff. The alms-house must have been those adjoining the temple.

⁵ The term *Pitāmaka*, which is usually applied to *Brahmā*, here stands for the Buddha and is used in this sense in an inscription of the time of *Kanishka* on the pedestal of a Buddha image from Mathurā (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 97) and in another Kushān inscription also engraved on the pedestal of a Buddha image noticed by Cunningham at *Bhūtā* near Allahabad (*J. S. R.*, Vol. III, p. 48, Pl. XVIII, C; Kern, *Indian Buddhism*, p. 94; Lüders, *List of Brāhmi Inscriptions*, No. 910). The appellation *Pitāmaka* is suggestive of the idea of *Adi-Buddha* who in the Buddhist pantheon occupies a position almost analogous to that of *Brahmā*.

⁶ The goddess *Tārā* is supposed to have the power to save humanity from eight kinds of fears (*J. R. A. S.*, 1894, p. 67; *Mem. A. S. L.*, No. 20, p. 18). In *Sarvasvāmī*'s *Śrāgadhāra* eight demons are devoted to the description of these eight 'fears' which are shipwreck, lightning, elephant, robber, lion, serpent, famine and disease. These are also enumerated, but with some difference, in two hymns to *Tārā* in an inscription of the Chālukya king *Vikramāditya VI* (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, pp. 185, 187) and illustrated in a bas-relief in the Dabūr Cave at Kanheri (*Cave Temples of India*, p. 368, and Pl. LV, fig. 1).

a court and a tank, and further effected the renovation of the inner and outer parts of four cells¹,—(a work) in which alone the eyes of the world found repose.

(Verse 9). He offered a charming gold ornament to the Buddha with the object of keeping men in *(the path of)* Enlightenment, and there (i.e., at Sômapura) *(engaged)* in such meritorious deeds, he lived like an ascetic for a long time.

(Verse 10). That meritorious person having made this monastery an ornament of the world, which manifests itself, surpassing in a wonderful manner the palace of Indra, made it over to the Mitrās.² The Teacher, the lord of the three worlds, who has a special taste for (good) residences, forgot while here, (even) the abode in Suddhāvāsa heaven, whose interior is difficult of access owing to the multitude of seekers.

(Verse 11). (His) fame, by which the earth was decorated, arose in various places as if to deprive Hari of his (exalted) position. May that flowing nectar of the eye (i.e., his fame) remain triumphant so long as the vow of Mañjurava (i.e., Mañjughōṣa or Mañjuśrī) is not fulfilled.²

(Verse 12). May the pure merit, the (only) measure of comparison (with which is) the etherial space, that may accrue to me⁴ out of these famous achievements, even as the receptacle of nectar that came out of the ocean, eternally contribute to the attainment by the denizens of the three worlds of the unique place⁵ from which the Jinās (i.e., Buddhas) can visualize the whole universe (as distinctly) as an object under discussion placed on the palm.

(Verse 13). **Kanakaśrī** and **Vaśiṣṭha** who, (respectively) in the matter of dialectics and art, purify the hearts of men, have given expression to (this) eulogy (one by composing and the other by engraving it).

[P. S.—Recent excavations at the Satyapir Bhiṣṭa at Pāhārpur outside the great monastic quadrangle have brought to light a Buddhist shrine of about the 11th-12th century A.D. in the courtyard of which several circular sealings impressed with the effigy of eight-handed Tārā and the Buddhist creed have been found. This is very likely to be the temple of Tārā built by Vipulakṛimitra referred to in verse 8 of the present inscription. The courtyard has a number of small votive stupas.—Ed.]

No. 17.—TIRUCHCHENDUR INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNA-MAHARAJA (II)

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The inscription edited below comes from **Tiruchchendūr** in the Tinnevely District. Only a few lines of it contained on the first face of the first slab were copied in 1903 and the inscription was registered as No. 156 of that year's collection and as being engraved on a slab, set up in the

[I should prefer to take *chaturāśu layasālu* in the sense of 'on the four groups of cells (forming the monastery)'. Actually there are about 46 cells on each side of the monastic quadrangle at Pāṭharpur and we have clear evidence of a wholesale renovation taking place about the commencement of the 12th century A.D., both in the inner and outer sides of the monastery. It is some such work carried out on a magnificent scale that must have been 'a singular feast to the eyes of the world'.—Ed.]

* The line of ascetics to which Vipuladevī belonged.

* In a work called the *Mañjuśrī-Buddha-karma-guṇa-vyākhyā*, Mañjuśrī is supposed to have taken his 'bodhi-natya roṇ': "I do not wish to become a Buddha quickly, because I wish to remain to the last in this world to save its beings."—Perrin, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (Art. 'Mañjuśrī'), Vol. 8, p. 406 and n. 2. The idea which, therefore, the writer seems to convey in the above verse is that the donor's fame should last as long as the world endures. Cf. *Khurandavyākhyā*:—*Y(ī)śatvā Aśokāśīlavarasya drishya-pratijñā su paripūrṇā Maṇḍi, sarva-saṃsāra-kṣema-dharmābhayaṃ paravāśīkṣyā gāṇḍa-saṃvīryāgāṇi samagṛāha-sambhāṇa sa prajñāślokaṃ bhavāṇi, etc.*

* The speaker is evidently Vipuladrimitra himself.

* This is Sakhrall. Cf. Sengsteden's *opra*, vers. 37.

"having given to be taken". This mode of forming compounds would seem to be rather rare in Tamil. The word *ayam* (ll. 35, 58, etc.) is seldom met with in inscriptions; but it may be noted that it has been correctly employed to denote the exchange value of money in grain. Another noteworthy form of a word is *ayy* used in place of *aya*, "in all: together". In this sense the word is rarely used though its significance is quite clear in the common expression *ayy-kuruttu*, "adding together or subtracting". *Nāra* of *nāra-avide* occurring in line 64 along with the items betel leaves (*verṇai*) and areca-nuts (*uṇṇai*) is another unusual word. It may be considered a *śiṣṭachal* ("a dialectal word") in Tamil taken from Malayālam where it is still used in the sense of 'slaked lime'. A variant of this word is *nāra* which means "powder, ash" (cf. *nāra-pāṇa-neruppu*, "fire covered over with ash"). *Nārāyam* is still another word of etymological interest. It is used in this and many other Tamil epigraphs in the sense of 'a grain measure,' generally made of iron and is akin to Tamil *nārāṇam*¹ denoting an iron nail, used for stringing together leaves of palm leaf manuscripts, an iron style or an arrow made entirely of iron (cf. Sanskrit *Nārāṇa*=an arrow). Another similar word is *nārāṇi*, generally spelt as *nārāṇi*=the iron bolt. The restriction of the terms *nārāṇa* and *nārāṇi* in Tamil to articles made of iron and a subsidiary use of *nārāṇam* in the sense of 'molten lead or iron' indicate that all these words must have a common old Tamil stem *nārā* meaning "iron" or "metal". The commentary on *nārāṇa* in the Sanskrit lexicon *Amara* explains it as '*śiṣṭamāṇa āṇa*' (=an iron arrow). Childers explains *nārāṇa* as "an iron weapon of some sort, an arrow or light javelin". Apparently we have here one of the loan-words for which Sanskrit is indebted to the parent Dravidian tongue. The words *nigali* and *nigali* used in this inscription are analogous to the forms *nigadam*, *nigadam* and *nigadam* in other inscriptions, all of which seem to be derived from Sanskrit *nigam*. Still another rare word, also occurring in the Ambāsamudram epigraph of Varaguna-Mahārāja, is *tum* of which the meaning can be ascertained from certain references in the Tamil *Saṅgam* works. In line 206 of *Perumbāṇḍaruppaṭai* occurs the phrase *puppai tumu*, the Tamil *Saṅgam* works. In line 206 of *Perumbāṇḍaruppaṭai* occurs the phrase *puppai tumu*, which has been rendered by the commentator as "cutting the branch of the *puppai* (tree)". It also occurs in l. 72 of *Mullaippaṭai* in the same sense. As such, the phrase *ṭari tumikkum porikkum* (l. 26) may be taken to mean "vegetable to be cut into pieces and fried".

The object of the inscription is thus stated: in order to meet the annual requirements of the temple of Subrahmanya-Bhājāra, which was the deity in the central shrine (*Tirumūlātāṇam*) at Tiruchchendūr, Varaguna-Mahārāja made a grant of 1,400 *ṭāṇa* and entrusted the amount to three of his officers, viz. Iruppaikkudi-kilavaṇ, Sāttamperunāṇ and Aṭṭārāṇṭṭakkō, with the stipulation that the money should be lent out and with the interest accruing therefrom, the annual requirements of the temple should be met, the capital always remaining intact.

The items of expenditure included rice for offerings to the god and for bath; plantains, sugar, vegetables (the last according to this inscription were sold by weight), *ṭāyam* for seasoning articles; green gram required for the special kind of preparation called *kumṇṇam* and for porri; betel leaves and areca-nuts (which were priced), and lime (not priced); ghee required for perpetual lamps, chain of lights, for seasoning curries and for the anointment of the god; milk, curd and the water of the tender coconut including tender kernel which were necessary for the bathing of the god; honey, unguent and barks of certain trees and crude camphor used as incense; musk; *perichai-ṭappam* and sandal required for the anointing of the deity; cloth required for covering images and for use in the kitchen (as towels); and flowers, etc. The preparation called *kumṇṇam*, for which the chief requirement is stated to be green pulse, is not in present use. On the other hand, the word is now used to denote a mixture of slaked lime and sand.

¹ In some of the Tamil inscriptions, this word seems also to be employed to denote "a channel" or "lane". Cf. Subrahmanya-nārāṇam *vaṭṭam* (No. 106 of the South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. III, p. 320).

Even in literature it occurs but rarely. The early Tamil commentator Nachchinārkaṇṇiyār annotating text-line 195 of *Perumbāṣāṟuppaṭai* states that the preparation called *puḷukku* is "what is boiled well" and notes "that it may also mean *kummāyam*". From this statement of the commentator as well as from the requirement of *kummāyam* detailed in this and other inscriptions, it may be inferred that the preparation consisted of well-boiled green pulse, perhaps with the addition of a little sugar. At present it is called *puḷukku* in Malabar.

On special occasions, which are said to be three, viz. ¹*Mārgali-Tiruvēḍirai*, *Māli-Makham* and *Vaiyāṭi-Viśākham*, some of the items of expenditure have to be doubled.

The inscription is highly important for determining the relative values of money, weights and measures prevalent in South India and furnishes excellent data for reconstructing the economic conditions of the period. The amount of 1,400 *kāṭu* given by the king to the temple at Tiruchendūr was divided into 16 unequal portions and invested with different bodies. The attached table at the end of this paper shows how the capital was to be distributed, what amount of interest had to be paid in paddy accrued annually from each investment at the rate of 2 *kalam* per year and what expenses were to be met from the interest thus realised. The recipients of the amounts were (1) the *ārār* of Alambattam included in Guḍamaṅgalam and the *nagarattār* of Māgavirappattinam, both situated in Vaḷudi-vaḷanāḍu; (2) the *sabbā* of Kaṭṭāramaṅgalam in Srivallabha-vaḷanāḍu; (3) the *sabbā* of Tippi included in Paraṣumaṅgalam, Māramaṅgalam and Teyrakku... Ilur, all situated in Parāntaka-vaḷanāḍu; (4) as well as the *sabbā* of Avanipaśāḥkhammaṅgalam, in Amitagunya-vaḷanāḍu and Puliyūḍai, Kīraṭūr, Saḍaṅgavikuricheli and Kaḍuṅḡomaṅgalam, all situated in Kuḍanāḍu. These bodies were required to pay annually interest in grain calculated at 2 *kalam* for one *kāṭu* per year to be brought and measured in the premises of the temple. Further, it will be observed that among the bodies of men with whom the amounts were invested there were the *nagarattār*, the *ārār* and the *sabbāiyār*. "Nagarattār" is used only in the case of a single place, whose name ended with the termination *paṭṭinam*; it is not unlikely that it represents a commercial guild in a town, as distinguished from "ārār" and "sabbā" which must be taken to be non-Brahmanical and Brahmanical assemblies in villages entrusted with certain powers in the administration of the country. In cases of default it was enjoined that a fine, which varied according to the amounts lent out, together with double the quantity at default should be realised (apparently by the bodies) and paid to the temple. The prohibitive rates of fine amounting in some cases to nearly 20 per cent of the capital plus the payment of double the quantity of paddy agreed upon to be given must have been intended to safeguard the regular performance of the various functions in the temple. It is expressly stated that the interest in grain should be paid in heaped measures according to a standard metal measure specially used for this purpose. This is the sense that can be given to the phrase *poli nīrai-maḍi-nāṟayam*. Apparently the ordinary measures differed widely from these special measures; thus while a *kurugai* of interest paddy contained 6 *nāḷi* and a *kalam* 15 *kurugai*, the ordinary *kurugai* measure had the capacity of 8 *nāḷi* and a *kalam* of 12 *kurugai*. A *kalam* of interest paddy fell short of the ordinary *kalam* by 6 *nāḷi*. That the measure (*kāḷi*) used for measuring interest paddy had the capacity of 8 *nāḷi* is made clear by another inscription which has the phrase *poliṭai kuḍuppadāna oru-nāḷi-kāḷāḷi*.

Throughout the inscription, the rate of interest is stated to be two *kalam* of paddy per year per *kāṭu*. Since it is also stated that the purchasing power of a *kāṭu* was 10 *kalam* of paddy, the annual interest on money lent amounted to as much as 20 per cent which seems to indicate the

¹ [These festivities occur on or about the full-moon days of the months of Mārgaśīrṣa, Māgha and Vaiśākha respectively, when the moon would be in conjunction with the constellations of Ārīṣi, Maghā and Viśākhā respectively.—Ed.]

² No. 182 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1895 published in *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

scarcity of gold bullion or coin at the time of the record. It is worth noting that our inscription states that 3 measures of paddy yielded one measure of rice, while in other inscriptions it is stated that 5 measures of paddy gave 2 measures of rice. As the actual yield of rice from paddy is nearly a half, it must be considered that ample provision had been made in these epigraphs for meeting incidental charges such as wages for the different operations like husking, pounding, etc. The prices of some of the commodities are worthy of note. One *kāṣu* could fetch the following quantities of the various articles, viz. 10 *kalam* of paddy, 1,000 plantains, 7 *tulām* and 55 *palam* of sugar, 20 *tulām* of vegetables, 60 *nāḷi* of *kāṇam*, 1,220 *parra* of betel leaves, 10,100 areca-nuts, 150 *nāḷi* of flowers, 15 *kaḷaṣṭu* of *korpuram* or 112 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of turmeric.¹

Ancient Tamil works of the *Saṅgam* period mention *kāṣu*, *kāṇam* and *poṇ* among the coins current in South India; but it has nowhere been stated what fraction of a *kāṣu* was represented by a *poṇ* or *kāṇam*. Nachohinārkkiyār in his commentary on *Jivakachintāmaṇi* states, however, that *kāṇam* means a *poṇ-kāṣu*. The latter word might mean either the coin called *poṇ* or a gold *kāṣu*. As such, it is of interest to observe from this inscription that both *kāṇam* and *poṇ* were gold coins equal in value, each being one-tenth of a *kāṣu*. This ratio between a *poṇ* and a *kāṣu* is obtained from item 8, where we find that 94 *kāṣu* and 5 *poṇ* yielded an interest of 189 *kalam* at the rate of two *kalam* per *kāṣu*. Now applying this value of a *poṇ* in item 1, we find that a *kalam* consisted of 15 *kuṇṇi*; and from item 2 we obtain that a *kuṇṇi* contained 6 *nāḷi*, and that a *nāḷi* was equal to 2 *uri*. Item 7 states that for meeting the daily requirements of ten *nāḷi* of flowers, which were sold at 150 *nāḷi* of flowers for one *kāṣu*, or its equivalent 10 *kalam* of paddy, 240 *kalam* of paddy were required annually, from which we gather that a year was treated as consisting of 360 days for purposes of calculation. From the expenditure detailed in items 4 and 8, it is clear that 1 *uri* was equal to 2 *uḷakku* and that 1 *uḷakku* was made up of 2 *āḷāḷu*. Item 9 makes a provision of 50 *kalam* of paddy for meeting the annual expenses of (1) rice required for ball-offerings at 2 *nāḷi* per day, (2) 4 *apai* of cloth at 3½ *apai* per *kāṣu* and (3) 8 *apai* of cloth at 2 *apai* per *kāṣu*. For (1), 24 *kalam* of paddy were required, and for (2) and (3), 26 *kāṇam* were necessary and this was met from the balance of 26 *kalam* of paddy the money equivalent of which was 26/10 *kāṣu* (10 *kalam* being the value of 1 *kāṣu*). Since 26/10 *kāṣu* = 26 *kāṇam*, 1 *kāṣu* was equal to 10 *kāṇam*. From items 14 and 15 we learn that 1 *tulām* was equivalent to 100 *palam* and that 1 *kaḷaṣṭu* equalled 10 *kāṇam* by weight. From this inscription we thus obtain the following tables of money, weights, measures, etc. :-

Money.

10 *poṇ* or 10 *kāṇam* = 1 *kāṣu*.

Weight.

10 *kāṇam* = 1 *kaḷaṣṭu*.
100 *palam* = 1 *tulām*.

Measure.

10 *āṇṇi* or 2 *āḷāḷu* = 1 *uḷakku*.
2 *uḷakku* = 1 *uri*.
2 *uri* = 1 *nāḷi*.
6 *nāḷi* = 1 *kuṇṇi*.
15 *kuṇṇi* = 1 *kalam*.

Number.

4 *āḷāḷu* = 1 *parra*.

¹ See lines 39 B., 50 F., 110 F., 122 and 167 of the Text given below.

15

The inscription belongs to the reign of the Pāṇḍya king Varaguna-Mahārāja (II). The date portion occurring in the second line of the record is lost, but so much of it is seen that the year opposite is found to be thirteen. In the seventh line, the day of the regnal year of the king is given as 5001 in words which yields 13 years of 365 days and 256 days. We may take the days as referring to "the year opposite" and not to the entire regnal year. Examples of similar dating are found in a few inscriptions. No. 502 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1916 is dated in the 13th year and 3000th day as well as in the 8th year opposite to the 13th. Similarly also No. 534 of the same collection is dated in the 4th year and 1745th day as well as in the 4th year opposite to the 4th. Again in No. 509, the year given at the commencement of the record is "13th year and 1435th day" while in the body the same is indicated by "3rd year opposite to the 13th". These instances are sufficient to make it clear that the days given refer only to the number of years and days passed after the first-mentioned year and not to the entire regnal year.

The inscription is silent regarding the ancestry of the king, as stone records in the Tamil country generally are. There is nothing in the name of the king to enable us to say to which of the two Pāṇḍya sovereigns, who bore the name Varaguna, this record must be ascribed. The Vattejutu script employed in the record shows that it must belong to the ninth century A.D. and since both the Varagunas lived in this century and were separated only by a single reign, paleographical indications are not of much value. There are, however, internal indications to prove that the record belongs to Varaguna II.

Among the places mentioned in the inscription and the divisions to which they belonged, occur Valudi-vaṇaṇḍu, Kaṇḍuṅḁmaṇḁalam, Māraṇḁalam, Parāntaka-vaṇaṇḍu, Varaguna-maṇḁalam, and Śrīvallabha-vaṇaṇḍu which at once indicate that they must have been called after the Pāṇḍya kings Paṇḍya-śāla-Mūḁukudami-Pery-Vaiṇḁḁi, Kaṇḍuṅḁ, Māraṇḁan (of which name there were more kings than one), Parāntaka (also called Neṇḁḁḁaiyṇ and Śrīvāra), Varaguna-Mahārāja (I) and Śrīvallabha respectively, all of these being reputed names in the genealogy of the Pāṇḍya kings furnished by copper-plates. The inscription also mentions a village Avanipaṣṁkhara-maṇḁalam which must have been called after the name or title of a king and as I have shown in the *Annual Report on S. I. Epigraphy for 1929-30* (p. 72), this Avanipaṣṁkhara is identical with Śrīvallabha, the son and successor of Varaguna-Mahārāja I. The mention of the names Śrīvallabha-vaṇaṇḍu and Avanipaṣṁkhara-maṇḁalam precludes the possibility of the inscription being one of Varaguna I. We can, therefore, definitely assign the present inscription to the reign of Varaguna II. The Arvarimalai rock inscription places this king's accession in A.D. 862. The date of this record must be a little later than A.D. 874, that being the equivalent of the 13th year of his reign.

A word may now be said about Irappaikkudī-kiṇḁavan, one of the trusted servants of king Varaguna-Māraṇḁa through whom the gift amount of 1,400 (gold) Māṇ was sent. His proper name appears to be Eṇḁi Śāṭṭag from a stone epigraph recently secured from Erukhaṇḁuḁi (No. 334 of 1929-30). He is stated to have been honoured with the title of Irappaikkudī-kiṇḁavan by king Śrīvallabha. The inscription gives a long and interesting account about him, mentioning several acts of charity including the construction, repair and improvement of several palaces, temples, tanks, embankments, water-channels, sluices, etc. It is clear that he must have been a great and energetic administrator and the programme of his charities and public works testify alike to his catholicity and tolerance, as to his solicitude for the rural population in an arid tract.

We know of no other Valudi in inscriptions except this king. It is, however, possible that there was more than one king of this name, e.g., Ugra-Pery-Vaiṇḁḁi.

The present inscription resembles in many respects the Ambāsamudram¹ record of Varaguna-Mahārāja. Both grants were made with the express object of defraying all the expenses that have to be incurred from day to day and year to year in connection with the religious services in a temple and go into minute details about these. There is a striking similarity in the phraseology of the two. Both state that the principal should remain undiminished and that only the interest should be utilised for meeting the expenses. The annual rate of interest in both cases is identical, viz. two *kalam* of paddy for one *kāṣṭha*. From the Ambāsamudram inscription, just as in the Tiruchchendūr epigraph, it can be gathered that a *kalam* of interest paddy consisted of 90 *nāḷi* and a *kaṇṇai* was equivalent to 6 *nāḷi*. But the prices of articles varied considerably during the interval between the two grants, some of which have been noted below for easy reference. It is noteworthy that whereas the prices of certain commodities obtaining at the time of the Ambāsamudram inscription had fallen by a third at the time of the Tiruchchendūr record, in certain others (e.g. vegetables) there was a sharp rise of 350 per cent. And since it cannot be said that these fluctuations were due to difference of locality (the two localities not being far removed from each other) the inference is inevitable that the difference is to be attributed to the difference in time between the two records which cannot be less than 40 years.

Prices of articles (A = Ambāsamudram. T = Tiruchchendūr).

1.	1 <i>nāḷi</i> of paddy for 2 plantain fruits	A
	1,500 plantains for 10 <i>kalam</i>	T
2.	30 <i>nāḷi</i> of paddy for 1 <i>nāḷi</i> of ghee	A
	20 Ditto	T
3.	3 <i>nāḷi</i> of paddy for 1 <i>nāḷi</i> of curd	A
	2 Ditto	T
4.	1 <i>palam</i> of sugar was obtained for 1 <i>nāḷi</i> and 1 <i>uri</i> of paddy	A
	7 <i>tulām</i> and 65 <i>palam</i> for 10 <i>kalam</i>	T
5.	10 <i>palam</i> of vegetables cost 1 <i>nāḷi</i> of paddy	A
	20 <i>tulām</i> of vegetables cost 10 <i>kalam</i> of paddy	T
6.	6 <i>nāḷi</i> of paddy for 1 <i>śakka</i> of <i>kāṇṇai</i>	A
	1 <i>kūṇi</i> (10 <i>kalam</i>) fetched 90 <i>nāḷi</i> of <i>kāṇṇai</i>	T

We may now note a few facts concerning the geographical terms that occur in the inscription. At the outset it may be said that all the villages and divisions mentioned are situated in the Tinnevely District. Tiruchchendūr is 18 miles east-south-east of Śrīvaikunṭham on the sea.² Korkai and Māṇamāṅgalam are in the Śrīvaikunṭam taluk and Nallūr and Kaṭṭāraimāṅgalam are in the Tiruchchendūr taluk. Of these, Korkai was an important place in the Pāṇḍya kingdom noted for its pearl fishery. Both the author of the *Periplus*³ and Ptolemy⁴ mention it, the former under the name of Koichi or Korkoy. Mr. R. Sewall states⁵ that Māṇamāṅgalam is the

¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 80.

² Sewall's *List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 313.

³ Schoff's edition, pp. 46 and 237-8.

⁴ Majumdar: *McCrie's Ancient India of Ptolemy*, pp. 57-8, 78.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 312. No. 474 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1916 agrees with this inscription in stating that Korkai was in Kuḍa-nāḷu. From an inscription at Akkūṭāṭi (No. 163 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903) we learn that it formed part of Korkai and had in it Akkūṭāṭi-Īṇṇamudaiyūr. It is further stated that Korkai was surmounted Maṇṇuckatakanallūr and that it was in Kuḍa-nāḷu, a sub-division of Uṭṭa-maṇḍu-vaṭṭanāḷu which was a district of Rājakkā-Īṇḍināḷu.

site of ancient Korkai and that Akkūlāi is a place not far from it. From the inscriptions of the former place it is seen that it was situated in Parāntaka-vaṇaṇḍu.¹ As such, it must be identical with the place mentioned in our inscription as being located in the same division. The division Parāntaka-vaṇaṇḍu itself must have been called after Mārāṇḍaiyan alias Neṇḍuṇḍaiyan Parāntaka (circa A.D. 770). It is a point worthy of note that while Korkai belonged to the sub-division Kuṇḍa-nḍu, Māraṇḍalam, a place quite in the vicinity of it, belonged to a different sub-division. Both Māraṇḍri and Māraṇḍalam in the Tinnevely District were called in ancient times Māraṇḍalam. While the former was situated in Tiruvajudi-vaṇaṇḍu, the latter was in Parāntaka-vaṇaṇḍu.² Since Māraṇḍalam of our record is stated to have been a place in Parāntaka-vaṇaṇḍu, we have to identify it with the one near Korkai, and not with Māraṇḍri. Vaḷudai-vaṇaṇḍu in which were situated Varagunamaṇḍalam, Iravāḷimaṇḍalam, Tiyambakamaṇḍalam, Guṇamaṇḍalam and Mānavirapattinam, was also called Tiruvajudi-vaṇaṇḍu or Vaḷudi-vaṇaṇḍu or Vaḷudi-nḍu and had in it Āḷvār-Tirunagari, the birthplace of the Vaiṣṇava saint Nammāḷvār, and Śrīvaikuṇṭham.³ Varagunamaṇḍalam is one of the 18 sacred places of the Vaiṣṇavas in the Pāṇḍya country.⁴ It is celebrated in the hymn of Nammāḷvār⁵ and is known from his days as Varagunamaṅgai,⁶ that being a shortened form of Varagunamaṇḍalam. It is 18 miles north-east of Tinnevely. We have already shown that this place must have been called after Varaguna I. Another place mentioned in the inscription is Kīrapūr. It was the headquarters of a division in later times.⁷ The sub-division Amitaguna-vaṇaṇḍu occurs in another inscription of Tiruchchendūr⁸ under the name Amudaguna-vaṇaṇḍu.

¹ Nos. 157 to 161 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903. These inscriptions state that Māraṇḍalam was called Tiruvendravalḷabha-chaturvḍimaṇḍalam and that it was a *bankaṇḍu* in Parāntaka-vaṇaṇḍu, a sub-division of Maṇḍiṇḍaḷa-vaṇaṇḍu which was a district of Rājaraṇja-Pāṇḍyaṇḍu.

² See No. 407 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909, and Nos. 483 and 487 of the same collection for 1916.

³ Nos. 173 of 1895 and 430 of 1909.

⁴ The 18 places are :—(1) Tiruvāḷvāḷai, i.e. Āṇḍamalai, 12 miles north-east of Madurai; (2) Tirukōṭṭiyār, 27 miles north-east of Nāṇḍi-Madurai; (3) Tūmaṇḍam, 45 miles to the south of Telichchampai in the Pudukkottai State; (4) Tiruppuḷḷai, 6 miles to the south of Ramanad; (5) Tiruvāḷkai, 13 miles west of Śāṭṭūr; (6) Tirukūḷai, half a mile east of Madurai; (7) Śrīvilliputtūr, 22 miles west of Śāṭṭūr; (8) Tiruvāḷvār, 7 miles north-east of Madurai; (9) Tirukkurugūr, i.e. Āḷvār-Tirunagari, 18 miles east of Tinnevely; (10) Tolaivillimaṇḍalam, i.e. Irattaiiruppuḷḷi, 25 miles north of Tinnevely; (11) Śrīvāra-maṇḍai, i.e. Vāraṇḍamalai, 18 miles south of Tinnevely; (12) Tiruppuḷḷimūḍi, 7 miles east of Tinnevely; (13) Tiruppuḷḷai, 24 miles east of Tinnevely; (14) Śrīvāra-maṇḍam, 18 miles east of Tinnevely; (15) Varaguna-maṇḍai, 18 miles north-east of Tinnevely; (16) Tirukūḷandai, i.e. Peruvāḷai, 28 miles north-east of Tinnevely; (17) Tirukkurugūḍi, 26 miles south of Tinnevely; and (18) Tirukūḷai, 28 miles east of Tinnevely.

⁵ This is the 4th stanza of the second ten of the 9th hundred commenting with the words *Paṇḍiṇḍi-ḷḷi-ḷḷu Varagunamaṇḍam-ē vāḍu Vāḍuṇḍam nāra, etc.* The date of birth of Nammāḷvār as calculated by the late L. D. Swamikannu Pillai is 4th May, A.D. 798, corresponding to Pramāṇi, Vāḷiḷai, Śa. 16, Vāḷiḷai, Friday (See his *Tamil Epigraphy*). He must thus have been a contemporary of Varaguna I, after whom the place was named.

⁶ In the case of Varagunamaṇḍai and Śrīvāra-maṇḍai (Nos. 15 and 11 of the above list) it is obviously out of place to take *maṇḍai* as a feminine suffix like *ai* and to derive them from derivatives bearing the names Varaguna and Śrīvāra. They are undoubtedly named after the Pāṇḍya kings Varaguna and Śrīvāra.

⁷ No. 470 of the same collection for the year 1911.

⁸ No. 156 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903.

TEXT.

First slab; First face.

- 1 Śrī Kō Varaguna-Māryaṅku yāṇḍu
 2 daṅ-eḍir paḍiṅ-mūṅṟu ivv-āṇḍu Tira-
 3 Suppiramaṅ(g)iya-Batāraṅ-upācariyā-
 4 - lga Tirumūlattiṇattu-ppat[ā]rarkku mudal-keḷāmai-ppoliṇṇi¹ ā-
 5 ga koṇḍu śeluttuvad-āga uḷaiyār-aḷiyār-āṇḍ² Varaguna-Māryaṅ po-
 6 ttaṅ Iruppaikkūḍi-k[ā]vavum Sāttampurumaṇḍum Aḷarṇ[ī]³-(nā)-
 7 iṭṭa-kkōṅṇu aiyāiratt⁴-oṅṟā-nāḷṟ-koṇḍu-vanḍa nīrai-kuraviyā-ppa-
 8 laṅ-kāṇu āratu⁵-nā-uṇṟu [i]⁶ i-kkālāṅ-Koḷa-nāḷṟu-kKoṇḍai-ārār kaṇḍ⁷
 9 mudal-keḷāmai-¹ppoliṇṇi-²kkōṇḍu śeluttuvad-āga vaiṭṭa nīrai-
 10 kuraviyā-ppalaṅ-kāṇu toṇṇūṇṟ-ē[ru] poṅṇ-ēṭṭu [i]⁸ i-kkālāḷ oru-kā-
 11 ṇukku āṇḍuvārai poḷ nīrai-madi-nārāyattāḷ iru-kala-nell-āga va-
 12 nda nellu nūṇṟu-ttoṇṇūṇṟu-mukkalaṇḍy oṇḍaḍiṅ kuravi [i]⁹ i-n-
 13 nellāḷ niyadippaḍi iva[ī]¹⁰gaḷ koṇḍu-vanḍu śelutta-kkaḍavava [i]¹¹ nāḷi
 14 ariṇṇikku mu-nnāḷi nell-āga-ttiruv-amidiṇṇukku ariṇ[ī]¹² seṇṇēṇ-riṭ-
 15 tal oru-pōḍaḷṇṇu nā-pāḷiy-āga nāṇḍu pōḍaḷṇṇu ariṇi seṇṇēṇ-riṭ[ā]-
 16 i paḍiṅ-aṅu-nāḷi [i]¹³ Mārgaḷi-tTiruvādirai¹⁴-Māṇi-Makamum Vaiyyāḷi-
 17 Viyāḷkamum paḍi iratti śeluttuvadu [i]¹⁵ i-ppariṇu śeluttāḍu ku-
 18 ttaḷṇṇūṇṟaḍiḷ i-ttāvarikkēy iruḷatt-aḷḷu kāṇu daṇḍamum pa-
 19 iṭṭu-ēḷḷeḷuttāḍu viṭṭa mudal-irattiyaḷ-kuḷuppaḍu [i]¹⁶ i-nāṇṇu Na[ḷ]-
 20 lūr-ārār kaṇḍ¹⁷ mēṭṭaḍi¹⁸ 'poliṇṇi-āga vaiṭṭa nīrai-kuraviyā-ppala-
 21 ā-kāṇu nūṇṟ-arubatt-ēṭṭum poḷ[ṇ]-āṇḍy-kāḷ [i]¹⁹ i-kkālāḷ-āṇḍuvārai po[ḷ]-
 22 nellu nīrai-madi-nārāyattāḷ mu-nnūṇṟu-muppatt-ēḷu-kalaṇḍy mu-kku-
 23 ruṇḷ nā-pāḷi urī [i]²⁰ i-nellāḷ nīyadippaḍi tiruv-amidiṇṇukku iva[ī]²¹ga-
 24 i koṇḍu-vanḍu śelutta-kkaḍavava nāḷi neyy-amidiṇṇukku irupadi-
 25 [ṇāḷi] nell-āga-ttiruv-amidu nīvōḷḷikku-ppaṇḍuv-ṇaṇu-ney oru-
 26 pōḍaḷṇṇu uḷakk-āḍavum [i]²² kari tamikkavum porikkavum oru-pōḍaḷṇṇu ā-
 27 iḷakk-āḍavum [i]²³ nāṇḍu-pōḍaḷṇṇu neyy-amidu nāḷi urī [i]²⁴ nāḷi-ttair²⁵ -a
 28 midiyukku iru-nāḷi nell-āga-ttiruv-amidu nīvōḷḷikku-ttair²⁶-amidu
 29 oru-pōḍaḷṇṇu nāḷiy-āḍavum kāṭṭukku-ttair²⁷-amidu oru-pōḍaḷṇṇu u-
 30 riyy-āḍavum nāṇḍu-pōḍaḷṇṇu-ppaṇḍuv-ṇy-tai²⁸ aṅu-nāḷi [i]²⁹ oru-kāṇu-
 31 kku nīrai-madi-nārāyattāṅ-paḍiṅ-kala-nell-aḷḍam-āga [i]³⁰ āṇḍ³¹
 32 vāḷai-ppaḷattiyukku oru-kāḷ-āḍavum [i]³² oḷu-tuḷatt-arubatt-aṇḍa-
 33 la-ēḷḷaḷkaraḷṇṇu oru-kāḷ-āḍavum [i]³³ irupadiṅ-tuḷāṇu kari-amidiṇṇukku
 34 oru-kāḷ-āḍavum [i]³⁴ arupadiṅ-pāḷi kāyattiyukku oru-kāḷ-āḍavum
 35 aḷḍam-āga [i]³⁵ -tiruv-amidu nīvōḷḷikku vāḷai-ppaḷa-amidu o-
 36 ru-pōḍaḷṇṇu nāṇḍu-āga nāṇḍu-pōḍaḷṇṇu-kkara-vāḷai-ppaḷa-amidu pa-
 37 ḍu-āṇḍu [i]³⁶ āṇḍam-amidu oru-pōḍaḷṇṇu oru-palaṇḍ-āga nāṇḍu-pōḷai-
 38 kku-ēḷḷaḷkaraḷ-amidu nāḷ-palaṇḍ [i]³⁷ kari-amidu kāy-kkaṇḍi oṅṟu po-
 39 iḷā-gaṇi oṅṟu paḷukku-kkari oṅṟu porī-kkaṇḍi oṅṟu āṇḍ³⁸-
 40 kkaṇḍi-amidu nāṇḍiyukku oru-pōḍaḷṇṇu [ṇaḷi]-[palaṇḍ-āḷga]³⁹ nāḷ-

¹ Read 'poliṇṇi'.² Read āṇḍu.³ Read nīy-āṇḍu.⁴ Read āṇḍu.⁵ Read āṇḍu.⁶ Read 'nāṇḍu'.⁷ Read āṇḍu.⁸ Read āṇḍu.⁹ Read āṇḍu.¹⁰ After 'ga', the letters 'ka' seem to have been engraved and erased.¹¹ The phrase 'paḍiṅ-palaṇḍ-āga' is a correction from 'kāṇḍy-amidu'.

First slab: Second piece.



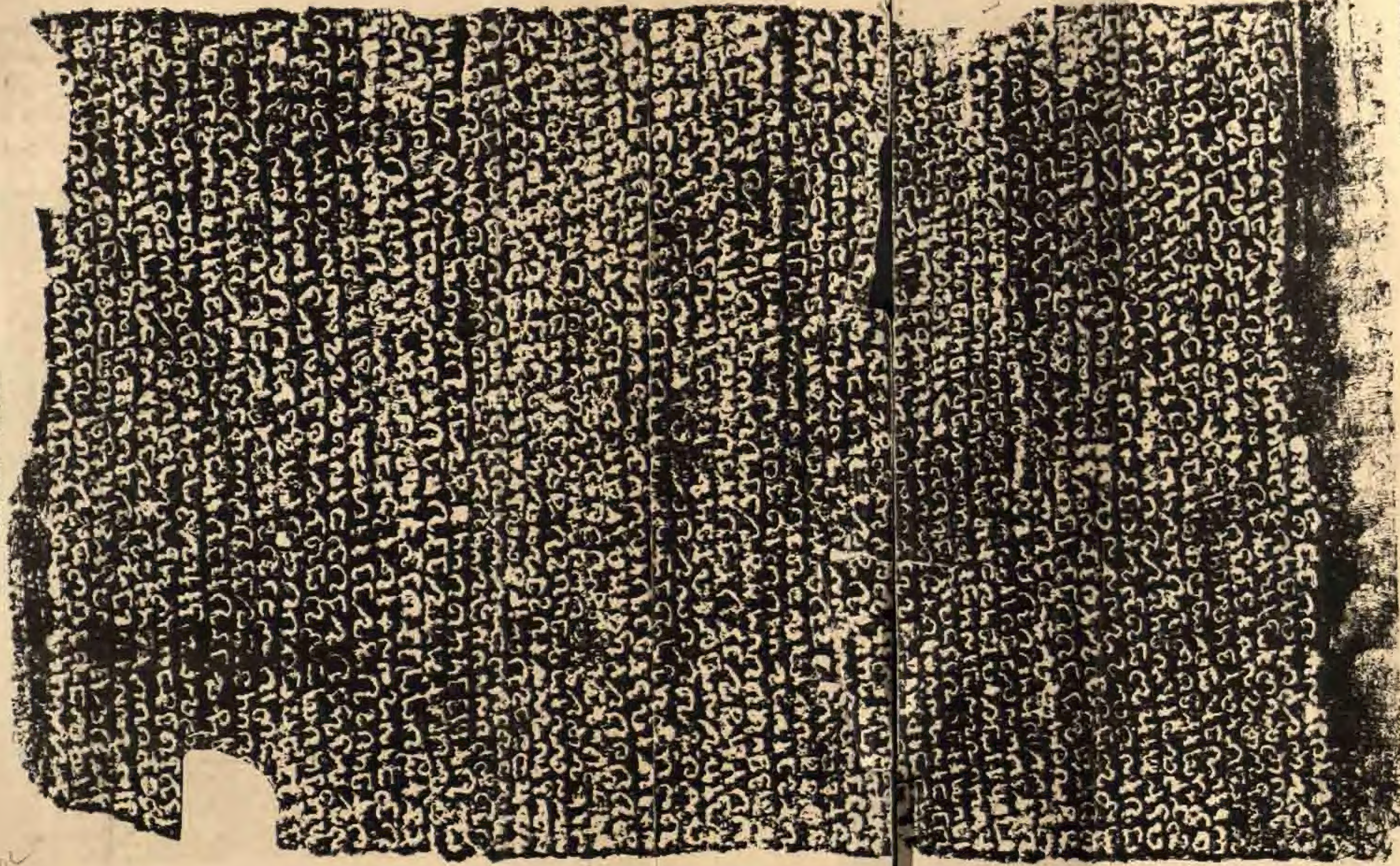
TIRUCHCHENDUR INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNAMAHARAJA (II).

First slab: First piece.

Handwritten Tamil script on a palm leaf manuscript, showing multiple lines of text across the entire surface.

THIRUCHENDUR INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNAMAHARAJA (II).

Second slab: First piece.



154
 156
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The text on this slab is written in a cuneiform script, arranged in approximately 20 horizontal lines. The script is dense and consistent across the entire surface. The top edge of the slab is irregular and appears to be a fragment of a larger tablet. The bottom edge is also irregular, with some characters visible just below the main body of text. The overall appearance is that of an ancient archaeological find, possibly a fragment of a larger inscription.

83 tēvalāga-ppiramaḍḍyam Tiyaṁbakaṁḍalam ira-
 84 [a]vāḷamaṇḍalattu-chohavaiyār kaiṇ¹ mēṇṇaḍi po-
 85 [i]ṇṇi-āga² vaitta nīrai-kuraiyā-ppalaḍ-kāṇu ma-
 86 ppatt-irupḍu i-kkāḍḍai oru-kāṇṇu āḍḍuvurai pol[i] nīrai-
 87 mādi-nāṇyattāi iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nelli arupa-
 88 tu-ōṇ-kalam [i*] i-nellāi iṇṇi-āga³ niyadippaḍi koṇ-
 89 ḍu-vandu ṣeḷutta-kkaḍavana [i*] nāḷi⁴-ppāḷukku iru-nāḷi na-
 90 ḷ-āga-ttīrumanḍaṇam āḍi-arula-ppaḍuvīṇ-pāḷ niya-
 91 di nā-pāḷi [i*] nāḷi-ttairukku⁵ iru-nāḷi-nell-āga-ati-
 92 rumaḍḍaṇam āḍi-arula-ppaḍuvīṇ-rair⁶ niyaḍi nā-
 93 nāḷi i-ppariṣu ṣeḷuttāḍu kuttukkāṇṇaḍi-
 94 i i-tēvarkkēy aiṇḍu kāṇu ḍaḍḍamum paṇṇu-oh-
 95 cheḷuttāḍu viṭṭa mudal-irattin⁷-kuḍuppaḍu

Second slab : First face.

96 i-nāḷṭu-kkaḍaimaṇḍalattu-ppaḍum āḷampattattu ḍ-
 97 rār kaiṇ¹ mēṇṇaḍi poliṇṇi-āga² vaitta nīrai-kuraiyā-ppalaḍ-kāṇu pa-
 98 ḍiḍ-ā[ru i-kkāḍḍai] oru-kāṇṇu āḍḍuvurai poli nīrai-mādi-nāṇyattāi i-
 99 ru-kala-nell-āga vanda nelli muppatt-iru-kalam [i*] i-nellāi iṇṇi-āga³
 100 [niyaḍippaḍi [koṇḍu-vandu ṣeḷutta-kkaḍavana [i*] ṣe-ḷan[ru]kku nāḷi nell-ā-
 101 ga-ttīrumanḍaṇam āḍi-arula iṇṇi-vaḷuvai utpaḍa niyaḍi iru-nāḷi u-
 102 ḷakku [i*] nāḷi-ḷan[ru]kku nāḷi-ḷan[ru]-āga niyaḍi iḍum iṇṇi-ēṇu [i*] i-
 103 ppariṣu ṣeḷuttāḍu kuttukkāṇṇaḍi i-tēvarkkēy aiṇḍu-kāṇu ḍa-
 104 ḍamum paṇṇu-ohcheḷuttāḍu viṭṭa mudal-irattin⁷-kuḍuppaḍu [i*] i-nāḷi-
 105 [i]ṇṇi Māṇaviraṇṇaṭṭiṇṇaṭṭu nagarattār kaiṇ¹ (mēṇṇaḍi poliṇṇi-āga² vai-
 106 tta nīrai-kuraiyā-ppalaḍ-kāṇu nīrr-irupadu i-kkāḍḍai oru-kāṇṇu-
 107 āḍḍuvurai poli nīrai-mādi-nāṇyattāi iru-kala-nell-āga vanda ne-
 108 ḷu iru-nāḷṭu nāṇṇaḍi-kalam [i*] i-nellāi iṇṇi-āga³ niyadippa-
 109 ḍi koṇḍu-vandu ṣeḷutta-kkaḍavana [i*] oru-kāṇṇu nīrai-mādi-nāṇyattār-
 110 paḍu-kala-nell-āga-āga [i*] nīrr-āḷṇaḍi-nāḷi naruṇ-pūvinukku oru-
 111 kāḷ-āga [i*] āḷi-paḷṇiṭṭamattinukku niyaḍi āḷakka-kkaḍava naruṇ-pū-ppaḍi-
 112 [nāḷi] [i*] i-ppariṣu ṣeḷuttāḍu kuttukkāṇṇaḍi⁸ i-tēvarkkēy iruḷat-
 113 t-aiṇḍu-kāṇu ḍaḍḍamum paṇṇu-ohcheḷuttāḍu viṭṭa mudal-irattin⁷-kuḍup-
 114 [paḍu] [i*] Siṇṇavallabha-vaḷanṇiṭṭu-ppiramaḍḍyam Kaṭṭaḍaimaṇḍalattu-chohavaiyā-
 115 r kaiṇ¹ mēṇṇaḍi poliṇṇi-āga² vaitta nīrai-kuraiyā-ppalaḍ-kāṇu tōṇṇiḍḍi-ru-
 116 nāḷṭu poṇḍu-aiṇḍu [i*] i-kkāḍḍai oru-kāṇṇu āḍḍuvurai poli nīrai-mādi-nāṇyattāi-
 117 i iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nelli nīrr-ōḷḷaṇṇi-ṇaḍi-kalam [i*] i-n[na]-
 118 ḷāi iṇṇi-āga³ koṇḍu-vandu ṣeḷutta-kkaḍavana [i*] nāḷi-ohṇṇi-ru-paṇṇu-ppo-
 119 riḷu nāḷi-āḷakku-ppayar-āgaṇum [i*] nāḷi-ppayarrukku iru-nāḷi-nell-ā-
 120 ga-ppori iṭṭa nīḷadam āḷu-paḷyarru-ppori niyaḍi uṇṇi[ru]kku⁹ āḷakka-kkaḍava
 121 āḷu-payaru uri-āḷakku oru-kāṇṇu nīrai-mādi-nāṇyattār-paḍu-kala-nell-
 122 i-āga-āga [i*] oru-kāḷattukku-ppaḍi-ōḷu-nāḷi āḷakku māḷi-āga-ttīru-
 123 māni pūḷi-āḷu mēṇṇaḍi nīṇṇaṭṭu paṇṇu-māḷi niyaḍi māḷakku [i*]
 124 [ōḷi-āḷu] pūḷi-āḷu āḷu-āḷu oru-kāṇṇu pēṇṇaṇu oru-muṇṇi mu-ttā-

¹ Read *kaṇṇu*.² Read *niyadippaḍi*.³ Read *paḍi*.⁴ Read *niyadippaḍi*.⁵ Read *kaṇṇu*.⁶ Read *niyadippaḍi*.⁷ The *ā* of *nāḷi* looks like *ā*.⁸ Read *kaṇṇu*.⁹ Read *kaṇṇu*.

- 125 gaḷukku nāl-aṇaiy-āga ōr-āṇḍu nāṅgu-muraikku veṇ-kūrai paḍiṇ-ār-aṇai [*] i-
 126 ppariṇu śeṇuttādu kuttukkārpāḍi i-ttēvarkkōy irupatt-aindu
 127 kāṇu daṇḍamum paṭṭu-ēcheḷuttādu viṭṭa mudal-irattin¹-kaṇḍappadu [*]
 128 Parāntaka-vaṇaṇṭṭu-ppiramaḍōyam [Parai]ṭuṇaṅgaḷa[ttu-ēte]ḷu-kilakku Ti-
 129 [ṇai]-ēchchavaiyār kāiṇ² mērpāḍi *poliṭṭ-āga vaitta nīrai-kuraiyā-ppa-
 130 ā-kāṇu irubatt-aindu [*] i-kkālāḷ oru-kāṇukku āṇḍuvai pol nīrai-madi-nā-
 131 rāyattāḷ iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nelli aimbadiṇ-kalam i-nellā-
 132 i iṇa[r*]ḷaḷ koṇḍu-vandu śeṇutta-kkaḍavaga [*] nāḷi-ariṇṇukku mu-nāḷi nel-
 133 i-āga-ttiru-ppalikka niyadi ariṇi ṇemmar-ṇṭṭal oru-pōḍaḷḷu nāḷiy-āga i-
 134 raṇḍu pōḍaḷḷu ariṇi ṇemmar-ṇṭṭal iru-nāḷi [*] oru-kāṇukku nīrai-madi-nārāyattāḷ
 135 paḍiṇ-kala-nell-aḷḡam-āga śeṇ-maḍaippaḷi-kkaṭṭu mēṇkaṭṭikkū-ppuḍavai iṇai i-
 136 raṇḍ-araḷ-kkāṇam peṇṇaga oru-murai aṇu-ttiṇḷaḷukku ir-aṇaiy-āga ōr-āṇḍu irāṇḍu-mu-
 raik-
 137 ku-ppuḍavai nāl-aṇai [*] kal-puraḷḷukku-ppuḍavai iṇai irāṇḍu-kāṇam peṇṇaga oru-
 murai mu-ttiṇ-
 138 gaḷukku ir-aṇaiy-āga ōr-āṇḍu nāḷ-gu-murai[k*]ku-ppuḍavai eṭṭ-aṇai [*] i-ppariṇu
 śeṇuttādu kuṭ-
 139 tulkārpāḍi i-ttēvarkkōy aindu-kāṇu daṇḍamum paṭṭu-ēcheḷuttādu viṭṭa muṇia-
 140 i-irattin¹-kaṇḍappadu i-nāṇṭṭu-ppiramaḍōya[m*] Māramaṇḡaḷattu-
 141 ēchchavaiyār kāiṇ² mērpāḍi *poliṭṭ-āga vaitta nīrai-kuraiyā-ppa-
 142 [ān]-kāṇu nūṇ-aimbatt-irāṇḍ-araḷ [*] i-kkālāḷ oru-kāṇukku āṇḍuvai
 143 pol nīrai-madi-nārāyattāḷ iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nelli mu-mūṇ-
 144 p-aṇ-kalam [*] i-nellāḷ iṇa[r*]ḷaḷ koṇḍu-vandu śeṇutta-kkaḍavaga [*]
 145 oru-kāṇukku nīrai-madi-nārāyattāḷ paḍiṇ-kala-nell-aḷḡam-āga [*] śeṇ-tūpam
 146 āḍāṇḍukku³ vēṇḍum uṇu[ppu⁴] aḷi-utpaḍa-kkarpūṇam-m-tēṇu[m] ni-
 147 yadi araḷ-kkāṇam vilai peṇa iḍuvaiḷu [*] śeṇ-karpakkira-agattu-kkaṭṭu mēṇkaṭ-
 148 ṭikkū veṇ-kūrai iṇai āḷ-araḷ-kkāṇam peṇṇaga oru-murai āṇu-ttiṇḷaḷukku
 149 nāl-aṇaiy-āga ōr-āṇḍu irāṇḍu muraikku veṇ-kūrai eṭṭ-aṇai [*] nāḷi-ttair⁵-amidiṇuk-
 150 ka iru-nāḷi nell-āga-ttiru-ppalikka-ppaṇuvip-ṇōy-tair⁵ niyadl nāḷi [*]
 151 taṭṭaḷi kuṭṭiḷaḷukku-kkorru nēḷu-ttiṇḷaḷ [nāḷr-kala[ṇaḷ]y paḍiṇ⁶-ku-
 152 ruṇi nāḷi uṇiy-āga ōr-āṇḍu paṇṇirāṇḍu tiṇḷaḷukku vēṇḍum nelli nīrai-
 153 madi-nārāyattāḷ aimbatt-eḷu-kalam⁷

Second slab ; Second face.

- 154 i-nāṇṭṭu-ppiramaḍōyam Teṇrakku.
 155 Ilū-ēchchavaiyār kāiṇ² mērpāḍi *poliṭṭ-āga vaitta ni-
 156 rai-kuraiyā-ppaḷān-kāṇu arupadu [*] i-kkālāḷ oru-kāṇukku āṇḍu-
 157 varai pol nīrai-madi-nārāyattāḷ iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nelli
 158 nūṇ-irupaḍiṇ-kalam [*] i-nellāḷ iṇa[r*]ḷaḷ koṇḍu-vandu śeṇutta-
 159 kkaḍavaga [*] oru-kāṇukku nīrai-madi-nārāyattāḷ paḍiṇ-kala-nell-aḷḡam-ā-
 160 ga [*] śeṇ-uḍaiy-āḷai iṇai mūṇṇu-kāṇu peṇṇaga oru-murai mu-ttiṇḷaḷukku

¹ Read 'yeṇ-.

² Read *kaḷiṇ*.

³ Read *poliṭṭ-āga*.

⁴ Read *āḍāṇḍukku*.

⁵ The letters in brackets look like *ṇu*.

⁶ Read *ṇaḷ*.

⁷ To make up the total of 57 letters in this item the word *paḍiṇ* ought to be *paḍiṇ-aru*.

⁸ There is some blank space in this line after *eṇa-kalam* and space for another line below, in which should have been incised the words *i-ppariṇu śeṇuttādu kuttukkārpāḍi i-ttēvarkkōy aindu kāṇu daṇḍamum paṭṭu-ēchchavaiyār mudal-irattin-kaṇḍappadu*.

- 161 *ōr-apaiy-āga ōr-āpdu nāngu-muraikku ōri-udaiy-āḍai nāl-apai* [1*] *i-p-*
 162 *pariṣu śeluttadu kuttukkārpadi i-ttōvarkkēy panni-*
 163 *raṇḍ-araī-kkāṣu daṇḍamum paṭṭu-ēcheḷuttādu viṭṭa mudal-iratti-*
 164 *uḍi¹-kuḍuppadu* [1*] *Amṛtaguṇa-vaḷanāṭṭu-ppiramadēyam Avap-*
 165 *paṭṭakaranaḷgalattu-ēcheḷavaiyār kaiṇ² mērpadi³ *poliṭṭ-āga vaitta*
 166 *nirai-kuraiyā-ppalaṇ-kāṣu arupadu* [1*] *i-kkāṣāl oru-kāṣukku āḍuvara-*
 167 *rai poli nirai-madi-nārāyattāl iṟu-kala-nell-āga vanda nelli nūṟṟ-iṟu-*
 168 *padin-kalam* [1*] *i-nnellāl iṟa[r*]gaḷ koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kka-*
 169 *ḍavapa* [1*] *oru-kāṣukku nirai-madi-nārāyattār-padin-kala-nell-aḷgam-āga ōri-*
 170 *udaiy-āḍai ipai mūṟṟu-kāṣu perṟapa oru-murai mu-ttiṇḷaḷukku ōr-apaiy-ā-*
 171 *ga ōr-āpdu nāngu-muraikku ōri-udaiy-āḍai nāl-apai i-ppariṣu śeluttādu kut-*
 172 *tukkārpadi i-ttōvarkkēy panniṇḍ-araī-kkāṣu daṇḍamum paṭṭu-ēcheḷuttā-*
 173 *du viṭṭa mudal-irattiṇ⁴-kuḍuppadu* [1*] *Kuḍa-nāṭṭu-ppiramadēyam Poḷu⁵*
 174 *ḍai-ēcheḷavaiyār kaiṇ² mērpadi³ *poliṭṭ-āga vaitta nirai-kuraiyā-ppala-*
 175 *ṇ-kāṣu nūṟṟ-irupadu* [1*] *i-kkāṣāl oru-kāṣukku āḍuvarai poli nirai-madi-nārāya-*
 176 *tāl iṟu-kala-nell-āga vanda nelli iṟu-nūṟṟu-nūṟṟadiṇ-kalam i-nne-*
 177 *llāl iṟa[r*]gaḷ koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavapa* [1*] *oru-kāṣukku nirai-madi-nārāya-*
 178 *tāl padin-kala-nell-aḷgam-āga ōri-udaiy-āḍai ipai mūṟṟu-kāṣu perṟapa oru-*
 179 *murai mu-ttiṇḷaḷukku ōr-apaiy-āga ōr-āpdu nāngu-muraikku ōri-udaiy-āḍai* [1*]
 180 *ṭṭ-apai* [1*] *i-ppariṣu śeluttādu kuttukkārpadi i-ttōvarkkēy iṟubatt-*
 181 *t-aindu-kāṣu daṇḍamum paṭṭu-ēcheḷuttādu viṭṭa mudal-irattiṇ⁴-kuḍuppa-*
 182 *du* [1*] *i-nnāṭṭu-ppiramadēyam Kīṇḍur-ēcheḷavaiyār kaiṇ² mērpadi³ *poli-*
 183 *ṭṭ-āga vaitta nirai-kuraiyā-ppalaṇ-kāṣu iṟu-nūṟṟ-ōrubattu-nāngu* [1*] *i-*
 184 *kkāṣāl oru-kāṣukku āḍuvarai poli nirai-madi-nārāyattāl iṟu-kala-nell-ā-*
 185 *ga vanda nelli nā-nūṟṟ-iṟubatt-ēṇ-kalam i-nnellāl iṟa[r*]gaḷ niyadī-*
 186 *ppadi koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavapa nāḷi-neykku iṟupadi-nāḷi-nell-āga*
 187 *tīṟumaṇḷaḷam āḍi-aruḷa-ppaḷuvig-ṇaru-ney niyadī nā-gāḷi* [1*] *oru-kāṣukku*
 188 *nirai-madi-nārāyattār-padin-kala-nell-aḷgam-āga-ttūḷ-ēcheḷaṇḍapattu-*
 189 *kku oru-kāṣ-āga-ttīṟumēṇi pūṣum sandaṇa-kkuḷambu-ēcheḷaṇḍaḷam niyadī*
 190 *mu-ppalam* [1*] *i-ppariṣu śeluttādu kuttukkārpadi i-ttōvarkkē-*
 191 *y aṇḍadu-kāṣu daṇḍamum paṭṭu-ēcheḷuttādu viṭṭa mudal-i-*
 192 *rattiṇ⁴-kuḍuppadu* [1*] *i-nnāṭṭu-ppiramadēyam Śaḍaḷgavikkurich-*
 193 *ēḷi-ēcheḷavaiyār kaiṇ² mērpadi³ *poliṭṭ-āga vaitta nirai-kuraiyā-ppalaṇ-kā-*
 194 *ṣu toṇṇūṟu* [1*] *i-kkāṣāl oru-kāṣukku āḍuvarai poli nirai-madi-nārāyattāl*
 195 *iṟu-kala-nell-āga vanda nelli nūṟṟ-ēḷadīṇ-kalam* [1*] *i-nnellāl niyadī-*
 196 *ppadi iṟa[r*]gaḷ koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavadu* [1*] *oru-kāṣukku nirai-madi-nā[r*]-*
 197 *yattār-padin-kala-nell-aḷgam-āga-ppadiṇ-nāḷ-kalāṇḷu karpūṟattukku oṟu-*
 198 *kāṣ-āga-ttīṟumēṇi-pūṣum-tīṟuēcheḷaṇḍattōḍu kūṭṭi araikkum karpū-*
 199 *ram niyadī ḷ-araī-kkāḷam* [1*] *i-ppariṣu śeluttādu kuttukkārpadi*
 200 *i-ttōvarkkēy iṟubatt-aindu-kāṣu daṇḍamum paṭṭu-ēcheḷuttādu viṭ-*
 201 *ṭa mudal-irattiṇ⁴-kuḍuppadu* [1*] *i-nnāṭṭu-ppiramadēyam Kaḍuṇḍōmaṇ-*
 202 *ḷalattu-ēcheḷavaiyār kaiṇ² mērpadi³ *poliṭṭ-āga vaitta nirai-kuraiyā-*
 203 *ppalaṇ-kāṣu padin-āṟu* [1*] *i-kkāṣāl oru-kāṣukku āḍuvarai poli nirai-ma-*
 204 *di-nārāyattāl iṟu-kala-nell-āga vanda nelli muppatt-iṟu-kalam* [1*] *i-nne-*
 205 *llāl iṟa[r*]gaḷ niyadippadi koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavapa ōr-iḷaṇṟukku*

¹ Read *yaṣu*.² Read *kaiṇṭi*.³ Read *poliṭṭ-āga*.⁴ Read *irattiṇḍu*.⁵ Read *Poḷṭu*.

No.	No. of insa.	Division.	Name of village.	The body of persons with whom money was invested.	Amount invested.	
					Rais.	Pais.
1	8-19	Kuṣa-nāḍja . . .	Kerkal . . .	Uṭṭar . . .	96	8
2	19-45	Do.	Nallūr	Do.	168	6½
3	45-69	Do.	Śāliyam	Do.	24	6½
4	69-82	Vaṇḍi-vaṇḍiḍu . . .	Varaṇḍamangalam . . .	Sakhal . . .	110	0
5	82-95	Do.	Iravallimangalam included in Triyambakamangalam.	Do.	22	0
6	95-104	Do.	Aṭṭattam included in Ganguimangalam.	Uṭṭar . . .	16	0
7	104-114	Do.	Mānavirapettimam . . .	Nagarathar . . .	120	0
8	114-127	Śrīvallabha-vaṇḍiḍu . . .	Kuṭṭāramangalam . . .	Sakhal . . .	94	6
9	128-140	Parantaka-vaṇḍiḍu . . .	Tinnai included in Parantamangalam.	Do.	25	0
10	140-153	Do.	Māramangalam	Do.	162½	..
11	154-164	Do.	Toppakka	Do.	46	0
12	164-173	Amitaguna-vaṇḍiḍu . . .	Avanipattanamangalam . . .	Do.	90	0
13	173-182	Kuṣa-nāḍja	Puliyūṭai	Do.	120	0
14	182-192	Do.	Kirapār	Do.	214	0
15	192-201	Do.	Śaṅḡavikuricūṭi . . .	Do.	90	0
16	201-210	Do.	Koṇḍamangalam	Do.	16	0

INTEREST.					Object for which the interest was utilised.	Fines in case of default.
Rate per kāṣṭhā.	AMOUNT.					
	Kāṣṭhā.	ṭupam.	nāḍi.	ari.		
2 kāṣṭhā.	193	9	..	..	For supplying daily 16 nāḍi of rice on ordinary days and 96 nāḍi for 3 days in the year.	25 kāṣṭhā and double the quantity at default.
Do.	337	3	4	1	For supplying daily 1 nāḍi and 1 ari of ghee, 6 nāḍi of curd, 10 plantains, 4 pāṇam of sugar, 40 pāṇam of vegetables, 1 nāḍi and 7 ṭupam of idam and double this quantity for 3 days.	30 kāṣṭhā and double the quantity at default.
Do.	49	2	1	1	For supplying daily 2 nāḍi of poṇṇu-puṇṇu for ṭupam, 3 pāṇam of betel leaves and 56 nāḍi, together with double the above quantity for 3 days.	5 kāṣṭhā and double the quantity at default.
Do.	220	..	..	..	For supplying daily 2 nāḍi and 1 ari of ghee for 5 lamps and 1 ṭupam of ghee for 1 chain of lamps.	12½ kāṣṭhā and double the quantity at default.
Do.	64	..	..	..	For supplying daily 4 nāḍi of cow's milk and 4 nāḍi of curd.	5 kāṣṭhā and double the quantity at default.
Do.	32	..	..	..	For supplying daily 8 tender coconuts.	Do.
Do.	240	..	..	..	For supplying daily 10 nāḍi of flowers.	25 kāṣṭhā and double the quantity at default.
Do.	129	..	..	..	For supplying daily 1 ari of peri and 3 nāḍi of maṇ-jal and 16 ari of white cloth for the year.	Do.
Do.	50	..	..	..	For supplying daily 2 nāḍi of rice for ḍali, and for four ari of puṇṇam at the rate of 2½ kāṣṭhā for 1 ari and 8 ari of puṇṇam at the rate of 2 kāṣṭhā for 1 ari to be supplied during the year.	5 kāṣṭhā and double the quantity at default.
Do.	305	..	..	..	For supplying daily incense at 1½ kāṣṭhā, for 8 ari of white cloth at 7½ kāṣṭhā each ari for 1 year, for curd at 2 nāḍi of paddy per day and for drummers at 4 kāṣṭhā 10 ṭupam 1 nāḍi and 1 ari per month or 57 kāṣṭhā per year.	Omitted.
Do.	120	..	..	..	For supplying during the year 4 ari of maṇ-jal at 3 kāṣṭhā per ari.	12½ kāṣṭhā and double the quantity at default.
Do.	120	..	..	..	Ditto	Do.
Do.	340	..	..	..	For supplying 8 ari of maṇ-jal at 3 kāṣṭhā per ari.	25 kāṣṭhā and double the quantity at default.
Do.	438	..	..	..	For supplying daily 4 nāḍi of ghee for anointment, and 3 pāṇam of sandal at 1 ṭupam of sandal for 1 kāṣṭhā.	50 kāṣṭhā and double the quantity at default.
Do.	190	..	..	..	For supplying daily 7½ kāṣṭhā of karṇam (1 kāṣṭhā touching 6 ṭupam).	25 kāṣṭhā and double the quantity at default.
Do.	32	..	..	..	To supply daily 8 tender coconuts at 1 nāḍi of paddy for 1 coconut.	5 kāṣṭhā and double the quantity at default.

- 206 nāḥi-nell-āga-ttirmasāḥagān ādi-aruḥa ḥanir vajuvai nipaḍa nira-
 207 di iru-nāḥiṇṇukko¹ nāḥi-ḥanirukku nāl-ḥanir-āga niraḍi iḍum ḥa-
 208 nlr eṭṭu [?]² i-ppariṇa seṇittādu kottakkāṇṇaḍi i-ttēvark-
 209 kēy aindu-kāsu daṇḍamūn paṭṭu-chcheṇittādu viṭṭa mudalaṭṭāṇṇi³-ku-
 210 ḥuppadu [?]²

No. 18.—THE BHADRENIYAKA GRANT OF ŚILADITYA I: G.E. 292.

BY THE LATE MR. R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

These two copper plates were purchased along with five others by the Trustees of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India from the widow of the late Dr. Gerson da Cunha of Bombay. The place where they were found originally is not known.

These plates measure 11½" by 8½" and are joined together by means of a thick copper wire which passes through them. Only one side of these plates has been used for writing the record which consists of thirty-two lines, nineteen being engraved on the first and thirteen on the second plate. A copper seal which is oval in shape is affixed to the ends of the copper wire and bears the legend "*Śrī-Bhatakkab*" which is usually found on the seals of the dynasty to which Śilāditya belonged.

The inscription has not been incised very carefully and consequently it contains many mistakes. Only a portion of it is incised neatly but the engraving of the rest (ll. 12-19) is very thin. It is written in **Sanskrit** and, with the exception of the three imprecatory verses in the second plate, the whole of it is in prose. The **alphabet** belongs to the Western variety of the Northern script of the seventh century A.D. As regards **orthography**, signs for *i* and *ī* have not always been distinguished, probably owing to the carelessness of the writer; *anaseṣa* and *anarga* have been omitted in several places, e.g., *salāḥ**[*pakṣa*] (l. 5), *sāmānya*[*ś*]* (l. 28), *anīḍāṇa*[*ḥ*]* (l. 6), *-kārya-phala*[*ḥ*]* (l. 7), etc.; *ā* is used for *anaseṣa* in *vaśā* (ll. 3, 27) and *a* in *ana* (l. 14) and *anyāśi-cha* (l. 18); *ṣ* takes the place of *ś* in *prasaś** (l. 4). In addition to the usual *daṇḍa* a dot has been used in two places to mark the punctuation, cf. l. 29 after *Ypāśā* and l. 33 after *Vatrabhaṭṭānā*. The *upadhāniya* occurs thrice, in ll. 10, 19 and 23, and the *jihvāmūliya* only once, in l. 17. Usually consonants have been doubled when used in combination with the superscript *r*, e.g., *mārgga*- (l. 5), *-ātharṇya-dhārṇya-gāmbhārṇya* (l. 6), etc. The numerical symbols for 2, 4, 10, 90, and 200 are to be found in the last line.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of king Śilāditya I, who was the son of the illustrious Dharmadīpa, who was the son of the illustrious Guhaśāna, all of whom are mentioned as devout worshippers of Śiva. Like other records of the later kings of Valabhi this inscription also omits the names of the four sons of the *Sēnāpati* Bhāṭārīa in the genealogical portion of it. The grant registered in these plates was issued from the victorious camp at *Dēvisaras* on the 14th day of the bright *Chaitra* in 292² G.E. (circa 610-11 A.D.), and was written

* Read *nāḥi-ṇṇukko*.

* Read *anāḥiṇṇa*.

² [The late Mr. Banerji read the date as 290 and it has been so included in the *List of Northern Inscriptions* No. 1537 (above, Vol. XX, App. p. 181). I, however, read it as 292. It thus becomes the last known date of Śilāditya I. In the interval between this and the next Valabhi grant dated 361 G.E. issued by Dharmadīpa (III), at least one ruler, viz., Kharagraha, Śilāditya's younger brother, must have ruled. Recently a copper-plate issued by this prince has come to light, and apparently he is the *Dātā* of many of Śilāditya I's grants, including the present one.—Ed.]

by the *Sandhivigrahādhipāṭika* (minister of peace and war) *Divirapati* Vatrabhatti.¹ The *Dātaka* was Khatagraha, probably the younger brother of the king and heir-apparent, who succeeded Śilāditya I.

According to this grant, two hundred *pādāsarttas* of land in the village of Bhadrāniyaka in the Bāra-Vanasthali were given for the worship of the Sun-god established in that village. Out of these two hundred *pādāsarttas*, one hundred lay to the east of the arable land received as a gift and owned by the Brāhmaṇa Prabhādata, to the south of the arable land received as a gift and owned by a (Brāhmaṇa named) Rudra, to the north of the *daḍḍaka* (=chain of hills?) called Baratīkā, and to the west of the junction of the boundary of the village of Gōppara-vātaka. Of the remaining hundred *pādāsarttas* the boundaries are not specified, but it was a piece² of land (*bana*) at the same village originally set apart for the purpose of charity (*bhāikāśaka*), and now made over to the Sun temple along with the other piece of land. The land was granted for the maintenance of the worship (*pūjā*) and its other accessories, viz., bath (*snāpana*), sandal (*gandha*), flowers (*pushpa-mālā*), lamp-oil (*dīpa-taila*), vocal and instrumental music (*vādya-gīta*) and dances (*nṛitya*), the cost of sacrifices and offerings (*bali-chara-sutra*), the maintenance of the servants of the god (*pādamāla*) and the cost of repairing any damages (*khaḍga-sphūṭita-pratimāśakāra*). I am unable to identify any of the localities mentioned in this grant, viz., *Dāvisaras* (l. 1), *Bhadrāniyaka* (ll. 19-20, 23), *Bāra-Vanasthali*³ (l. 22), *Baratīkā-daḍḍaka*⁴ (l. 23) and *Gōpparavātaka* (l. 23).

TEXT.⁵

First Plate.

- 1 Om⁶ svasti [1*] Vājaya-skandhāvārād-Dō[1]sarō-vāsakāt prasabha-prāpat-
lmitrāpā[10*] Maitrakāpām-atula-bala-sampanna-maṇḍala-(l-ā)bhōga-sam-
- 2 saktā-prabhādata-labdhā-pratāpāt=pratāp-ōpanata-dāna-mān-ārjjav-ōpārjit-ānurāgād=ann-
rakta-maula-bhṛta-śrēṇi-pa(ha)l-āvāpta-
- 3 rājya-śriyaḥ parama-māhātēvara-śrī-Bhaṭa(ā)rkakād=avyavachohhinna-rāja-vatōśān-mātā-
pitṛ-charaṇ-ātavinda-pragati-pravilhant-śāśha-kalmashaḥ
- 4 ā[1]ś[1]avāt=prabhṛti khaḍga-dvītya-bāhur-ēva samāda-para-gaja-ghaṭā-sphōṭana-
prakāśita-satva-nikṣha-tat-pratāva⁷-prana(pā)t-ārāti-chūḍa(dā)-ra-
- 5 tna-prabhā-sa[1]m⁸ saktā-pāda-nakha-rāsmi-samhātis-sakala-smṛitō(ti)-praṇita-mārgga-
samyak-paripālana-prajā-hridaya-rañjan-ānva(r*)jītha-rāja-sabdaḥ
- 6 rūpa-kānti-āhairyya-dhairyya-gāmbhīryya-buddhi-saḥpa(mpa)dbhis-Smara-taśānti-Ādirāj-
ōdadhī-Tridaśaguru-Dhañśān-atiśayāna[10*] śaraṇ-āśa(gu)t-ābhaya-

¹ [This Vatrabhatti has also been called Vatrabhatti (No. 1341 of List) and Vatrabhaṭa (No. 1349). The readings Vatrabhatti (No. 1337, i.e., the present grant), Chandrabhatti (No. 1338) and Chattrabhatti (No. 1345) are misreadings. The members of the family to which Vatrabhatti belonged seem to have held charge of the War Office under at least eight princes of the Maitraka dynasty for four generations, viz., Skandabhatta (apparently the father of Vatrabhatti), Vatrabhatti, his son Skandabhatta and the latter's son Anahila.—Ed.]

² [If the two dots after *bana* are to be treated as equivalent to 2, then the two pieces of *Bhāikāśaka* land together consisted of 100 *pādāsarttas*.—Ed.]

³ [This though not so specified must have been the *mandala*, probably consisting of the Vanasthali twelve (12). Vanasthali, an important place in Junagadh State, may be suggested as the modern equivalent of the place, although it was known as Vāmanasthali in the medieval period.—Ed.]

⁴ [The boundary of Baratāka (probably a village) and the way leading to village Bhadrāniyaka as also a well belonging to the god Aditya are referred to in the Dhank grants of G. E. 290 issued by the same king Śilāditya I. It is likely that the lands mentioned in these two grants lie in the same locality.—Ed.]

⁵ The text is edited from the original plates in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ Read *prabhā*.

7. pradāna-patatayā tṛiṇavād-apāṭi-śāḥa-sva-kārya-phala(h*) prātihan-ādhik-
ṛtiha-prādān-ānandita-vilvat-sukṛit-paṇḍaya(yi)-hṛdayaḥ pāda-
8. chār-iva sakala-bhuvana-maṇḍal-śbhōga-pramōḍaḥ parama-mūhōvaraḥ śrī-Guha-
sēmas-tasya sata-sat-pāda-nakha-mayūkha-santāna-viṣi-
9. ta-Jānuvi-jal-augha-prakāśhāś-śāḥa-kalmashah pranaṇi-sata-sahaar-ōpaṣṭvayamāna-sam-
pad-rūḥa(pa)-lōbhād-iv-āritah sarabhasam-ā-
10. bhigāmkair-ggūṇais-saha-śakti-śikṣā-viśāha-vimāṭāpit¹-ākṣila-bala-dhanurvidharaḥ-
pratham-narapati-samatāṣṭiśīnā² jn-anupālayitā
11. dharmma-dāyānām mapākartā³ praj-ōpaḥita-kāripān-apaplavānām darśayāḥ
Śrī-Sarasvatyōr-āk-adhivāsaḥ sra(sar)hat-ārāti-pakṣa-la-
12. kāmā-ba(pa)-cibhōga-dakṣa-vikramā(mō) vikram-ōpaṇḍapṛāpta-vimāla-pārtihiva-āḥ
parama-mūhōvaraḥ śrī-Dharaś(ō)sēmas-tasya sata-sat-pād-ānu-
13. dhyātas-sakala-dīpa-gad-ānandan-āty-adbhuta-guṇa-samala(ya*)-sthagita-samagra-dig(ā)-
maṇḍalā-samara-sata-vijaya-lōbhā-santāha-maṇḍalāgra-
14. dyuti-bhāsumtar-āma(śa)-pīḥ-śāḥa-gura-manōratha-mō(ma)hābhāras-sarva-viṣyā-par-
āpara-viḥhāg-ādhiḥama-vimāla-matir-āpi sarva-
15. tas-subhāṣita-lavān-āpi sukh-ōpaṇḍantya-pantōśha-samagra-lōk-āgāḥa-gāubhāṣya-
hṛdayō-pi saharit-āḥāya-su-
16. vyakta-parama-kalya(lyā)ṇa-svabhāvaḥ kṣūḥhāta-Kṛta-yuga-nripatī-patha-viśōdha-
ādhiḥat-ōdagra-kīrtir-ādharmu-ānu(un)parōdh-ōjvalata-
17. rīkṛit-ārīha-sukha-sampad-upasēvā-nirōdha-Dharmmaditya-dvitya-nāmā parama-
mūhōvaraḥ śrī-Śilāditya-kulā sarvām-ā-
18. v-ānyuktaka-viniyuktaka-drōṇika-mahattara-saulika-chaurōddharanika-chāḥa-bhaṭa-kumā-
rāmāty-āḥa-anyām(ā)-cha yathā-samba-
19. dhyamānakā-saṇḍāḥāpayaty-asu vas-suhviditām yathā mayā mātā-pitr(ō)h-puṇy-
āpyānāya Bhadrō-

Second Plate.

20. niyaka-grāmā(ma)-nīpi(vi)śh-Ādityadōva-pādānām pājā-snapana-gandha-puakpa-māya-
dīpa-taḥ-ādy-apayōgāya vādya-gita-nṛity-ā-
21. dy-ārīh vāli-chara-satr-ōparppapāya pādāmāle-prajīvā(va)nāyā(ya) dōvakulasya
cha khaṇḍa-sphūṭita-pratimamēkūṛya
22. cha Bāra-vanasthāyām Bhadrōpiyaka-grāmō pūrva-dīni brūḥmaṇa-Prabhandata-
sathā-brahma-dēya-kāḥtrāt-pūrvvataḥ Rudra-
23. sathā-brahma-dēya-kāḥtrāt-dalohāpataḥ Barāḥk-dāḥakād-uttorataḥ Gōppara-
hā(vā)ṭaka-(grā)ma-cimā-sandhā-saparataḥ-pādāvarita-satām
24. tath-āminn-ōva grāmō bhāikshakam¹ lavam-ōtat-pādāvarita-satām bhāikshakam
cha sōtraṇām sōparikarām savāta-bhūta-pratyāyam sūdhāya-
25. hirany-ādēyam sādāḥparādham sōtpadyamāna-viśṭis² sarva-rājakyānām-santa-
prakāḥpāṇyam pūrva-pratā-brahma-dēya-
26. varjjanam bhūma(mā)-chchhīra-nyāyā-schandr-ārīk-ānpava-kāḥa(tī)-sacit-pūrvvata-
samakāḥnath dharmma-dāyātayā nīpāṭitā yataḥ a-
27. pari-(li*)kṣita-sthityā bhujyamānasya na kāḥchid-vyāśhāḥ vartitā³vyam-ōgāmī-
bhadrā-nripatibhīr-āpy-samad-vāḥājais-anyaic-vvā anityā-

¹ Read *sandapā*.² Read *dharmma-dāyātayā* - *apāḥtrāt*.³ [The *vyam* is superfluous or it may be the numerical sign for 2. - Ed.] ⁴ Read *viśṭis*.

- 28 ny-aivaryyāny-aathirath māṇakyaṣi sūnānya(ā*) cha bhūmi-dāna-phalam-ava-
gachchhadbhis-ayam-aamad-dāy-śnumantyaavyāḥ(vyāḥ) paṇḍilāyi-
29 tavyaś-eh-āty-uktam cha bhāgavatā Vēdavyāśāna Vyāśāna.¹ Bahubhir-vvasandhā
bhuktā rājabhis-Sagar-ādihhāḥ [*] yasya yasya yadā
30 bhūmis-tā(ā)sya tasya tadā phalam | Yān-āha dāridrya-bhayaṇ-narādudraire-
ddhanāni dharmam-āyatani(nī)-mṛi(kṛ)tāni [*] nirbhāhu(bbhu)kta-mālya-
31 pratimāni tāni kō nāma sādhuḥ punaḥ-ādadhita || Śhaśhūḥ varaha-sahasrāṇi svarggā
mōdati bhūmidāḥ [*] āchchhātā ch-ā-
32 numantā cha tāny-āva narakō vāsō-iti ||² Dūtakai-ch-ātra Śrī-Kharagrahaḥ
lkhitham sandhivigrahaḥkīmpī(kṛ)ta-Divirapati-
33 Vatrabhaṭṭinā |³ Sam 200 90 2 Chaitra-āu 10 4 [*] Sva-hastō mama ||

No. 19.—THE PIRANMALAI INSCRIPTION OF KRISHNADEVARAYA : ŚAKA 1440.

BY V. VENKATASUBBA AITAN, B.A., MADRAS.

This inscription¹ is engraved on the south wall of the 'Sundara-Pāṇḍya-maṇḍapa' in the Maṇḍaināthāvara temple at Pirāṇmalai in the Ramnad district. The surface of the stone containing the inscription is not specially dressed for engraving, but the record is in a good state of preservation.

The language of the inscription is Tamil prose and the alphabet is Tamil with a slight admixture of Grantha letters at the beginning and the end. A few orthographical peculiarities such as the use of *shaka* in place of (i) *ksha* (1.3) and of (ii) *sha* (1.1); of *ja* for *ḥa* (1.9) and non-adherence to *sandhi* rules (11. 5, 10, 12 and 15) are worthy of note.

Some of the revenue terms used in the record require explanation :—

Kaḍamai (1.11). This word is used in Tamil inscriptions and literature in the sense of a tax, mostly on land. It also seems to include any assessment levied on an industry or a profession; cf. the taxes *Śekku-kaḍamai*, *Tōṇi-kaḍamai*, *Tōṇi-kaḍamai*, etc.

Kāṇḍikai (1.12). This term literally means 'a free gift' or 'voluntary offering'. *Kāṇḍika* in Telugu denotes a tribute paid to a superior. Compare the term *Paḍai-kāṇḍikai* which is a contribution made for the maintenance of an army and also the terms *Kāṇḍikai-pōṭṭipōṇ* and *Nāṭṭuk-kāṇḍikai*.

Vēṇḍukōḷ (1.12) may be explained as a fee paid along with an application or request.

Viniyōgam occurring in 1.12 may be rendered as 'a fee collected for a common purpose'; cf. the terms *Nāṭṭu-viniyōgam*, *Sabhā-viniyōgam*, *Ōlai-ōḍuppu-viniyōgam* and *Vēḷai-viniyōgam*.

The present record is dated in Śaka 1440 in the reign of the Vijayanagara ruler *Kṛishna-dēva-Mahārāya*, 'who conquered all countries'. The astronomical details² of date given in it viz., Mithuna, ba. amāvāsya, Tuesday, Vēddhi-yōga and solar eclipse, point to Tuesday, June 8, 1518 A.D., as its equivalent, when there was a solar eclipse visible in India.

The object of the inscription is to register the tax-free grant of the village *Mēṭar* in *Sōḷa-pāṇḍya-vaṇāṇḍu*, by *Ponnambalanātha-Tōṇḍaimēṇ*, the chief (*aradu*) of *Araṇṭāṅgi*, for offerings and worship to the god *Nallamāṇḍaḥḥāgar* at *Tirukkoṇḍukkuram*, during the early morning service instituted after his name in the temple.

¹ Mark of punctuation expressed by a dot.

² Read *vast* (1.1) in (1.1)

³ No. 201 of 1924 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁴ In the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1923-24, p. 69, the cyclic year is wrongly read as *Saṃvata*, but it can be read as *Vegudhāya* (or *Babudhāya*) which was current in Śaka 1440.

The importance of the record lies chiefly in the mention made in it of Poggambalanātha¹ Tondaimān, the foremost of the chiefs of Arantāngi. This town, now a terminus of the Tanjore District Board Railway and a taluk headquarter rose to the position of an important principality in the beginning of the 18th century, when there was a general unsettlement in the Pāṇḍya country. The rule of the Pāṇḍyas of Madura was, by this time, restricted to the extreme south of their dominions, comprising the present Tinnevely district, the northern part of the Pāṇḍya territory having been lost originally to the Vāpakavaraiyars and latterly to the Nāyakas of Tanjore and Madura. Upon the spoils of the original Pāṇḍya kingdom rose the Nāyakas of Tanjore and Madura and the Śūtopatis of Ramnad, all of whom gradually formed hereditary principalities wielding considerable power in the country. In the struggle of these principalities for power, Arantāngi with its central position soon rose to prominence. It would not be out of place to give here a brief account of the principality of Arantāngi as made out from inscriptions, of which about 25 have so far come to light, revealing the names of a number of chiefs, whose rule covers a period of nearly a century and half.

In inscriptions, the chiefs of Arantāngi have the distinct appellations 'Arantāngi-araiya' and 'Tondaimān'. The latter title² which is the earlier of the two, means 'the king of Tondai' or 'Tondaimandalam', i.e., the Pallava country, the traditional capital of which was Kāñchīpuram. Several chiefs with this distinguishing title and claiming Pallava descent are met with in inscriptions dating from the 11th century A.D. When the Pallava power was eclipsed by the Chōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas, some chiefs claiming descent from the Pallavas and bearing the title Tondaimān seem to have served as local officers and become potentates in the extreme south. One such chief who lived towards the close of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century A.D. was Karuṇākara-Tondaimān of Vaṇḍuvāṇjērī (i.e., modern Vaṇḍai) in the Kumbakonam taluk, the hero of the Tamil poem *Kaliyāṭṭupparaṇi*. A few other chiefs bearing the title 'Tondaimān' are met with in inscriptions found chiefly in and around the Pudukkōṭṭai State not far from the Arantāngi region. It is possible that they were the ancestors or close forbears of the Arantāngi Tondaimān chiefs. A Tondaimān chief by name Valaitu-vāḷvitta-Perumāḷ³ claiming to belong to Vēṇiṅga-nāḷu, a district to the north-east of the Pudukkōṭṭai State figures in a record from that State, dated in 1201 A.D. A record of the Pāṇḍya king Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulasēkhara⁴ also mentions this chief and another⁵ makes provision for the 'Valaitu-vāḷvittāṅkandi' (a service named after the chief) in the 19th year of Jaṭavarman Kulasēkhara. In the Tamil poem *Kapparkōvai* the hero is a certain Karuṇāṅkkaṇ, a chief of Kappalūr near Pudukkōṭṭai.⁶ He is there styled a Tondaimān and described as a minister and a general of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya. A record from Nandalūr⁷ in the Cuddapah district mentions

¹ In *Sep-Tamil*, Vol. VI, p. 318, this title has been explained as "the vassal of an overlord". The earliest reference to the name Tondaimān in the Pāṇḍya country is found in an inscription dated in the 5th year of Rājendra-Chōḷa I, i.e., A.D. 1018 on the Nārttimalai hill (vide 'A General History of the Pudukkōṭṭai State' by Radhakrishnaiah, p. 115). There is also a reference to Tondaimān in the *Mahāvamsa* of Ceylon. While chronicling the war of the Pāṇḍya succession, this text says 'that the Pāṇḍyan king Kulasēkhara on being defeated by the Sinhalese troops of Ceylon, who supported his rival, fled to the mountains of Tondaimāna, that Kulasēkhara then attacked the Sinhalese forces at Per-Amatirati (a village in the south-west of the Pudukkōṭṭai State) and was again defeated, and thus with the help of the ruler of Tondaimāna and some other chieftains, Kulasēkhara once more opposed the forces of Ceylon and was once again defeated'. The hill where Kulasēkhara-Pāṇḍya is said to have concealed himself is probably no other than the Nārttimalai hill in the Pudukkōṭṭai State.

² Vide *A General History of the Pudukkōṭṭai State*, p. 115.

³ No. 265 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁴ No. 483 of 1918 of the same collection.

⁵ *Sep-Tamil*, Vol. VI, p. 318E.

⁶ No. 594 of 1907.

⁷ No. 594 of 1907.

Tondaimānār alias Tirunelvēli-Uḍaiyār who was a minister of Jaṭavarman Sundarapāṇḍya. This inscription is dated in the 17th year and the astronomical details given therein point to A.D. 1293, March 14, Saturday, as its English equivalent. It seems very likely that the Tondaimānār referred to in the Nandālūr record is identical with the minister Karumāṇṭikān mentioned in the Tamil poem. Though these records show that the Tondaimāns were among the potentates of the territory around Arantāṅgi during the 13th century A.D. none of them assumed the title 'Arantāṅgi-arāṇ' (lord of Arantāṅgi) before the end of the 15th century A.D.

Besides being the Tondaimāns or Pallavas, the chiefs of Arantāṅgi appear to have been connected in some manner with the Perumāls of Tinnevely, for we find a lithic record from Kṛṭṭiyattal¹ in the Arantāṅgi taluk mentioning Tirunelvēli-perumāḷ Tondaimānār as the chief of Arantāṅgi. This record is dated in the cyclic year Viśākhā and mentions the signatory Niramavalaṅgiyān-Kāḷiṅgarāyaṇ who figures in another epigraph² in the same place dated in Saka 1364 (= A.D. 1442) and may therefore, be assigned to A.D. 1469. About this time Jaṭavarman Aṭikēśari-śēva alias Pārīkrama-Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1426-1463) and his brother Kulaiśkharadēva (A.D. 1426-1473) were ruling the Tinnevely and adjoining districts. The Arantāṅgi chiefs subsequently came under the yoke of the Vijayanagara Empire and accepted its suzerainty as is evidenced by the present record.³ Eṭapperumāḷ, the father of Poṅṇambalanātha-Tondaimān, the donor of the present record, seems to have been a very pious ruler, for we find him in inscriptions making gifts to temples and instituting services therein called the 'Tondaimān-śāndi' after his name. Among the titles of Poṅṇambalanātha, special attention may be drawn to *Kāñchīpuravarūḍhīdeva* 'the lord of Kāñchi, the best of cities' and *Eḷe-nāḷaiṅṅi Yīḷaṅ-tirai-koṇḍa-perumāl* 'the hero who levied tribute from Ceylon in seven days'. The title *Kāñchīpuravarūḍhīdeva* assumed by him suggests that the family of Arantāṅgi Chiefs claimed Pallava descent. The other title indicates the important part played by the chief in Ceylon on behalf of his overlord⁴. Poṅṇambalanātha calls himself a devotee at the feet of Perumāḷ Āṇḍaiya-Tambirāṅṇār⁵. He was in power for over half a century (circa 1514-1569 A.D.) and acknowledged the overlordship of the Vijayanagara king Kṛṣṇarāya at least between Saka 1436⁶ and 1459.⁷ His territory was not confined to the limits of the present Arantāṅgi taluk. Inscriptions mentioning him are found in the Pudukkoṭṭai State, in the present Arantāṅgi taluk and at Pirāṅmalai in the Ramanad district.

¹ No. 125 of 1916 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

² No. 126 of 1916 of the same collection.

³ In an earlier record (No. 296 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection) from Tiruvannāṅḷam, dated in Saka 1303, Radhrōdgi, three chiefs of Arantāṅgi, viz., Alagayamatachāṇ-Perumāḷ Tondaimān, Sūrya-dēva Sundarapāṇḍya Tondaimān and Nūṅṅira-Perumāḷ Kulaiśkhar-Tondaimān are mentioned. The Saka date in the record seems, however, to be wrongly cited for Saka 1365 for, it is only about this time that we meet with two of the above-mentioned chiefs in other inscriptions. Moreover in this inscription there is a small gap in the date portion to justify this doubt.

⁴ See also Nos. 312 and 313 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁵ No. 146 of 1903 from Pirāṅmalai is the only record that refers to the invasion of Ceylon by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. It is dated in Saka 1440 and also mentions the chief Poṅṇambalanātha-Tondaimān. It is known that the predecessors of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya were collecting tribute from Ceylon. Considering the shortness of time (i.e., seven days) within which Poṅṇambalanātha is said to have achieved this feat, it is possible that the reference is only to a successful expedition to Ceylon to collect some amount of tribute on behalf of his overlord Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. Probably this feat of the feudatory was transferred to his overlord in No. 146 of 1903 noted above. An actual invasion of Ceylon during Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's reign is not necessarily meant.

⁶ Āṇḍaiya-Tambirāṅṇār is the name of the god at Āṇḍaiyāṅkōyil, a village in the Arantāṅgi taluk and associated with the life of the saint Māṇikkavāṇḍār.

⁷ No. 312 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁸ No. 249 of 1930 of the same collection.

Ponnambalanātha was succeeded in the Arantāngi principality by Āndiyappa Achyutanāyaka-Tondaimān¹ son of Tyāgarasār Narasī-Nāyaka, who had also the titles *cōchamapāṇḍiyan* and *śaivavāṇḍiyan* and whose earliest date so far known is Śaka 1499 (= A.D. 1577), not far removed from the latest known date of Ponnambalanātha, viz., A.D. 1569.

The line of Arantāngi Chiefs is at present supposed to be represented by the Zamindar of Palayavanam in the Pudukkottai State.²

The chiefs of Arantāngi so far known from epigraphical sources are :-

1. Kulabēkbara-Tondaimān³ (1426 and 1443 A.D.),
2. Śāryādēvar Sundarapāṇḍya-Tondaimān (1443 A.D.),
3. Mahavallapperumā-Tondaimān,
4. Alagiya Maṇavāḷapperumā-Tondaimān (1443 and 1453 A.D.), his son
5. Lakkaṇaḍaṇḍāyaka-Tondaimān or Lakkappaḍaṇḍāyaka-Tondaimān (1453 A.D.),
6. Tiruvēlāpperumā (1459 A.D.),
7. Ekapperumā-Tondaimān (1481 and 1499 A.D.), his three sons
8. Tirāvaṇḍitirūp-Tondaimān (1497 A.D.),
9. Āvudaiya-Nāyaka-Tondaimān (1499 A.D.) and
10. Ponnambalanātha-Tondaimān (1514-1569 A.D.), his son
11. Varavimōḍa Tondaimān (1536 A.D.),
12. Āndiyappa Achyutanāyaka-Tondaimān, son of Tyāgarasār-Narasī-Nāyaka (1577 A.D.) and
13. Aruṇāchala Vagaṇḍamūdi-Tondaimān, son of Raghunātha Vagaṇḍamūdi-Tondaimān⁴ (1713 A.D.).

Of the places mentioned in the record Mēlūr is the modern village of the same name about 16 miles north-west of Madurai. **Tirukkoṇḍukunṇaram** (i.e., Pīrāmalaḷ) is said to have been in Tirumalaḷ-nāḍu which must have taken its name from the modern village Tirumalaḷ in the Śivagaṇḍa taluk. The territorial name **Sōlapāṇḍya-vaḷanāḍu** is significant and the division must have been formed after the establishment of the Chōḷa viceroys in the Pāṇḍya country, who specially called themselves Sōla-Pāṇḍyas.

TEXT.

- 1 [Śrīvasti] [!]* Śrīmān-ma[ḡ]ṇaṇḍallūraṇ [a:riyaṇāya]-vibhūḷḷaṇ *bāḷachalkkū-tappuva-rāyira-ṇaṇḍaṇ kaṇḍa-nāḍu-koṇḍu koṇḍa-nāḍu-kuḷḷāḷṇ pāruva-
- 2 deṣṭhaya⁵ paḷachina-uttara-samudhirāḷḷiṇṇaṇ emmaḷḷaḷamam koṇḍa eḷundaru-lyā śrī-[-[Kriṣṇaḍḍē(va)-Mah[ā]rāyar prithivī-śāchchiyam paṇṇi-aruḷāṇṇa
- 3 kaḷāḷḍam 1440 iḍaṇṇāḷ Vagaḷḍhāḷḷya-[-varuṣaḷ]m uttarāyagaṇṇu Minkuna-nāyagaṇṇu apara-paḷchattu⁶ [a]ṇḍēvāṇḍiyarum Maṇḍalavāramum Viruḍḍi-
- 4 pōḷḷaṇṇu pēṇṇa irai-nāḷ⁷ Śāriya-girana-paṇṇiya-kāḷattu Tirumalaḷ-nāḷṇu- Tiruk-koṇḍukunṇarattu⁸ Naṇḍi Nallamaṇḍaḷḷaṇṇaṇko Ara[n]ḷāṇḍi-araṇ aḷchamari-

* No. 511 of 1924 of the Madras Epigraphical collection. From the records so far available, it is not possible to say whether Varavimōḍa-Tondaimān, the son of Ponnambalanātha succeeded his father as the chief of Arantāngi.

¹ *A General History of the Pudukkottai State*, p. 84.

² From Nos. 290 of 1914 and 238 of 1939 : Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4 mentioned above appear to be brothers.

³ Known only from a copper-plate record. *This See Tamil*, Vol. XII, p. 441 ff.

⁴ Read *bāḷach*.

⁵ Read *śāchchiyam*.

⁶ The word *varuṣaḷ* is expressed by a symbol.

⁷ Read *apara-paḷchattu*.

⁸ The underlined is not given.

⁹ Tirukkoṇḍukunṇaram is also known as Dakshina-Kalliam in Nos. 193 and 213 of 1924.

- 5 [yāda]-perumāḥ¹ 'alaivilāṇ-jāda-perumāḥ² maṇḍil-kūḥ³ ttiṇiyum-Iḥ-Vaṇṇiyar-aiṣura-gaḥ⁴ ag⁵
 āttukku-āgai-vaṇṇum-perumāḥ⁶ ālu-nāḥaiyil Viṇai-ṭipakkopai-perumāḥ⁷
- 6 I kōṇ paḍa . . . [yāda]-perumāḥ⁸ Kāṇṇipuraavar-ādhikāraḥ⁹ āvaḍaiya-Tambirāṇār-
 āripāda-iḥakkaṇ¹⁰ ākappurumāḥ¹¹-Tōṇḍaimānār puttāṇ¹²
- 7 Poṇṇambalanātha-Tōṇḍaimānār Nayanār Nallamaṇḍaibāgaru [u]bhāiyamāga maṭ-
 ṭina āṇa-kāḷach-chandikka amudapaḍi [āṇa]ppaḍi uḷḷiṭṭu
- 8 vāḍum nittam-nima[nāḥ]aḥ¹³ukku nam-[pāḥ]¹⁴ kattiṇa Poṇṇambalanātha-Tōṇḍai-
 mānār-saṇḍiyāga amudaiyyum-paḍikku ku-
- 9 ḍutta [yī]-paṇvinār . . . dēvaḍāna . . . 'nāmatukkāṇiy-āga Sōḷa-Pāḍiṇya-vaḥ¹⁵uṭṭu
 Māḷar peru-nāṇḍ-ellaikk-uḷḷ[paṭṭa]-
- 10 dūm aa-ṭirayy-ōḍa[kā]-dhār-pūrvam-āga tī[ru]nāmar-ṭukkāṇi-āga chandr-āḍityavar
 tēllak-kuḍuttapaḍiāḥ¹⁶ iḍukku uḷḷ[paṭṭa]¹⁷
- 11 nūlu-nikāḥṇa-pala-pāṣāga-kūpa-[ta]kāḍiyum Tambirāṇāḥ¹⁸ urittāga kaḍavad-
 āgavum ivv-āṇku varum kaḍamai kō-
- 12 āḷḷai vāḍukōḷ¹⁹ viṇiyōgaṇ maṇṇu erp-āṇṭa²⁰ vati ubā(pā)ḍhiyem kaṭṭuk-ku-
 ḍuttapaḍiāḥ²¹ chandr-āḍityava-
- 13 pāḍa saṇṇamāṇiyam-āga tīrumanāmatukkāḥ²²or-āga²³ aṇubhavittuk-kōḷḷavum kaḷḷum
 saṇḍilum vāḷḷiko-
- 14 nōḍu tīrumanāmatukkāṇi-āga chandr-āḍityavaṇḍiāḥ²⁴ aṇubhavittuk-kōḷḷavum iṇda
 āṇamattukku aṇṭam paṇṇi-
- 15 nayan Gaṇḍaikkāṇiyil kaṇḍaiyum brāhmaṇaṇḍaiyum mātā-paḍaiyum guru-
 vaiyum kōṇṇa [dō]-hantilā pa-
- 16 kaḷḷaḍavāṇ-āgavum²⁵ iṇda nāḍil saṇṇamāṇiyam-āgaṇṇarri aṇubhavittuk-kōḷḷavum
 Aran-
- 17 tūṇi-kaṇṇaku Aḍiyār²⁶*kkuṇallāṇ Kaṇṇurak-Kāḷiṇṇarāyā²⁷ aḷutka [u]*

¹ The title 'alaivilāṇ-jāda' is not newly borne by this chief. (*Vide* Nos. 308 of 1324 and 173 of 1325 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.)

² With the title *Vaṇṇiyar-aiṣura-gaḥ* compare the title *Vaṇṇiyar-aiṣura-ṭiṇṇi* and *Sōṇṇṇa Vaṇṇiyar* assumed by the Sōṇṇai Chieftain (*Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions: Burgess and Natesa Sastri*, pp. 73 and 79 and *Frenchman's Archaeological Series*, Vol. V, p. 13, foot-note 7). Local tradition confirmed by one of the Madras Manuscripts says that two feudal chiefs of the Vāṇṇiya caste, who were ruling at Tiruvāḷahcheerum near Chingleput, defied the authority of the Viṇṇayagana King Kāṇṇaḍivārāyā. Since these chiefs were turbulent and wielded considerable power, their humiliation was considered to be a real feat by their conquerors. An inscription of Dēvaṇṇya II gives him the title 'the hero who took the heads of the 15 Vāṇṇiyas' (*Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions* No. 11, p. 150). The Vāṇṇiyas who had migrated from India as soldiers accompanying the successive Tamil invaders to Ceylon and settled permanently in the island, gave frequent trouble to the Ceylonese kings as well. The title of Dēvaṇṇya, Poṇṇambalanātha-Tōṇḍaimānār and the Sōṇṇai of Rameswaram regarding their exploits have reference to the help they rendered to the Ceylonese kings in subjugating the Vāṇṇiyas.

³ The title *Kāṇṇipuraṇḍaḥ* may be interpreted as 'one hailing from Kāṇṇipura'. The chiefs Pullaṇḍa-Sūlāṇṇār (*J. R.* 1922, para. 144) and Viṇṇa Gaṇḍaḥpala-Madhamāḍaḍiāḥ (*J. R.* in *S. I. R.*, *Ep.*, *proleg.* 1923, para. 91) also assumed this title. It may be noted here that this title is borne by Kāṇṇaṇṇa-Nāṇḍa (*J. R.*, *Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 339), indicating that the original home of the Madras Nāṇḍas was Ceylon. But in the case of Jātavarman Sūlāṇṇa-Pāṇḍya (*J. R.* 1251 A.D.) (*S. I. R.*, Vol. V, No. 422), this title was assumed to commemorate his conquest of Kāṇṇipura and the subjugation of the original Pallava dominion.

⁴ The gaps in this line may be filled with the letters *āṇa* and *aiṣura*.

⁵ Read *alaivilāṇ-ṭiṇṇi*.

⁶ Read *eripāṇṇi*.

⁷ This phrase is again repeated to emphasise the grant made.

⁸ There is a symbol in the inscription after this word. It appears to be a contraction for some such words as *āṇa* *dhāṇṇa* or *āṇa* *prāṇṇa*.

⁹ Read 'Kāḷiṇṇarāyā'.

TRANSLATION.

Hail! While the illustrious Mahāśaṣṭhaseva Krishṇadēva-Mahārāja, who conquered all hostile kings, who chastised the kings that were false to their words, who took every country that he saw and who did not give up any country that he had taken, who was the lord of the eastern, southern, western and northern oceans, who was pleased to come out (glorious) after taking all countries,—was pleased to rule the earth, in the Śaka year 1440 asvīra, corresponding to Bahudhāra, during Uttarāṣaḍ, in the month of Mithuna, on Tulaśv, when the amāvāsyā of the dark fortnight was current, at the holy time of the solar eclipse and Vṛiddhi-rāga,—on this day, I, Pōṅṅambalanātha-Tondaimāgar, the son of Kapparamāli-Tondaimāgar, the chief of Arantāṅgi, who knew no fear, who was never perturbed.....¹ who could present an elephant in return for a lamb, who levied tribute from Ilam (Ceylon) within seven days, who was the lord of Kāśchī, the best of towns, and a devotee at the sacred feet of the god Āṇḍaiya-Tambirāṅgi—having given the (land) situated within the four great boundaries of Maṭṭar in Śōlapāṇḍya-vaṇakū as *tiruvāṇṇakūḍi* with gold and libation of water to last as long as the Sun and Moon, to (the god) Nayingār Nallamaṅgaḷḷagar at Tirukkoṇḍurumam in Tirumalai-nāḷu for the daily requirements of offerings and worship during the Pōṅṅambalanātha-Tondaimāgar-ṇāṇḍi (service) in the early morning to the god Nayingār Nallamaṅgaḷḷagar, instituted after my own name—(the rights over) its treasure and hidden deposits (in this land), its water and stone and its wells, tanks, etc., shall be exclusively enjoyed by the Tambirāṅgar (god). And as the taxes including kaṇḍamai, kōṇḍikai, eṇḍuḷḷi, eṇḍuṇḍu and other dues accruing from this village had been remitted, it shall be enjoyed as a *tiruvāṇṇakūḍi* (temple land) and a *ṇāṇḍi* (freehold) as long as the sun and the moon last. The dead shall be engraved on stone and copper and the land enjoyed as *tiruvāṇṇakūḍi*, as long as the moon and the sun last.

He who obstructs this charity shall incur the sin of killing a taxpaying cow, a Brāhmana, (his own) parents and teacher on the banks of the Ganges. In the aśvamedha manner the land shall be taken possession of and enjoyed as a *ṇāṇḍi*. This is the willing of Aḍivēṇ*jkkumallāg Kay-pūruk-Kāṭṭiṅgarāyan, the accountant of Arantāṅgi.

No. 20.—NAVAGRAMA GRANT OF THE MAHARAJA HASTIN (U.E. 1198).

By K. N. DESHM, M.A., CALCUTTA.

This fragmentary plate was handed over to me by the Political Agent, Baghelkhand Agency, who could not give me any definite information regarding its findspot, except that it came from some place in Nagod State. It has therefore been named after the name of the village granted.

The plate measures 5½" in length and 3½" to 3¼" in breadth. It consists of the left half of the first of two plates forming the complete grant, as is clear from a comparison with other grants of Hastin and the portion of the round ring-hole preserved in the centre of the first line, through which the plate appears to have been broken. The missing portion of the plate has been conjecturally restored where possible from other published grants, particularly from the Majhrawān² copper-plate of the same prince. The average size of the letters is ½". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They do not present the tail-headed forms of letters as in the Majhrawān plates of Hastin. Attention may also be drawn to the form of *a* without the

¹ The term *aragḷiṇaḥḥi-ṇiṇḍuṇḍu* in the Tondaimāgar-ṇāṇḍi is left untranslated. The latter part means 'the proud conqueror of the Vāṇḍiyas of Ceylon'. If 'aragḷiṇa' could be taken as a proper name like Nagabala, the phrase may be construed as 'the proud conqueror of the Vāṇḍiyas of Ceylon who were at the beak and nail of Maṇḍika.'

² *Pratt, G. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 100 ff.*

loop at the end, and *dh* with an acute angle at the lower left limb as in *Itihāṣya*, l. 2 and *Yajñādya*, l. 10, which are not found in other records of this king.

As regards orthography, the doubling of the *v* and *dh* following *r* as in *pravarādha*², l. 3, *pārvadyā*, l. 3 and *°dhāvā* l. 14 and the use of *b* for *v* in *sambhava*, l. 3 are noteworthy. The language is Sanskrit and the record is in prose.

The plate records the grant of a village (1) called Navagrāma³ in the *śāstres* of the Palinda chief (apparently a tributary of the *śrīpati-Pativrājaka*), by the Maharaja Hastin in the year ninety-eight (increased by hundred). The donors were several Brāhmanas⁴ of the *Parāśara-gotra* and *Mādhyaṃdina-śākhā* (of the white Yajurveda).

The year 198 of the present plate must be considered to be the last date of Hastin whose son and successor Saṃkshobha issued the *Beṭul* grant⁵ in the year 199. The earliest known date of Hastin being 159, the year of his Khōṭ copper-plate,⁶ he must have enjoyed a long reign of over 42 years. The known dates of Hastin (155, 163, 191 and 198) and Saṃkshobha (199, 209) are undoubtedly to be referred to the Gupta era, as the expression *gupta-śrīpatirājya-bhakti* indicates. The range of dates of the unignominious family ruling from Uchchakalpa, viz., 174 and 177 for Jayanātha and 191, 193, 197, 214 for his son Śarvanātha, is not only parallel, but the latter prince was at one time a contemporary of Hastin as recorded in the Bhumarā pillar inscription.⁷ Now assuming that Jayanātha's rule extended for at least one or two years after 177, the period common to the reigns of Hastin (156 to 199) and Śarvanātha (179 to 214) is 179 to 198. The particular year to which the joint record is to be assigned is fixed by the specification of the year as *Mahā-Māgha samvatsara* of the 12-year cycle of Jupiter. Now the only *Mahā-Māgha samvatsara*, which was current during this period (179-198 G.E.), was that which began in the Gupta year 189, in July 508 A.D.⁸ and the date of the Bhumarā pillar must therefore be approximately October 508 A.D. It is thus impossible to refer the dates of the Uchchakalpa kings to the Kalachuri era (which began 72 years earlier than the Gupta era), as this would entail a reign of at least 70 years for Śarvanātha (191 + 247 = 438 A.D. to 508 A.D.). Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has recently upheld this view⁹ originally proposed by Kielhorn and Fleet, chiefly owing to the difficulty of finding an intercalary *Āshāḍha* in the year 191 of the Sūktval¹⁰ plates of Śarvanātha, if referred to the Gupta era. The difficulty is not, however, insurmountable, as it is very probable that the succeeding month of *Śrāvṇa* that has been actually shown as intercalary in the tables attached to Pillai's *Indian Chronology* may have been antedated by a month, according to some *Siddhānta*¹¹ followed in this locality; or, what is more probable, the month intercalated (which according to the rules of intercalations was *Śrāvṇa*) must have received its name from the preceding month, a conclusion to which the late Dr. Kielhorn was forced in the calculation of the date of the *Beṭul*¹² plates of Saṃkshobha. It is thus clear that the *dvī-Āshāḍha* of the Sūktval plates must be considered to be the same as the first *Śrāvṇa*, which commenced

¹ Possibly Navagrāma was the division in which the village was situated, but the number of missing letters is too limited to admit of this alternative.

² The number of donors would seem to be seven, i.e., three Brāhmanas and their respective sons, the last named having two sons.

³ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 284 ff.

⁴ Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 43 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 110-1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 105 of Introduction.

⁷ Above, List of Northern Inscriptions, No. 1190, p. 150, n. 2.

⁸ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 129 ff.

⁹ According to the *Samana* system of the first Ārya Siddhānta, the intercalary month in the year 210-11 A.D. was *Ārviṇa* (Sewall, *The Siddhāntas and the Indian Calendar*, p. 368).

¹⁰ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 288 ff.

on 8th June as a *pūrṇimā* month, which was apparently followed in this locality. The date of the Sōhāwal plates must thus be understood as being equivalent to 17th of June, 510 A. D.

The mention of the Mahāśvayuga *saṁvatsara* with the (Gupta) year 198 enables us to fix the date of the present record within a narrow compass. The year 198 C.E. commenced on 9th March, 517 A.D. and the Mahāśvayuga *saṁvatsara* ended on or about the 23rd April, 517 A.D. and the present record must be dated within these limits. The missing month may therefore be supplied as Chaitra (in which case the fortnight must be the bright fortnight) or Vaisākha. The date of the Batal plates of Samkshōbha, which has been calculated by Kielhorn to be 15th September (or October), 518 A.D. is thus about 18 months later than the date of the present grant, and it is sometime within this period that Hastin was succeeded by his son.

The reference to Pulinda-rāja-rāshṭra in the present inscription indicates that the dominion of the chief of the Pulindas must be located within the territory of the *aripati*-Parivrajaka family, and is probably the region comprised of the northern slopes of the Vindhya range. The Pulindas are first mentioned in the *Ātārāja Bhāṣya*, along with the Sabaras, with whom they have been always¹ associated and sometimes confounded.²

The locality Navagrāma is too common to admit of definite identification.

TEXT.

- 1 Namō Mahāśvayuga || Svasty-*ashṭanavaty-a* [**itarō-bda-śatō* Gupta-*aripa-rāja*-
bhuktāu *ari*.]
- 2 matī pravaridhamānē Mah-*āśvayuga-saṁvatsarō* [* *māsa* , *pakṣa*]
- 3 m-*ayam* *saṁvatsara*-*māsa-divasa-pūrvvāyam* [**aripati-parivrajaka-kul-*
ōtpaṁṣṭha mahārāja.]
- 4 Dēvādhya-prānptā mahārāja-*ari-Prabhamjāna* [**naptrā* Mahārāja-*ŚrīDāmōdara-*
autāna gō-ā.]
- 5 *haara-hasty-śva-hirany-kuṅka-bhūmi-pradō* [**guru-pitri-mātri-pūjā-tatparōga-*
ātanta-dēva.]
- 6 brāhmaṇa-bhakti-*śūdrā-samara-kata-vija* [**vinā* *śva-vand-śūdrā-karōga* Mahā-
rāja-āri.]
- 7 Hastinā Pulinda-rāja-rāshṭrō Navagrāmakō [**nāma* *grāma* *pūrvv-*
āghāta-parichelbhāda-maryādāyā *ādita*.]
- 8 āgah sōparikarō-*chāja-bhata-prāvāyō* [**mātā-pitrō-ātmanā-cha* *paṇy-*
ābhitriddhaya.]
- 9 Parāra-*argōrōbhya* Mādhyandina-Vā [**janāyā-sabrahmachāribhya*-*aribhya*]
- 10 Brāhmaṇa-Bhāja-Yajñādhyasvāmī-tat-putra-Bha [**ja* *Brāhmaṇa*]
- 11 *asvāmī-tat-putra-Gōpajāsavāmī* [**Brāhmaṇa* *ja* *asvāmī* *tat-putra*.]
- 12 Bhāja-Sambhujāsavāmī-Bhāt-Eśāna-Ya [**jā-asvāmibhya* *putra-patn-āray-*
ōpabhogya.]
- 13 tāms-*śāsanō-āgrā* (*hārō-tisrīhtā* [**h* *chaura-varjant* | *tad-asmat-kul-ōtthair-*
mat-pāda-piṇḍ-ō.]
- 14 paṭvivah-*vṛā* *kūl-āntarōhy-āpī* *sa* [**vyūghātā* *karagīyā* | *śvama-āpāptā*
yō]

¹ Varthamihira, IX.29; Majumdar, McCrindle's *Ancient India*, pp. 156-7, 160.

² *Kāśīka-sūtra* (ed. Cunningham, A. S. E., Vol. XVII, p. 139).

1284

No. 21—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM BERAR.

By PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

A.—The Amrāpur Stone Inscription of the reign of Siṅghana—Śaka 1133.

The inscription, which is edited here from an impression kindly sent to me by the Government Epigraphist for India, is in a temple of Śiva¹ called Ambikēvara at Amrāpur (ancient Aihbadāpura), a village about 28 miles from Buldana in Berar. It is inscribed on a stone built into the wall above the lintel of the door of the *garbhagriha*. The whole record which consists of eight lines covers a space of 11" in breadth and 1' in height. The size of letters varies from 1·7" to 9". The characters are Nāgarī. The initial *a* occurs in *aśhād-pi* in ll. 1-2 and *ai-hadāpura* in ll. 5-6, the initial *i* in *Bhādāva* in l. 7 and the initial *u* in *Dēvadgata* in l. 5. The medial *z* is shown in some places by *a prishthanātrī* (cf. *Bhādāva* in l. 7). The language is incorrect Sanskrit. The whole record is in prose. As regards orthography we may note that the letter 't' is doubled in two places after the preceding 'r', viz., *chakravartī* in l. 4 and *kirtanē* in l. 7.

The inscription states that in Śaka 1133 when the cyclic year was Prajāpati, Dēvadgata was the governor (of the territory round Aihbadāpura) in the victorious reign of Śrinat-Pratāpa-chakravartī Siṅghanaśva. In that year a person named Mangala, the son of Bhādāva, built a *tōraṇa* (1) in the temple (*kirtana*) constructed by Padmanaga (Pradyumna)sēthī who was a resident of Aihbadāpura.

The date does not admit of verification for want of details; but the cyclic year for Śaka 1133 (expired) [= 1211-1212 A.D.] was Prajāpati as stated in the inscription. Siṅghanaśva who bears the title Pratāpachakravartin in this record, is evidently the Yādava king of that name who ruled at Dēvagiri in the first half of the 13th century A.D.² There are at least three different dates for the accession of this Yādava king, each supported by a number of regular epigraphical dates, viz., 1122, 1129, and 1132 Śaka years. Śaka 1133 (expired) is, however, the earliest certain date of Siṅghana's reign and the present record is also the earliest inscription of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri found in Berar. It is likely that Siṅghana was actually crowned in Śaka 1132 although he may have been associated with government as *Yuvarāja* in the lifetime of his father for some seven years and succeeded him in 1129 Śaka. It is also possible that the last of the 'accession' dates, viz., 1132 Śaka, may have been calculated from some important event in his reign, such as the conquest of the Karnātak, which is alluded to in the Dēgi inscription.³ Anyway he must have won several victories before Śaka 1134, the date of his Mārjī stone inscription,⁴ and it is reasonable to assume that in one of these early campaigns he annexed the Berārs or the country round Aihbadāpura where we find the present inscription.

TEXT.

- 1 Svastī Śri [H*] Śakē aśka-
- 2 tē-pi¹ 1133 Prajāpati śaśva-
- 3 tātē svastī śrinat-pratāpa-chakra-
- 4 vartī-ai-Siṅghanaśva-vijaya-rājyē

¹ The inscription is not at the temple of Bhavani as stated by R. B. Hirahat in his *List of Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (Second Edn.), p. 153. The latter is on an eminence at a short distance from the temple of Śiva.

² *First, Dynasties of the Konkan Districts, Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part II, p. 523.*

³ No. 29 of the Bombay-Karnātak collection for 1927-8.

⁴ G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 48.

⁵ This expression which means "also in figures" is out of place here, as the date is not expressed in words.

manḍapa. It may, therefore, be presumed that the original image was destroyed when the place was occupied by Muhammadans and the present stones installed at a later date. It is also doubtful if the temple was originally dedicated to the worship of Bhavāntī. The benedictory stanza in the beginning of the record is in praise of Hari (Viṣṇu). The building is referred to in l. 10 as the temple of Hari (*Hari-vīma*). It is noteworthy that in addition to the figures of Mahiṣāsuramardini and Gaṇapati noticed by Mr. Consens, images of Narasiṃha and other deities of the Viṣṇu cult occur on the door frame of the *garbhagriha* as well as on the exquisitely carved pillars of the *manḍapa*, which support the Vainpava *crūm* of the shrine. It seems, therefore, certain that it came to be dedicated to Bhavāntī, when the original image of Viṣṇu had been destroyed and the people had, in course of time, lost sight of the deity in whose honour the temple had been originally erected.

The fragmentary state of the inscription does not admit of a detailed and connected account of its contents. After the customary benediction, the inscription mentions the name of **Ghatāma** who was born in the family of Danturāja. It then proceeds to describe a battle in which a young king, who is perhaps identical with **Hāmādrīdēva** mentioned later on in l. 6, defeated Rājala, the son of Mālugkiśva, who was advancing on the capital, confident of success, on account of his large forces. The king is further stated to have converted his capital **Tēkkali** into the holy city of Benares by his virtuous deeds. The inscription then gives the genealogy of his hereditary **ministers**, who belonged to the **Vālabhya-gotra**, **Bhillama**, his son **Pālama**, his son **Māila**, and his son **Gāmiyāya** or **Gāmarāja**, who was apparently the donor of the present record. He is described in line 10 as having built 'a temple of Viṣṇu in this town (evidently **Tēkkali**), of which the midday sun formed the *chakra* finial, the quarters the fringe and the sky the blue umbrella'. From lines 11 and 12 we know that Gāmarāja excavated, for the use of the people, a deep tank, smiling with lotuses in bloom. In line 13 we are told of the building of a wall (*vāpī*). In line 14 two brothers are referred to, but their names have been lost. The inscription seems to have closed with the usual imprecatory verses as appears from a half-verse preserved in the last line.

The date of the inscription is stated with full particulars as **Thursday, the seventh tithi of the bright fortnight of the month Vaiśākha in the Durmukha Samvatsara—Śaka 1098**, the **Nakshatra** being **Pushya**, the **Yōga** **Āyushmat** and the **Karapa** **Vaṇīja***. According to D. B. Swaminathan Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, the cyclic year for the **Chaitrādi Śaka 1098** expired was **Durmukha**, as stated in the record. The seventh *tithi* of the bright fortnight of **Vaiśākha**, however, fell on Saturday and not on Thursday as stated in the inscription. In **Śaka 1099** (expired) that *tithi* fell on a Thursday and the *nakshatra* was **Pushya** as mentioned in our record, but the cyclic year was **Hemalambha** and not **Durmukha** as required. The date would, thus, appear to be irregular, but there are so many instances of only one detail of the date being stated wrongly in epigraphs. According to the view adopted by D. B. S. K. Pillai in his *Indian Ephemeris*, the **Śaka** date, as used at present, denotes *expired* years, but the name of the cyclic year denotes the *current* year. Accepting the discrepancy of one year in the number of **Śaka** years and treating the cyclic year mentioned in the record as *expired*, we find that **Vaiśākha Sukla Saptamī** in **Śaka 1099** (**Durmukha expired**), (i.e. **Hemalambha current**), ended at 12 ghaṭikās (4 h. 45 m.) on Thursday after apparent sunrise and the *nakshatra* was **Pushya** which ended at 51 ghaṭikās (20 h. 25 m.) after apparent sunrise. This combination of a Thursday and the **Pushya Nakshatra** (an *amṛta-nidhī-yōga* as it is called) is considered specially auspicious and probably represents the time when the original image of the deity was installed in the temple. The *karapa* for the seventh *tithi* on Thursday was **Vaṇīja**, but the *yōga* was **Śūla** and not **Āyushmat** as stated in the inscription. This discrepancy may be explained away by taking **Āyushmat**

yōga in the derivative sense of 'a conjunction leading to longevity', but the insertion of the expression between the *sukshatra* and *karṇa* rather indicates that it was used in its technical sense of a particular *yōga*. It is also possible that the framer of the record purposely substituted *Āyuhmat* for *Śāla*, as the latter is not an auspicious *yōga*. This discrepancy in respect of *yōga* is not very important; for, as D. B. S. K. Pillai has observed, 'the investigation of *yōgas* is a matter of altogether secondary importance in historical and chronological research.' The date may, therefore, be considered as identical with **Thursday, the 7th April 1177 A.D.**

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it introduces a new line of princes that ruled at Tēkkāl which must be identified with modern Bārsi Takli in Berār. The founder of the family was one Danturāja. The names of this prince and of Ghatāma who was his descendant are not otherwise known. At the time of the inscription Hāmādrīdēva was reigning. Three persons of this name are known to the history of the Yādava period: (1) Hāmādrīdēva of the Nīlambhka family, a feudatory of the Yādavas, who was ruling at Patna in the Chāllagann region of Khāndesh sometime after Śaka 1128 (1207 A.D.);* (2) Hāmādrī defeated by Khōlśavya, the famous general of Bhūllāma, as mentioned in the stone inscription dated Śaka 1150 at Amb²; and (3) Hāmādrī Pandit who was a minister of Rāmedēva Yādava and is mentioned in the Thāye³ inscription dated Śaka 1194 (1272 A.D.). Of these the first and the third are out of the question—for the former was ruling in Khāndesh and not in Berār, while the latter was only a minister and flourished nearly a century later. Again *prima facie* it appears doubtful if our Hāmādrī who was ruling in Śaka 1098 could be identified with the second prince named above, who was defeated by Khōlśavya sometime before Śaka 1150. Even if we suppose that the battle in which he was defeated was fought early in the reign of Siṅghaga who ruled from Śaka 1132 to 1160, there is a difference of at least 34 years to be accounted for between the two dates. There is, however, one circumstance which renders this identification possible in the present state of our knowledge. Our inscription mentions that Hāmādrīdēva defeated Rājala, the son of Māluginēva, who invaded Tēkkāl with a large army. Now two princes of the name Mālugi (or Mallugi) were reigning at the time—(1) Mallugi, the Kalachuri prince who, according to the Mārḍi stone inscription⁴ dated Śaka 1134, succeeded his brother, the Kalachuri prince Sōma or Sōvidēva whose last date is Śaka 1096, and (2) Mallugi, the father and predecessor of the Yādava king Bhūllāma (Śaka 1103-1113). As to the first alternative, it is clear that the Kalachuri Mālugi was reigning for a short interval between Śakas 1097 to 1098 as we have a record of the second year of his reign dating from Śaka 1098. From other records, we know that his younger brother Saṅkama also began to rule in Śaka 1097 as his second and eighth years were Śakas 1098 and 1104 respectively. The only hypothesis on which this can be explained is that of joint rule by the two brothers. As the present record mentions that Hāmādrīdēva defeated Rājala, the son of Mālugi, this alternative is not entirely ruled out, but it is improbable that the Kalachuris could at this period engage in offensive warfare so far away from their capital, Kalyāṇi. As to the second alternative, we learn from the *Pratākhyaṇa* of Hāmādrī Pandit that Mallugi, the Yādava king, took a town named Paryakhēta from his enemies and while residing there carried away by force the troop of elephants belonging to the king of Utkala.⁵ The early Yādava princes were ruling in

* *Indian Epkenaria*, p. 26.

* *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 341.

* G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 64.

* *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 198.

* G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 60.

* Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Deccan*, Third Edition, p. 173.

Saṃpadā, corresponding to modern Khāndesh; Pāpakhēṣa must, therefore, be situated somewhere to the east of Khāndesh, possibly in Berār.* We may note again that Khōlāsvara, a general of the Yādava Śiṅghapa, defeated one Hāmādrī of Pāpakhēṣa.² Putting these references together it seems quite plausible that Mallugi defeated the father or some elderly relative of Hāmādrī of the present inscription, while the latter, when he was a mere boy, vanquished Rājala, the son of Mallugi, who was advancing on Tōkkāl with a large army; finally Khōlāsvara defeated Hāmādrī early in the reign of Śiṅghapa. If Hāmādrī was a young man in Śaka 1098, as the present inscription seems to imply, he may have continued to reign as late as Śaka 1132. The other persons mentioned in this record, viz., Bhīllama, Pālama and Māila, were ministers who served the royal family and must not be confounded with some of their namesakes in the dynasty of the Yādavas.³

TEXT.

- 1 श्री० ॥ श्री सखि श्री शकः १०८८ [दुर्मख संवत्सरे] वैशाख० मासे
शुक्लपक्षे सप्तम्यां गुरौ दिने पुष्यनक्षत्रे आशुक्ल[दि](ति) योगे [वणिजकरणे].....
- 2 जयति० तुलसिरत्नः[*] शंकितो राधयाहं चरणनिहितमू[र्द्धा] विवितस्तत्र खेषु ।
शिव इति नखरत्नं चेतितैकादशाब्दा हरिरविहृत[भूर्त्तो].....
- 3 वा०(वा)[हुरु]दयभूषणं यशोभूषि¹⁰ दंतुराजः । ततस्ततः स्वप्रबलप्रतापज्वर-
ज्वलच्छत्रभूषणमः ।[*] ¹¹निमीलं कलितारातिवनितावदनां दुजः । प्राप्ते
ततः । [वर्मा]...रा वापा (?)....
- 4 च [*] निवारितो¹² मंत्रिगणेन बालः[*] स्वल्पैर्भटैर्बालुनिदेवपुत्रं । जिगाय
सेनाबहुलत्वदर्पाद्गुडावयो राजलभापतन्तं¹³ ॥ च्चारं [च्चारं].....याव
चीकं पा.....
- 5 धिक्कांड्या¹⁴ रणविधौ नृत्वत्कबंधव्रजैः¹⁵ व्यूलुमक्षितिपालमं(म)ण्डलकरादाने दया-
भाषणेः [1*] कीर्त्तौ चामरवर्मनो लघुतया [यो]....स्वयो[ध]रेण.....भूमिः क-
- 6 [दा ?] च¹⁶ नवलत्ववलेहपैता¹⁷ ।[*] हेमाद्रिदेवनृपतेः कलितापशब्धं
नेचालि¹⁸ शत्रुनिचयेन कदाचनापि ॥ सोपग्रव¹⁹ चिरकलंकयुतं जया[र्त्तं]
.....मोदितं वि.... मण्डलमस्य राज्ञः (॥) तेह²⁰

* There is a village called Pākhed about 4 miles to the south-west of Hird Tākh, which I would identify with Pāpakhēṣa.

* G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 64. I read वरुणेश्वरी in place of वाकेश्वरी. [The name वरुणेश्वरी also occurs in an unpublished plate from Berar.—Ed.]

* (M. R. B. Hirai, *List of Inscriptions in G. P. and Berar (Second Edition)*, p. 148.

* Expressed by a symbol.

* Metre: Māhāt.

* Read नखरत्नं.

* Read भूमि.

* Metre: Upajit.

* Metre: Śardāharibhāṭa.

* Metre: Vasantatāṭa.

* Read नीचालि.

* Read वैशाख.

* Read राधयाहं.

* Metre: Upajit.

* Metre: Anantapāṭh. Read मोक्षचलितः

* Read "गायतलम्"

* Read "कृष्णायुजः"

* Read "हपेता."

* Metre: Anantapāṭh.

- 7 श्री राजधानी सा धर्मदुर्गे कलौ युगे । वाणारसी कृता तेन हिमसैः
सुचरिक्कैः । [1^a] पात¹ पुरा विरचितैः सुकृतैः कवचिदेहं विहाय निवृत्ता
..... स्वजने समस्ताः । [1^a] जज्ञे² राज्ञी प्रज्ञ चा-
- 8 झाकडेवां मंत्री मौली³ लभ्यवान्भगोवः । शूरः⁴ श्रीमा⁵ भोजमो नाम
तस्माच्चान्तः पुरः पालमः मुख्यकीर्तिः ॥ 'तस्मादभूत्सादृशनामनेयस्त... श्री ॥
'उत्कृष्टेपि गुणे [यस्य... कृता(ता)ना-
- 9 [प]नीयते । अतिगार्ज्ज्वा शार्ङ्गं ततः समुदपयतः⁶ । [1^a] 'हरिचरणसंग-
रजचित(त)सपितसमुक्तपातकप्रचारः तत उदयत गामे(मि)यायदासा(मान्)
रविरिव षडस(से)सजा [मिवाविनी] दरिद्रता⁷ ॥ मा-
- 10 ध्वंदिने⁸ दिनपतौ हरिविष्णुं डावकोक्तं विततभङ्गगिरिदिके⁹ । विष्णो[र्गु]हं
व्यतिनि¹⁰ तेन पुरेय तत्र नीलातप्रवमिव यत्र नभो विभाति ॥
टारटं(?) यस्यां दिन....
- 11 प्रसूताः¹¹ । [1^a] चक्रे¹² स तस्यां जननीवनार्ध(धे)मुख्यातपातालतर्क(ले) तडामं ।
माचा(रुचर्ण) सचित्तयेवरूपैः(ः) पापैरपि प्राप्यत यत्र सुक्तिः । [1^a] 'प्रसि-
धिम[प्र]..... मंत्र(कोष्ठनिर्वा) — —]हर-
- 12 ति लहरिहस्तैःपितामा(या)दगापि¹³ । हसति हसितपद्मेक्षपटं मागराणां ॥¹⁴
जयति सुकृतमूर्ती गामयाजस्तडामं ॥ 'उत्कीर्णरूपे च सुधासु¹⁵ [वि]वि.....
दिगादिष्ट.....
- 13 ध्यामिष पीयूषधामा । प्रतिजतिगतकपः पृष्टये स्वस्य वापी [प्रहित-
सुकतराणि निर्मि(र्म)मे]
- 14 नामानौ¹⁶ तस्य वंधू बभूवतुः । गुणखानि.....
- 19 [1^aतस्य दासस्य दासीहं] मम दतः(न्ति) प्रतिपाद्य[*ताम्] लीया

¹ Metre: Panchajanyā, Read ३३३.

² Metre: Śālinā.

³ Read मौलीजलम्.

⁴ Read श्रीमान् विक्रमो.

⁵ Metre: Indravajrā.

⁶ Metre: Anuśṭubh.

⁷ Read समुदपयत.

⁸ Metre: Panchajanyā.

⁹ Read 'उत्कृष्टे'.

¹⁰ Read जगति.

¹¹ Metre: Dipādravajrā.

¹² Metre: Mālinī. The amended reading विवितासा दगादि involves a wrong sandhi in विविता; शजा; which should have been विविता शजा.

¹³ Duplex unnecessary.

¹⁴ Metre: Indravajrā.

¹⁵ Read सुधासु.

¹⁶ Metre: Anuśṭubh.

No. 22.—SURAT PLATES OF KARKKARAJA SUVARNAVARSHA OF THE GUJRAT RASHTRAKUTA BRANCH; DATED SAKA YEAR 743.

PROF. A. S. ALTHEA, M.A., D. LITT., BENARES.

The accompanying plates of Karkka Suvarnavarsha, which are being edited here for the first time, were referred to by the late Dr. Bhagwānāl Indrajī in his *Early History of Gujrat* which he contributed to the *Ranby Gazetteer*, Volume I, Part I. At page 125 of the above work he briefly refers to their contents but does not give any information about their findspot or the circumstances in which or the person by whom they were discovered. He refers to them as the Surat plates and, therefore, presumably they were found in or near that city. But nothing definite is known about the findspot of the plates beyond what Dr. Bhagwānāl has said in the above book. I have, therefore, continued his nomenclature of the present record, though I can adduce no definite evidence to connect them with Surat. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, the Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture at the Calcutta University, very kindly handed over the plates to me for being edited in the *Epigraphia Indica* and I am accordingly editing them now.

The plates are three in number. Their size, which is fairly uniform, is 13·6" by 7·6". The thickness is about 0·1". The edges of the plates have been raised into rims as to protect the writing. The plates have been strung together by means of a ring passing through a hole which is at the centre of the proper left side, about 0·7" from the edge. The ring is about 0·4" in thickness and 3·2" in diameter and its edges have been secured by means of a circular seal about 1·11" in diameter. On its counterstruck surface there is an image of Garuḍa, who is in human form with wings on either side. He is sitting with folded hands and crossed legs, the soles of his feet touching each other. The seal does not bear any legend.

The inscription is written on the inner side of the first and third plates and on both sides of the second. The last plate, however, has only 7 lines, whereas the fully inscribed sides have, on an average, about 18 lines. After engraving nearly half of the first plate, the engraver, it would appear, anticipated that the space at his disposal would require smaller characters and more compact lines: in subsequent lines of the record we, therefore, find the average number of letters in each line increased from 38 to 55. This economy in space is probably responsible for the third plate having only 7 lines.

The plates are in a fairly good state of preservation: the surface has been partly damaged in a few places, but the record is perfectly legible except at the beginning of l. 45 where the first two letters are doubtful. The surface of the plates was not dressed very carefully; as a result there are depressions some of which look like *anusvāras* (cf. *vāka* l. 13) and some like medial vowel marks (cf. *priddhaya* l. 44). In a few cases the engraver has corrected his mistakes: thus he has crossed out the medial *ā* mark of *khā* in *khāḥga* in l. 40 and of *jā* in *jāmmānugam* in l. 55, and in addition to the correction in *khā* in l. 51 he has crossed out the letter *ryyā* so as to change *khāryyā* into *khāḥḥyā*. In some cases he has also made up his omissions by supplying the omitted letter or letters either immediately below the preceding or succeeding letter (cf. *ka* of *vrishāka* l. 27, *khā* of *mahācānḥguyā* l. 32, *pha* of *phālāpātī* l. 33, *ryyā* in *śuryyēga* and *yā* in *sadāḥḥayā* l. 39) or at the bottom of the plate (cf. *āntāntī* at the bottom of the first plate, and *lakhā sūcanadātā* and *khāḥḥan* *su* at that of the third). A *kāḥapada* is usually, but not invariably, written to draw attention to the corrections. But the plates were not very carefully revised, and as a result, four letters inadvertently omitted in verse 25 remained to be supplied and several wrongly repeated letters, words and groups of words remained to be crossed out. (See notes to ll. 38, 43, 45, 49

52, 53, etc.) The horizontal stroke of *sha* in *sha* in *rayasavariśa* l. 3 has been carelessly omitted, whereas it is wrongly introduced in *pra* of *pratikṣya* in l. 49. Slipshod execution is seen in *parigīyut* l. 24, where the short stroke to the left of the vertical stroke of *ra*, instead of being engraved at the centre, is relegated to the bottom and is allowed to merge in the medial *i* mark of the letter; in the next letter *gi* the engraver allowed his instrument to slip to the right of the left lower limb of the letter and this unnecessary line meets the medial *i* mark of *gi*. As a result *°rigi* can be recognised only on the plate. The loop at the head of *śha* in *śha* in *śha* in l. 25 must again be attributed to carelessness.

The characters belong to the northern class of the alphabets and are similar to the characters of the Patthan, Wapi Dindori, and Rādhapur plates of Gōvinda III. There is no admixture of the southern forms to any extent whatsoever, except perhaps the *sha* in *Rāshtrakūta* in l. 8, which shows a bend in the left limb, characteristic of the southern alphabets. The general form of the characters is similar to the Nāgarī of the period to which the inscription belongs. Attention may be drawn, however, to the medial *ā* sign in the case of *jā* and *jā* which is a semi-circle open upwards, attached in the latter case sometimes to the central horizontal stroke (cf. *śā* l. 19) and sometimes to the topmost one (cf. *śā* l. 6). Medial *u* is usually denoted by a small stroke to the left as in the case of *ma* and *śu*; in the case of *ru*, *lu* l. 4, *ru* l. 8, *Dru* l. 22, this stroke is transferred to the right owing to the presence of a stroke to the left in these letters; sometimes, however, a curve is attached at the end of the vertical to the left to denote the medial *u*, as in *ru*. The final forms of *ma*, *na* and *in* occur in the record; the first two are denoted by a short slanting stroke attached to the right of the vertical (cf. *yā* l. 42, *dharmaśā* l. 62, *śikṣā* l. 43), while the last one is denoted by the ordinary form of *in* without, however, its small vertical and *mātrā*, but with a slanting line placed at a distance to the left (l. *va* l. 54 and *dadyāt* l. 57).

It may be pointed out that the Rāshtrakūta records of the period to which our record belongs use three different varieties of alphabets. The purely southern variety, the precursor of the modern Kanarese, is used in the extreme south and is illustrated by the Kanata plates of Gōvinda III¹. In the central and northern portions of the empire two varieties were being used side by side, one the successor of the Valabhi alphabet and the other the Nāgarī which was gradually displacing the former. The Sāmāṅga plates of Dantidurga,² the Talagaon plates³ of Kṛishṇa I, and the Patthan,⁴ Wapi-Dindori,⁵ and the Rādhapur⁶ plates of Gōvinda III are all in the Nāgarī script, while the Baroda plates⁷ of the present donor, Tōrkṣād⁸ plates of Gōvinda III, and the Baroda plates⁹ of Dhruva I exhibit the successor of the Valabhi alphabet, showing the traces of both southern and northern influence.

At the end of the record are engraved, nearly at the middle of the last two lines, two *pāda*-*śloka* which are apparently intended to symbolise the foot-prints of Mahāvīra, the principal object of worship at the establishment to which the grant was made.

The language of the record is Sanskrit throughout. No Prakritisms are to be traced in the document except perhaps in the spelling of the proper name Mallavāsin where, if that reading is correct, we have an example of an original *d* being changed into *ḍ*. On the whole the language is correct, but a few mistakes occur. Thus there is a wrong *śaṅkṣi* in *pratikṣya* in *śikṣā* l. 39 and in *śikṣā* in *śikṣā* l. 5 we have the accusative for the nominative, due no doubt to the

¹ *Asi.*, Vol. IV, p. 340.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 273.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 137.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 153.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 189.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 111.

⁷ *Asi.*, Vol. III, p. 103.

⁸ *Asi.*, Vol. VI, p. 243.

⁹ *Asi.*, Vol. III, p. 61.

unconscious influence of the preceding word *lāḍgaṃ*. In ll. 47-49 the object of the grant Dhāshu-vāpi is treated sometime as masculine and sometime as feminine.

With respect to **orthography** the following points are to be noted :—(1) *Vo* is written throughout for *ba* ; (2) in a conjunct of which *r* is the first member, the second consonant is doubled with very rare exceptions as in *Stambhādibhīr-bhūja-valāi* l. 51, *arthishu* and *yathārthatā* in l. 33 and *sātha* and *Prātha* in l. 39 ; (3) a *visarga* before a following *pa* or *pha* is denoted by the sign for *upadhāniya* in 4 cases (see ll. 1, 41, 58 and 59), but in 8 other cases the *upadhāniya* mark has not been used (see ll. 11, 23, 28, 33, 37, 39, 40 and 47). (4) Whether this record uses the *jihvāmālīya* symbol is a knotty question. Cases of a *visarga* followed by a *ka* occur in ll. 7, 10, 14, 19, 23, 38, 42, 50, 57, etc. The conjunct consonant used in all these cases really looks like a *wa* (cf. *mā* l. 38), but that combination is inexplicable. One is tempted to read it as *sk*, but the normal form of *sa* in the present record is different ; we have besides two clear cases of *sha* in *skandhānī* l. 44 and *gaṇakara* l. 58 and this form is entirely different from the one seen in the combination of a *visarga* and a following *k*. We are, therefore, driven to the conclusion that what looks like the form of *sa* in the combination of a *visarga* with a following *k* is a symbol for *jihvāmālīya*. It may be pointed out that in several other records the symbol for *jihvāmālīya* is also very much similar to the contemporary sign for the letter *sa*. (cf. *Aśoka* Vol. XVII, p. 329, Mattepad plates, l. 7, Vol. VI, p. 7, Aihole Inscription, l. 17, etc.). (5) The *anusvara* before a *ka* is denoted by the guttural nasal, cf. *vaḥḥaḥ* l. 51 ; in other cases it is sometimes converted to the nasal of the class to which following letter belongs and sometimes denoted by a dot. (6) The rules of *anudhi* are usually observed except in the portion dealing with the locality and its boundary ; see ll. 45-48. The formal part of the record is in prose, the rest of the record, excepting the introductory letter *śm*, is in verse. The verses are not numbered, but at the end of each verse there is a punctuation mark usually consisting of two short vertical strokes, except at the end of v. 38 where we have only one stroke, probably by mistake, and at the end of v. 36 where it is altogether dropped, probably owing to the wrong repetition of a number of letters in the last pāda of that verse. There are no punctuation marks to denote the end of the half verse, the only exception being v. 35, where we have the punctuation mark usually used at the verse-end.

The present charter contains the grant of a field to a Jain establishment at Nāgaskrikā or modern Nausāri. Ll. 42-47 inform us that when **Suvarnavarsha Karkkarāja**, the son of **Indrarāja**, was encamped on the bank of the **Vaṅkikā** he granted on the full moon day of **Vaiśākha** of the Śaka year 743 elapsed (corresponding to Sunday the 21st of April 821 A.D.) **Hiranyavogā**, which was apparently the name of a field irrigated by a well belonging to or constructed by a person named Dhāshu, to the Jain teacher **Aparājita**, who was a disciple of the most revered **Sumati** who in turn was a pupil of **Ma(l)lavādin**¹. It is a pity that the value of the fourth letter of the proper name of the last mentioned personage should be doubtful. The letter can be read as *ri*, *dī* or *ḍī*. It is quite clear that the engraver has proceeded to modify *ri*, which he had first written ; whether he has changed this letter to *dī* or *ḍī* is not clear. It is obvious that the proper name in question could not have been **Malavādin**, but **Mallavādin** ; the former hardly gives any sense, and it is, therefore, quite possible that one *l* may have been inadvertently omitted. **Mallavādin**, who was apparently the founder of the Jain temple and the attached *Maṭha* at Nausāri, is very probably the same personage who wrote a commentary called *Dharmottara-tippaṇaṭṭa* on the *Nyāya-braṇḍa-tikā* of **Dharmottarāchārya**. Dr. Satish Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa has pointed out² that this **Mallavādin** may have lived either in the first half of the 9th or in the second half of the 10th century A.D. Our charter

¹ The reading is clearly *Malaḥkri* and not *Malavādi*, to judge from the facsimile.—Ed.

² *History of Indian Logic*, pp. 194-5.

shows that the first alternative is nearer the correct date. Since a disciple of Mallavādin's disciple is the recipient of a grant issued in 821 A.D. it is obvious that Mallavādin could not have flourished in the latter half of the 10th century A.D.; he must be placed in the last quarter of the 8th century A.D. This conclusion will be untenable if we accept Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's view that Dharmastīśārāya, on whose work Mallavādin wrote his commentary, flourished in c. 847 A.D. But this view itself is wrong, since it is based upon an unproved assumption that king Varmapāla was ruling in Bengal in c. 847 A.D.

Mallavādin and his disciples belonged to the Śāra-saṅgha, which is described as a branch of the Mūla-saṅgha which constituted the main Digambara Church. According to the *Paṭīśālī*, the Mūla-saṅgha branched off into three other sub-sections known as Dēra-saṅgha, Nandī-saṅgha and Śāra-saṅgha sometime in the 1st century A.D.¹ It is with reference to this division into four sections of the main Digambara branch that Mūla-saṅgha is called *śāra-saṅgha* in our grant. The information of the *Paṭīśālī* is thus confirmed by epigraphical evidence. There is at present a Jain temple at Namāri called the Pārśvanātha temple with two *Mathas* attached to it, one for the male and the other for the female ascetics. The present temple belongs to the Svētāmbara sect and its buildings, which are being renovated at present, are said, according to local tradition, to have been built by Vastupāla in the 13th century A.D. Vastupāla may have quite possibly provided buildings to a Saṅgha that was already flourishing in the locality; in that case the antiquity of the Svētāmbara Jain establishment may antedate the buildings in which it is now located. The Mūla-saṅgha establishment of Namāri to which Karkka gave the present grant was most probably different from the present Jain temple since it belonged to the Digambara church, which seems to have disappeared in subsequent centuries.

After the syllable *Om* the record opens with a homage to the gospel of Jinasendra in v. 1. The next 32 verses give the Rāṣṭrakūṭa genealogy of the main branch up to Amoghavarsha I and of the Gujarat branch up to Karkka Suvarnavarsha. Since most of these verses recur in other published Rāṣṭrakūṭa records it is unnecessary to give an abstract of their contents here. Attention will, therefore, be drawn only to a few salient points. The genealogy begins with Gōvinda I, the names of his father and grandfather Indra Prishabhakatiṭṭa and Dantivarman respectively, which are given in the Konnār inscription², Sanjān copper-plates³ of Amoghavarsha I and the Dādīvātāra cave record⁴ do not figure in this grant. The name of Dantidurga is not passed over in this record, nor is the credit of the overthrow of the Chālukyas given to Krishṇa I in preference to Dantidurga as is done in the Wāpi-Dopḍōr⁵ and Rādhanpur⁶ plates of Gōvinda III, Baroda plates⁷ of the present donor and Kāpaṭraṇj plates⁸ of Krishṇa II. The bravery of the next ruler Krishṇa I is described in the next 7 verses (12-18), but the description is all conventional; his wars with the Gāgas and the Eastern Chālukyas are not even referred to, the only historical event mentioned is the overthrow of Rāhappa. The record, however, does not give any clue to the identification of this opponent. The successor of Krishṇa I, Gōvinda II, is not passed over as is done in the Baroda plates of the present donor, Kāpaṭraṇj plates⁹ of Krishṇa II and the Begumrā plates¹⁰ of Indra III, but the circumstances of his overthrow by his younger brother are not mentioned. The next 6 verses (20-25) describe the career of Dhruva. All these verses, with the exception of v. 25, are already known to us and contain only conventional eulogy. V. 25, however, which, so far as I am aware, does not occur in any other records so far published, is

¹ *Genealogia of Belgas and Edils*, Vol. VII, p. 474.

² *Asi.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 236.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 137.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 150.

⁵ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVIII, n. 257.

⁶ *Asi.*, Vol. VI, p. 28.

⁷ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. V, p. 87.

⁸ *Asi.*, Vol. VI, p. 242.

⁹ *Asi.*, Vol. I, p. 53.

¹⁰ *Asi.*, Vol. I, p. 53.

historically important. The expression '*Gāṅgaugha-matati-nirōdha-vijayidha-dīnāḥ*' used in this verse to describe both Śiva and Dhruva clearly refers to Dhruva's victories over the Western Gāṅgas and possibly also over the Pālas and Gurjara Pratihāras. The expression can mean 'One whose fame is increased by the imprisonment of a scion of the Gāṅga family or lineage' and would thus be referring to the imprisonment of the contemporary Gāṅga ruler Śivamāra, which is mentioned in several other records of the Rāshtrakūṭas.¹ It is interesting to note that some of the Gāṅga records also admit indirectly the truth of the Rāshtrakūṭa claim. The Maṅge plates, alleged to be issued by Śivamāra's son in 797² A.D., are no doubt spurious, but the statement made in them that Śivamāra was entangled on all sides in difficulties seems to have been based on a genuine historic tradition. The Gaṭṭavāḍipur plates inform us that Śivamāra put his younger brother Vijayāditya upon the throne who "like Bharata, knowing the earth to be his elder brother's wife, refrained from enjoying her."³ This statement, especially the Rāmāyaṇa episode recalled in the simile, makes it clear that Śivamāra was absent from the kingdom probably in the Rāshtrakūṭa prison, and that his younger brother was trying to carry on the struggle against the conqueror in the absence of the *de jure* ruler. In the expression '*Gāṅgaugha-matati-nirōdha*' I further see a reference to Dhruva's campaign in the Gangetic Doab, where according to the Sanjān and Baroda plates, he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Pāla and Gurjara armies. To the poet's imagination, the mighty forces of the Rāshtrakūṭa invader, crossing the Ganges, may well have appeared to have repeated Śiva's feat of obstructing the flow of the river⁴.

The next 6 verses (26-31) describe the exploits of the next ruler Gōvinda III, but the description is all conventional. The only historical event referred to is the rebellion of Stambha; Gōvinda's brilliant campaigns against the kings of Southern and Northern India are altogether passed over. A verse in the Rājhanpur plates of Gōvinda III states that he had opposed his father's plan of abdication in his favour, pointing out that he was quite content with the *Kapṭhikā* or necklace, the insignia of a Yuvarāja. The Kāvī plates,⁵ however, distinctly state that Gōvinda obtained the kingdom from his father at a formal coronation. V. 30 of our record supports the Kāvī plates, inasmuch as it refers to Gōvinda receiving, not his *yuvavarāja*, but the imperial title *rājādhirāja-paramāśvaratā*, from his father at the time of his own coronation. It is, therefore, difficult to say whether Dhruva had actually abdicated in the closing years or months of his reign. On the one hand it is possible that the expressions *Rājyābhishikā-kalāśaḥ* and *rājādhirāja-paramāśvaratā* may have been used rather loosely by the Kāvī and the present plates to denote *yuvavarājābhishikā*; on the other hand, grown wiser by the treatment which he himself had given to his elder brother Gōvinda II, Dhruva may have realised that installation as an heir-apparent was no guarantee against a war of succession and may, therefore, have actually abdicated in favour of his favourite son to avoid the chance of his succession being opposed. Under these circumstances it will be difficult to decide in favour of either of the two alternatives until we get more evidence on the point. Vv. 32-40 refer to Amoghavarsha I, his uncle Indra and the latter's son Karkka, the donor of the grant. All these verses are already known to us from other records, but v. 39 of this record combined with its date gives very valuable historical information. The verse in question tells us that Amoghavarsha I was reinstated on the throne by his cousin Karkka, when a number of Rāshtrakūṭa feudatories had rebelled against him. The rebellion in question was already known, but when it started and how long it lasted we

¹ E.g., Wasi-Digāori plates, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 137.

² *Epi. Gur.*, Vol. IX, Sukamangala, No. 60.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, Nanjāngul, No. 209.

⁴ [I do not agree that any reference to Dhruva's northern campaigns against the Pālas and Gurjaras is also contained in the expression *gāṅgaugha*. . . . *Ibid.*,—Ed.]

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 147.

could not know definitely until now. Its time could be given only vaguely as sometime between February 817 A.D. and October 835 A.D. For, the Nausāri plates¹ of the present donor issued in February 817 A.D., while referring to the succession of Amoghavarsha I, do not refer to the rebellion; while the Baroda plates² of his son Dhruva, issued in October 835 A.D., contain a reference to the signal services rendered to his cousin by Karkka in quelling the rebellion of the proud and wilful Rāshtrakūtas. The date of the present record is 21st of April 821 A.D.; it closely copies the Nausāri grant of the present donor, and the only information it supplies to us about the grantor is his reinstatement of his cousin Amoghavarsha I upon the imperial throne. It is, therefore, clear that the rebellion broke out and was quelled completely between February 817 and April 821 A.D. When Amoghavarsha was restored to the throne he was still a boy of about 12, and the government must have been carried on in his name by some regent, probably by Karkka himself. The present record is thus an almost contemporary document with reference to the rebellion and it gives the credit of quelling it to Karkka; later records of the Gujarāt branch also concur with it in this respect. The recently published Sanjān copper-plates³ of Amoghavarsha I, however, tell us that it was with the help of Pātālamalla that the boy emperor could regain his throne. This discrepancy can be explained in two ways: (1) Pātālamalla may have been another relative or feudatory of Amoghavarsha, who may have co-operated with Karkka in overthrowing the confederacy against the boy emperor. The Gujarāt branch records would naturally ignore him and give the entire credit to Karkka who belonged to it. (2) Or, Pātālamalla may be the same as Karkka, the former being an epithet of the latter. Pātālamalla is obviously a *biruda* rather than a proper name; Dr. Bhagwānlāl Indrajī avers that it was a *biruda* of Karkka, but cites no authority for his statement.⁴ It is not improbable that the late scholar made that statement on the authority of some unpublished Rāshtrakūta record (e.g., the Baroda grant of Dhruva II of the Gujarāt branch, dated 867 A.D., which is referred to by him but yet remains to see the light of the day); but so far no published Rāshtrakūta record assigns to him that title. I am inclined to hold that Pātālamalla was a *biruda* of Karkka; had Pātālamalla been a different man, a relative or feudatory of Amoghavarsha, who co-operated with Karkka in restoring him to the throne, it is difficult to understand why the Sanjān plates, which describe in detail the rebellion and the consequent anarchy, should altogether ignore the services of Karkka, while eulogising those of Pātālamalla. It is possible to argue that the omission of Karkka in the Sanjān plates is deliberate; his descendants, who ruled after him in Southern Gujarāt, had rebelled recently against the imperial authority of Amoghavarsha⁵ I and therefore the latter may have naturally ignored the services rendered by Karkka in a grant issued by him, while the memory of the rebellion of the Gujarāt branch was still fresh. This explanation is possible, but I prefer to believe that one day we may find a record showing that Pātālamalla was a *biruda* of Karkka Suvarnavarsha.

Most of the verses of the present record are already known to us from published records. Vv. 2-21 are identical with vv. 1-20 of the Nausāri grant⁶ of the present donor; vv. 23-24 and 26-28 are identical with vv. 21-25 of the same record. V. 39 occurs in the Baroda plates of Dhruva,⁷ the son of the present grantor, and vv. 22 and 40 occur in the Paithān grant of Gōvinda III⁸

¹ J. R. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX, p. 135.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 48.

³ The long war lasting for as many as three generations mentioned in the Baroda plates of Dhruva II (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 197) in which Dhruva I lost his life and his son and grandson were ousted from the throne, was fought with a king named Vallabha, who could have been no other than Amoghavarsha I. I have discussed this question in detail in my forthcoming book, "The Rāshtrakūtas and their Times."

⁴ J. R. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX, p. 135.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 102.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 199.

⁷ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 124.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 199.

II. 38-39 and 41-42. V. 25 alone is a new one and its historical significance has been discussed already.

After recording the grant in prose the charter recites the usual imprecatory verses and concludes with a couple of verses in praise of Jainism. The charter claims to contain an autograph of Karkka, but it should have been in proto-Kanarese characters as is the case with his sign-manuals in his Baroda and Nausāri grants. It may be doubted, therefore, whether the duct of the words '*Sacchasthūyān mama īri-Karkkarājasya īrīmad-Indrarāja-sūnō*' really represents that of Karkka's own handwriting. The charter was drafted by Nārāyaṇa, son of *Kulaputraka* 45-Durgabhāṭṭa, who was the chief foreign minister of Karkka. He is obviously a brother of Nēmaditya, who had drafted the two other known copper-plate grants of the present donor,—the Baroda plates of 811-2 and the Nausāri plates of 817 A. D.; for, the latter two documents describe Nēmaditya as a son of the foreign minister *Kulaputraka* Durgabhāṭṭa. The present charter shows that the career of Nārāyaṇa was more successful than that of his brother Nēmaditya, since he succeeded his father in the important post of the Chief Foreign Minister.

Most of the copper-plate grants of old were drafted by a *sandhivigrahika* or foreign minister. I have not yet seen any attempt to explain the connection of the office of *sandhivigrahika* with the drafting of land grants. The connection is, however, established not only by copper-plates, but is also known to Smṛiti literature. An anonymous verse quoted by Viṣṇuśāvara on Yājñavalkya-smṛiti, I. 320, says:—

Sandhivigrahakāri tu bhavēd-yas-tasya lēkhakāḥ
Svayam rājā samādiśtaḥ sa līhēd-rājāsamarāḥ |

Viṣṇuśāvara himself says, '*Sandhivigrahakāriṇō (jāsanam hārayā) nānyāna kēnachūt.*' Yājñavalkya lays down in I, 319 that a land grant should contain an account of the genealogy of the donor. A glance at the numerous grants that have been published shows that this dictum of the sage was usually observed in practice. The genealogy had naturally to refer to the exploits of the ancestors of the donor, material for which was expected to be preserved in the archives of the foreign office, and its head was, therefore, expected to draft the charter containing the names and exploits of the donor and his ancestors.

Of the localities mentioned in the plates almost all can be identified with certainty. *Nāga-sāritā* is modern Nausāri, about 20 miles to the south of Surat. The *Pārāvī* is obviously the river Pūrṇā on the banks of which Nausāri is situated. Of the two villages *Ambāpātaka* and *Sambapura*, the latter is untraceable, but the former is obviously the same as Āmaḍpur, situated on the Pārāvī or Pūrṇā and about 5 miles from Nausāri. Mr. M. K. Nadkarni, the Subba of Nausāri, informs me that this village was some centuries ago called Āmapura according to the local tradition. The river *Vaṅkikā*, on the banks of which the army of Karkka was encamped when the gift was made, is the Vanki creek about 30 miles to the south of Nausāri. The only place that thus remains to be identified is Sambapura. This village was to the north of Ambāpātaka or modern Āmaḍpur and, therefore, it cannot be identified with the village of Sampur in Kanarej Taluka, since it is 35 miles from Nausāri. It has now probably gone out of existence.

TEXT.¹

[The following metres have been used:—*Anuṣṭup*:—vv. 2, 24, 32, 41-43 and 49. *Aryā*:—vv. 12-15, 22, 27-29, 33, 40 and 50. *Indrasajit*:—v. 23. *Upajit*:—vv. 5 and 20. *Gur*:—v. 6. *Pankajāgrā*:—v. 48. *Paśānathavilā*:—v. 1. *Vasantatilakā*:—vv. 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 16, 25, 26, 30, 36-38. *Sāndharikrīḍita*:—vv. 11, 18 and 31. *Sroṇḍharī*:—vv. 17, 19, 34 and 35.]

¹ From the original plates.

First Plate.

- 1 श्री¹ । त्रिय \times पदं नित्यमशेषमोचरं नयप्रमाणं प्रतिविदुष्यथ [1*]
जमस्य भवत्व² समाहितात्मनो जयत्वतुषाहि जिनेन्द्रशायनं³ ॥[१०*] स वो
- 2 व्याह्वसा धाम यथाभिकमलं कृतं [1*] हरच यस्य कालेन्दुकलया
कमलं कृतं ॥[२०*] आसीद्विपत्तिभिरमुद्यतमण्डलापो धर्मिष्ठय-
- 3 नभिमुखो⁴ रणसर्वरीपु⁵ [1*] भूपम्बुचिर्बिभुरिवास्तदिगलकोत्तिन्नो⁶ मिन्दराज इति
राजसु राजसिंहः⁷ ॥[३०*] दृष्टा चमूमभि-
- 4 मुखो⁸ सुभटादृष्टासामुवाहितं सपदि येन रणेपु नित्यं [1*] दृष्टाधरेण
दधता मुकुटि ललाटे खड्गं कुलं च हृदय⁹]-
- 5 च निज[च¹⁰] सत्वं ॥[४०*] खड्ग[¹¹] करापाशुखतश्च गोमा¹² मानो मन-
स्तत्त्वममेव यस्य [1*] महाहवे नाम निगम्य सद्यस्त-
- 6 यं रिपूणां विगलत्वकाण्डे [५०*] तस्याज्जो जगति विद्युतदीर्घकीर्त्तिं¹³
रार्त्तात्तिहारिहरिविक्रमधामधारी [1*] भूपा-
- 7 स्तु¹⁴ विष्टपट्टपातुति¹⁵ कृतज्ञः श्रीकङ्कराज इति गोत्रमन्त्रि¹⁶ भूव ॥[६०*] तस्य
प्रभित्तिकरटस्तुतदानद-
- 8 न्तिदन्तप्रहारचिरोर्जिखितांसपीठः [1*] आपः क्षितौ क्षपितशङ्खभूतनूत्रस्त द्वाद्-
कूटकनकाद्विरिविन्दराजः ॥[७०*] तस्योपा-
- 9 र्जितमहसस्तनयश्चतुर्दधिवलयमालिन्या[1*] भोजा¹⁷ भुवश्चतक[तु¹⁸] गृहशम्भोदन्ति-
दुर्भराजोभूत् ॥[८०*] काञ्चीयकेर-
- 10 सनराधिपचोलपाण्ड्यमी¹⁹ यैवचटविमेदविधानदत्तं [1*] कर्णाटजं वल²⁰ भविष्यम-
जयमन्यैर्भूत्वैहियद्विर-
- 11 पि यस्मादसा जिगाथ ॥[९०*] प्रभृतिभंगमयहीतनिशातशङ्खमथान्तमप्रतिहताश-
मपेतयत्नं [1*] यो वज्रभं सपदि²¹ दण्ड-
- 12 वलेन²² जित्वा राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरनामवाप ॥[१००*] आसीतोर्विपुलोपलावलि-
लसन्नोलोमिमालाजलादाप्रानेयकः²³

¹ Expressed by a symbol.

² Read 'भवत्व'.

³ Read 'शायनम्'.

⁴ Read 'मुख'.

⁵ Read 'रिपु'.

⁶ Read 'भूमिमुखी'.

⁷ The central horizontal stroke of 'स' is missing.

⁸ Read 'नील'.

⁹ Read 'विष्ट'.

¹⁰ Read 'जोत'.

¹¹ Letters 'र' and 'स' which were omitted, while engraving this line are written at the bottom of the plate.

¹² Read 'भुवश्चतक'.

¹³ See introduction for the symbol of 'Nandavajira'.

¹⁴ Read 'केशव'.

¹⁵ Read 'मीमा'.

¹⁶ Read 'सद्य'.

¹⁷ [मीमा] here is a variant of 'यु' in other Rashtrakuta grants.—N. P. C.]

¹⁸ Read 'स'.

¹⁹ Read 'सपदि'.

²⁰ Read 'वलेन'.

²¹ What looks like an ornament is a natural depression on the surface of the plate.

140 A

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4 4
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ii

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iii

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40	...	40
42	...	42
44	...	44
46	...	46
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52	...	52
54	...	54

56	...	56
58	...	58
60	...	60
62	...	62

- 13 लंकितामलमिताजान्तातुपागवलादा¹पूर्वापरवारिराशिपुलिनप्रान्तप्रसिद्धावधेय²नद³ ज-
गती स्वविक्रमवलेन⁴का-
- 14 तपचीकृता ¹¹[११४*] तस्मिन्दिवं प्रयाते वज्रभराजे चतप्रजावा⁵ध. ¹²[१*] श्री-
क⁶राजसूनुर्महीपति⁷कृष्णराजोभूत् ¹³[१२१*] यस्य स्वभुजप-
- 15 राक्रमनिष्पेषोकादितारिदिवचक्रं ¹⁴[१*] कृष्णस्वेवा कृष्ण⁸]वरितं श्रीकृष्णराजस्य
¹⁵[१२१*] यमभृतं गतं गतुं राप्रवृत्तं ¹⁶दृष्टरविकिरण⁹[१*] श्रीक्षेपि नमो निश्चितं¹⁰
- 16 प्राद्वट्कालायते स्मटं ¹⁷[१४१*] दीनानायप्रणयिषु यधेष्टचेष्टं समीही¹¹तमजसं ¹⁸[१*]
तत्त्वणमकालवर्षं वर्षति सर्वार्थनिर्व्व¹²[प*]णं ¹⁹[१५१*] र[१]ह्यमा-
- 17 लभुजजातव¹³लावलेपमा¹⁴ज्जो विजित्य निग्रितामिलताप्रहारैः ²⁰[१*] पानिधजावलि-
शुभामचिरण यो हि राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतां
- 18 ततान ²¹[१६१*] क्रोधदुस्वत्तच्छब्द¹⁵ प्रचतरिपुभ¹⁶यै¹⁷र्भाममानं समन्तादाजा¹⁸दुहृतवे-
रिप्रकटमजघटाटोपसंलीभदत्तं ²²[१*] मी¹⁹र्ध्यस्वकारि-

Second Plate: First side.

- 19 वग्नी²³ भयचकितवपुष्पापि दृष्ट्वैव सद्यो ²⁴दप्योधातारिचक्रक्षयकरमगमद्यस्य दो²⁵हृष्ट-
रूपं ²⁶[१७१*] पाता यच्चतु²⁷रभ्युराशिरसनार्त्तकारभाजा²⁸भु-
- 20 वक्ष्येया²⁹चापि कृतद्विजामरगुरुप्राज्वाज्यपूजादरो³⁰ ³¹[१*] दाता मानभृदप्रणीर्गुणवतां
योमो त्रियो मे³²हभो भोक्तुं स्वर्गफलानि भूरितपसा
- 21 स्थानं जगामामारं³³ ³⁴[१८१*] येन श्वेतातपचप्रवृत्तरविकरव्राततापाकलीलं जग्मे³⁵
नामोरधूलीधवलितवपुषा वज्रभाष्यकदाजौ ³⁶[१*] श्रीमद्वोविन्दराजो जि-
- 22 तजगदहितस्त्रैणवैधव्यहेतुसास्थामोक्षनुरज र लितारातिस्तेभकुम्भः ³⁷[१९१*]
तस्थानुजः श्रीधुवराजनामा महानुभावः प्रथितप्रतापः ³⁸[१*]
- 23 प्रसाधिताशिपनरन्द्वच³⁹[क*]ङ्कमेण वा⁴⁰लार्त्तवपुर्व्वं⁴¹भूय ⁴²[२०१*] जाते यत्र च
राष्ट्रकुटतिलके सङ्ग⁴³तचूडा⁴⁴[म*]णौ मुर्व्वो लुहिरयाखिलस्त्रजगतक्षुभ्रामिनि
प्रत्यक्षं ⁴⁵[१*] [मत्य*] सत्यमिति प्रमा-

¹ The scribe or the composer has joined together the two words in a *quadrif*, without taking notice of the half-verse end, as required by rules of prosody.

² Read "वेनेद".

³ Read "वलेनका".

⁴ Read "वार".

⁵ The punctuation mark is damaged.

⁶ Read "क".

⁷ Read "निश्चित".

⁸ Read "कमीहित".

⁸ Read "पूजा".

⁹ Read "भावी".

¹⁰ Read "यद्रममनसिचर्य".

¹¹ Read "मोसमान".

¹² Read "रुप".

¹³ Read "क्षेप".

¹² Read "वर्ष".

¹⁴ Read "दपो".

¹⁴ Read "दीर्घल".

¹³ Read "रुप".

¹⁵ Read "भावी".

¹⁵ Read "वावा".

¹⁴ Read "दृष्ट"; the word being at the half-verse end, no *anukta* is permitted.

¹⁶ Read "वज्रभो".

¹⁵ Read "मान".

¹⁶ Read "जग्मे".

¹⁷ Read "वावा".

¹⁶ Read "क्षेप".

¹⁷ *सू* was the word probably intended by the poet.

- 24 सति सति क्षम्यममुद्रान्तिकामासोऽन्ये परे गुणान्तनिधौ सत्त्वप्रतापिष्ठिते
॥[२१०*] शशधरकिरणनिकरनिभं यस्य यशस्मुरनयापमानुखैः [1*]
परिणी-
- 25 यतनुरजैर्विद्याधरसुन्दरीनिवहैः ॥ [२२०*] हृद्योन्मत्तं योर्विजनाय नित्यं
सर्वस्वमानन्दितवर्धुवर्गैः [1] पादाभरुष्टो हरति स्य वेनाद्यापान्यमभ्यापि
नितान्त-
- 26 वीर्यैः ॥[२३०*] रक्षता येन निशेषं चतुरभ्योपिसंयुतं [1*] राक्ष्य
धर्म्यं लोकानां कृता हृष्टिः परा हृष्टिः ॥[२४०*] योसौ प्रमादित-
[समुद्रत*] सारदुर्गो गंगोऽधसन्ततिनिरोध-
- 27 विहङ्गकीर्त्तिराखीकृतोन्नतवृषाङ्कविभूतिरुचैर्व्यक्तं ततान परमिन्दरतामिहैकः ॥
[२५०*] तस्याकजो जगति सद्यदितोरुकीर्त्तिर्गोविन्दराज इ-
- 28 ति गोचललामभूतः [1*] त्वागी पराक्रमधनः प्रकटप्रतापकृतापिताहितजनो
जनवत्प्रभोभूत् ॥[२६०*] प्रिणीवत्प्रभ इति च प्रदितं यस्या-
- 29 परं ज[ग*]ति नाम [1*] यच्चतुर्दधिसीमानेको वसुधां वणे चक्रे ॥[२७०*]
एकोप्यनेकरूपो यो ददृशे भेदवादिभिरिवासा [1*] परवलजलधिमपारं
- 30 तरन्स्वदोर्भा रणे रिपुभिः ॥[२८०*] एको निहन्तिरहं गृहीतयस्या मे
परे च^१हयो [1*] यो नैवविधमकरोच्चितं स्वप्रेपि किमुताजौ ॥[२९०*]
राज्याभिरिककलयैरभि-
- 31 पित्य दत्ता राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतां सपिवा [1*] सत्यैर्देहावृणतिभिर्वे^२पुभि-
र्वे^३समेत्य स्तब्धादिभिर्भुजकता^४दन्तुप्यमानां ॥[३००*] एकोनेकानन्दहृन्दमहिता-
- 32 न्यस्यान्ममस्यानपि प्रोत्था सा^५मिलताप्रहारविपुला^६ कथा^७ सा^८सामंयुने [1*]
सञ्जी(म)प्यचला चकार विलस^९काचामरयाहिणी^{१०} ॥^{११}समीदृक्विप्रसज्जनसुहृद-^{१२}

* Read "नदाय".

* Read "वसु".

* Four letters are missing; the reading given is conjectured.

* The engraver's instrument has slipped to the left of the first vertical in लौ.

* Read कीर्त्तिः [1*] "आखीकृतो"; *कीर्त्तिः being at the half-verse and a second is not possible.

* The letter क, omitted while engraving, is written below the line under the letter ग; between two *śālo-
padas*. A small *śālopada* above the letter ग, also in the plate, draws attention to the omitted letter.

* Read हृष्टी.

* Read प्रसन्न.

* Read हरुष्ट.

** Read "चैष्ट".

** The letter ल is repeated by mistake.

** Read "वसु".

** Read "वसु".

** Read हरुष्ट.

** Read नदाय. The letter क, omitted while engraving, is written below the line between ग and ल.

** Read "वसु".

** This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

** Read "वसु".

- 33 मूपभोग्यां सुवि ॥[३१॥*] तत्पुत्रो मते नाकमार्काम्यतारि^१प्रजे [१*]
 श्रीमा^२हाराजम^३व्याख्य[३*] स्यातो राजाभवदुणे : ॥[३२॥*] अर्थिषु यवार्थता[३*]
 यक्षमभि^४दता^५फ^६लासिलव^७तो.
- 34 पेषु [१*] इतिविनाय परमममोषवर्षाभिधानस्य ॥[*३३] राजाभूतत्पिदव्यो
 रिपुभवविभवोद्वलभावैकहेतुर्लक्ष्मीवाक्षि^८न्द्राजो गुणिजनतिकरा^९स्तदमत्ता.
- 35 रकारी । रागादन्त्यान्वुदस्य प्रकटितविनया यं नृपं मेवमाना राज्ञ्योरैव चजे
 स[कल*]कविजनोद्दी^{१०}यतप्यस्वभावं ॥[३४॥*] निर्वाणावाप्तवानामहितहितजनो-
- 36 पार्श्व^{११}माना सुवृत्तं वृत्तं जित्वान्वराज्ञा चरितमुदयवान्मन्वेतो हिंसकेभ्यः ॥(१)
 एकाकी दृष्टवैरिस्त्वनकृतिमहप्रतिराज्येशया^{१२}इन्द्राटीयमण्डलं
- 37 यस्तपन इव निजस्त्रामिदत्तं ररक्ष ॥[३५॥*] यस्यांगमाचजयिनः प्रियसाहसस्य
 आपानवेपफलमेव व^{१३}भू[व*] सौन्व^{१४}मुक्तवो व^{१५} सर्वभुवनेश्वरमादिदे-

Second Plate: Second side.

- 38 वं नावन्दतान्वममरेष्वपि यो ममरेष्वपि यो^{१६} मनस्वी ॥[३६॥*] श्रीकर्षराज
 इति रचिरा^{१७}तराज्यभारम्भारकुलस्य तनयो नयशाक्षिसौ^{१८}ख्यः [१*] तस्या-
- 39 भवद्विभ[व*]नन्दितव^{१९}श्रुमार्थः प्रा^{२०}थः सदैव धनुषि प्रथमो^{२१}ग्राचीनां ॥[३७॥*]
 दानेन मानेन सदाश्रया^{२२}वा श्री^{२३}ख्येण वीर्येण च कोपि भूपः [१*]
 एतेन साम्योस्ति
- 40 न वेति कीर्त्तिस्त्रकौतुका भ्याम्यति यस्य लोके ॥[३८॥*] श्री^{२४}(स्त्रे)च्छाष्टहीत-
 विषया[न*] दृढमहभाजः प्रोदृत्तदृष्टतरा^{२५}क्लि^{२६}तरादृक्कटानु^{२७}त्स्नातस्त्र^{२८}इतिज-
- 41 बाहुवलेन^{२९} जित्वा योमोघवर्षमचिरात्स्वपदे व्यधत्त ॥[३९॥*] तेनदमनिलविदु-
 चंचलमालोक्य जीवितमभारं [१*] क्षितिदानपरमपुण्य^{३०}<प्रवर्त्तितो व-

^१ Read "कृष्णिप्रपुत्रे."

^२ The usual spelling of this king's name is श्री.

^३ Read "मनमोद".

^४ This letter ल is superfluous.

^५ ण was first omitted; it was subsequently written below the line under the preceding letter ण between two vertical lines.

^६ Read "क".

^७ Read "निद".

^८ Read "निकरा". A letter first written below नि has been subsequently crossed out.

^९ Read "हीत".

^{१०} Read "दास".

^{११} Read "मण्ड".

^{१२} Read "मण्ड".

^{१३} Read "सैवम्" । सुवृत्त.

^{१४} Read "व".

^{१५} Letters ममरेष्वपि श्री are repeated by mistake.

^{१६} This letter र is superfluous.

^{१७} Read "श्रीदे".

^{१८} Read "कम्".

^{१९} Read "दास".

^{२०} Read "वर्षम्".

^{२१} वा is written below the line under वा which was originally written after व by mistake but was subsequently crossed out.

^{२२} Read "श्रीदेव". The letter दे is written below the line between श्री and व. ^{२३} Read "स्त्रे".

^{२४} Read "क्लि".

^{२५} Read "कटान्" । अक्षरात्.

^{२६} The engraver had first inscribed वा, but the medial वा stroke was subsequently crossed out.

^{२७} Read "मण्डलम्".

- 42 सोदायोयम् । [४०१*] स च समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहासामन्ताधिपतिरुदय-
वर्यशो[क*] इराजदेवकुशलो सर्वानिव यथामवध्यमानानादृपति-
43 त्रिवशायपतियामपतियामकुटवृत्तानियुक्तवासावकाधिकारिका'रिक्महत्तरादो'कान्
समनुदर्शयन्वस्तु वस्तुविदितं यथा मया श्रीशङ्करातट-
44 स्वावासितविजयस्कन्धावारस्थितेन मातापितृरात्मनश्चैत्रिकामुक्तिकपुण्यशोभिद्वये
श्रीनागसारिकाक्षतलमन्त्रिविष्टाहं चैत्थान[या*] यतननि[वद*]
45 सम्ब'पुरा'भ्यमण्डितवसतिजायाः खण्डस्फुटितनवकर्मचक्रवर्ति'दानपूजार्थे'नक्षत्रा तद्वा¹¹
तिव'ध्वमानचातुष्टयमूलसंघोदयान्वयसेन-
46 मेन'संचमल'वादि'गुरोश्चिथश्रीशुमतिपूज्यपादः¹² तच्चिथश्रीमदपराजितगुरोः¹³
श्रीनागसारिकाप्रतिव'द्वयस्वापाटकशामस्य¹⁴ उत्तरदिग्मि
47 हिरण्ययोगाभिधाना¹⁵ द्वापुवापी यस्या¹⁶ घाटनानि पूर्वतः श्रीधरवापिका दक्षिणतो
वहः¹⁷ अपरतः पूरावी महानदी¹⁸ उत्तरतस्त्व'पुर-
48 वापिका¹⁹ । [१*] एवमिव चतुरावाटोपलक्षिता सधान्यहिरण्यदेया²⁰ अचाटभटप्रवे-
य्य²¹ सर्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयः²² आच-
49 न्द्राहोर्णवर्जितमरिपव्यंतसमकालीनः²³ शिथपु'शिथान्वयक्रमोपमो²⁴ पभोस्यः²⁵ शकृत्प-
कालातीतसंवत्सरगतेशु समसु चिचत्वारिंशद-
50 धिकेषु²⁶ तीतेषु वैशाखपोर्णमास्या स्यात्त्वोदकातिसमयेण प्रतिपादि'तोस्यो'चितया²⁷
आचार्यस्थित्या भुंजतो भोजयतर्क्यतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदि-

* Read 'शब्द'.

* Read 'समस्य'.

* This letter *दा* is superfluous.* The letters *कारि* are wrongly repeated.

* Read 'दिकान्'.

* What looks like a second slanting stroke to the left of *कु* is a natural crack on the surface of the plate.* Letters *हृष्य* are initials in the plate as its surface is corroded at this place, but the proposed reading is certain, since *Sambhupura* is mentioned below in l. 47 among the boundaries.* After *२१* there is a clear *śikha*, but the omitted letters, if any, are nowhere supplied, neither below the line nor at the bottom of the plate. The text, as it stands, is fairly intelligible; there may have been no real omission, the *śikha* being a mistake.

* Read 'वर्ति'.

* Read 'पूजाय'.

* *सु* is wrongly repeated.

* Read 'निवस्त'.

* The word *हृष्य* is wrongly repeated.

* Read 'नक्ष'.

* The letter *दि* is slightly doubtful in the impression, but fairly clear in the original.

* Read 'पादपूज्यपाद'.

* Read 'गुरो'.

* Read 'श्रीशाम'.

* Read 'दासकी'.

* Read 'शामा'.

* Read 'वशा वाता'.

* Read 'दक्षिणत'.

* Read 'चतुराव'.

* Read 'स्य'.

* Read 'वापिका'.

* Read 'इवावाट'.

* Read 'प्रवेय्य'.

* Read 'श्रीवाचम'.

* Read 'जातीय'.

* Read 'सिथ'.

* The letters *श्रीप* are wrongly repeated.

* Read 'भोस्य'.

* Read 'सतीतेषु'.

* Read 'पादिना । अथा उचित'.

* वाचाव

- 51 शतो वा न केनचिपरिपन्थना करणीया¹ ॥ तवागामिनृपतिमिरस्म² हशैरस्मै³ र्वा
सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमवेत्य विद्युन्नोलान्यनित्यान्वैष्य-
52 र्थाणि वृणाप्रलम्बचंचलम्⁴ विन्दु⁵ चंचलं च जीवितमाकलय स्वदायनिर्विषेपोयम-
नुमन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्च [॥*] यथाज्ञानतिमिरपटलादृत-
53 तमतिराच्छिन्धादाच्छिद्यमानकं वानुमोदेत स पं⁶ च⁷ भिन्नाहापातकैरुपपातकैश्च
संयुक्तस्यादित्युक्तं च भग⁸ व⁹ ता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [॥*] यष्टिं वर्षस-
54 हस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [॥*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्मेव नरके
वसेत् ॥[४१॥*] विन्ध्याटवीश्वतोयासु शृङ्गकोटरवामिनः [॥*] कृष्णाहयो
हि जायन्ते
55 भूमिदानं हरन्ति ये ॥[४२॥*] सर्वेषामिव दानानामिकज¹⁰ आनुगं फलं [॥*]
हाटकचितिगौरीणां नैकजन्मात्मकं फलं ॥[४३॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यज्जाद-

Third Plate: First side.

- 56 च नराधिप [॥*] महीशमहिमता¹¹ चैष्ठ दानाच्छेयोनुपालनं ॥[४४॥*]
व¹² हु¹³ भि¹⁴ र्ज्वंसुधा भुक्ता राजभिष्मकरादिभिः [॥*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्थ-
[तस्थ¹⁵] तदा फलं ॥[४५॥*] अग्नेरपत्यं
57 प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्ज्वंशावी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः [॥*] लोकचयं तेन भवेदि
दत्तं यज्ञाच्चनं गाश्च मर्षी च दद्यात् ॥[४६॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा
नरेन्द्रेहानि धर्मा-
58 र्थयश्च¹⁶ (ग)स्कराणि [॥*] निर्मात्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम माहु¹⁷ <पु-
नराददोत ॥[४७॥*] इति कमलदलाम्बुविन्दु¹⁸ लोलां त्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्य-
जीवितश्च [॥*] अति-
59 विमलमनोभिरात्मनीनैर्¹⁹ हि पुरुषै²⁰ <परकीर्त्तयो विलीप्याः ॥[४८॥*] यदा
चैतदेयं तदा माशन²¹ दाता लिपिभ्रस्व²² हस्तेन समतमारोपयति ॥ स्वहस्तोयं
मम श्री²³ कर्कराजस्य श्रीमदि-

¹ करणी was first engraved, but it was unnecessarily changed later into करणीया by crossing out the medial क mark of कर and the following णी and adding the letters णीया.

² Read "हस्ते".

³ Read "हस्ते".

⁴ Read लम्ब for लंचलम्.

⁵ Read विन्दु.

⁶ This स is superfluous.

⁷ Originally पं was engraved, but the medial प mark was subsequently crossed out.

⁸ Read व⁹.

⁹ Read "वरा".

¹⁰ Read "आनुविन्दु".

¹¹ Read "हस्ते".

¹² Read माहुः. A līkṣapada after हु¹³ draws attention to the words माहुःदाता, omitted while engraving the line, but written later at the bottom of the record between two līkṣapadas.

¹³ A līkṣapada above स¹⁴ draws attention to the letters हस्तेन स, omitted while engraving the line, but written later at the bottom of the record after the word हस्तेनदाता between two līkṣapadas.

¹⁴ A līkṣapada above श्री draws attention to the letter श्री, omitted while engraving the line, but written later below the line between स and श्री.

- 60 मन्त्राजसुतस्य ॥ लिखितं चैतन्याया मन्त्रामभिविग्रहाधिपतिना नारायणेन
कुलपुत्रकचीदुर्ममदृष्टनुना ॥ जीवावुरितविदेयो मोक्षनं सि-
61 त्वाशनं [1*] ददन्ममतामैलानां मन्देन कृत्तिमायते ॥[४८९*] जयति विनीतो
भस्मोप्यङ्गीविनिकायवक्त्रलो नित्यं । वृद्धामणिरिव लो[३*]
62 विभाति यस्मिन्मन्त्रोपायम् ॥[४९०*]

TRANSLATION.

NOTE.—Vv. 2-21, 23, 24 and 26-38 have been translated by Mr. (now Dr.) D. R. Bhandarkar in *J. B. R. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 142 ff., while editing the Nasik plates of the present donor. The first two lines of v. 35, which he has declared to be unintelligible continue to be so to me as well. Vv. 39 and 40 have been translated by Hultsch in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 301-2.

V. 1. Victorious is the gracious gospel propounded by the best of Jinas, which is a perpetual abode of prosperity, which is clear in its entirety, which is based upon the (seven) metaphysical viewpoints (*Nayas*), which prohibits (*restrains to*) evil ways and which brings about beatitude to one with a controlled mind.

V. 22. Whose (Dhruva's) glory, resembling in colour a mass of lunar rays, is sung with song by swarms of Vidyādhara damsels seated on the top of the divine (i.e. *Mero*) mountain.

V. 25. Who (i.e. Dhruva) alone here (in this world) appeared as Parameśvara (i. supreme ruler; i. god Śiva;) since he had made his own the paraphernalia and glory of Vṛshabhaka (i. a king named Śiva;* or ii. who had appropriated to himself the high bull banner and *paṇas*); since he was accustomed to take proper care of (or furnish) his strong and towering forts; (or ii. since he was in the habit of decorating (his consort) Durgā who is the very essence of the most magnanimous;) and since his fame had increased by the imprisonment of a son of the Gāṅga family or by the obstruction of the flowing current of the Ganges (by his arrows) (or ii. who had increased his fame by interrupting the continuous flow of the Ganges) (when it was lost in his matted hair).

Ll. 42-48. And now that king Ari-Karkharāja alias Suvarṇavaraha who has acquired (the right to the use of) all the (see) musical instruments¹ and who is the chief of great fortifications, notifies, while in good health, to all the provincial governors (*Rāṣṭrapati*), district officers (*Pāṭhakapati*), village land-lords² (*Grāmapati*), village headmen (*Grāmakūṭa*), revenue clerks and their subordinates³ (*Yukta* and *Niyukta*), the officers among the village elders⁴ (who were the descendants of) the (original) colonisers⁵ (of the villages) (*Vāśīkamaṣṭhātārādhipātayas*) and other officers concerned:

¹ Read *śṛṅṅga*.

² This refers to the famous *Sapta-bhūpi-naya* doctrine of Jainism which is a peculiar feature of its philosophy.

³ There seems to be an allusion here to the annexation of Gaṅgarājya whose ruler's name was Śivamāra. It is also possible that this adjective may refer to the use by the Hindusthanis of the image of seated Śiva as their *Māhātma*, but then it would not be particularly appropriate for Dhruva.

⁴ These five instruments were *śṛṅga*, *ṭāṭka*, *ṭāṭṛi*, *jaya-gāṇṇā* and *tanuṇṇa*. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 96.

⁵ Since both *grāmapatis* and *grāmakūṭas* are mentioned, it is clear that one of these terms, probably the former, is to be understood as referring to village land-lords.

⁶ Since these officers are mentioned after the village headmen and before the village elders, it is likely that they may denote the village accountant and his assistant.

⁷ For the interpretation of *Mohataya* as a member of the village council, see Allcher, *History of the Village Communities in Western India*, pp. 50-21.

⁸ The expression *śāstṛas* is obscure; it occurs again in the grant of Dantivarman. (*Ind. Vol. VI, p. 224*) The meaning suggested is only tentative.

Let it be known to you that for the enhancement of the fame and religious merit of myself and my parents was given by me,—while staying in the victorious camp on the bank of the holy Vañkikā,—(the field) called Hiraṇyayāgā (irrigated by) the well of Dhāhna,¹ situated to the north of the village Ambāpāṭaka, attached to Śrī-Nāgaśrīkā whose boundaries (are as follows):—to the east (the field watered by) the well of Śrīdhara, to the south a stream, to the west the great river Pūrāvi, and to the north the (public) well of Saṃtapura;—to the glorious preceptor Aparājita, the disciple of revered Śrī-Sumati, who was the disciple of Mallavādīn (belonging to) Sāma-saṅgha, a branch of the fourfold Mūla-saṅgha, for the purpose of (daily) worship, cooked rice offerings,² and the repairs and renovation of the monastery (saṃsthā), which is an ornament of Saṃtapura and is attached to the temple of Arhat, situated within the boundaries of Śrī-Nāgaśrīkā.

Ll. 48-53. This (field), as determined by its boundaries, has thus been given (by me) with the discharge of water, after having bathed, on the full moon day of Vaiśākha, when seven centuries increased by forty-three (years) had elapsed according to the era of the Śaka king, to be enjoyed by successive disciples as long as the sun, the earth, the oceans, the rivers and the mountains endure, along with the right to receive the revenues in corn and gold, exempt from (the exactions levied at) the entry of the irregular and regular soldiers, and interference from all the royal officers. While this field is being enjoyed or caused to be enjoyed, tilled or caused to be tilled or assigned (by the donor or his successors while) leading the life proper for a (Jaina) preceptor, nobody whatsoever is to cause any hindrance. Similarly this gift should be confirmed and protected as in no way different from their own donations by future kings, whether our descendants or not, realising that prosperity is as ephemeral as the lightning and remembering that the religious merit of the gift of land is common (to all the rulers ruling for the time being) and that the life is as unstable as a drop on the edge of (a blade of) grass. Whoever, owing to the clouding of his mind by the cover of darkness of ignorance would snatch away or consent to (this grant) being snatched away would incur the five great sins as also the (few) subsidiary ones. And it has been observed by the divine Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vedas—

(Here follow the usual imprecatory verses.)

Ll. 59-62. The donor who has seen (the contents of) this document³ writes in his own handwriting his opinion that this (engraving) is in accordance with (the charter originally granted). This is my own sign-manual, of Śrī-Karkkarāja, son of Indrarāja. This (charter) was drafted by me, Nārāyaṇa, the son of Durgabhaṭṭa, of noble extraction, the principal foreign minister.

V. 49. May the system of Jina, which hates evil and which is as efficacious as the thunder bolt in destroying the mountains, (in the form) of other theories, be (ever) successful.

V. 50. Victorious is the Dharma preached by Jina, ever compassionate to the six classes of animate beings and which shines in this world as the crest-jewel of all other religions.

¹ In Gujarat, fields are often known after the name of the wells irrigating them. The well by which this field was irrigated was apparently constructed by an individual named Dhāhna.

² Charuḥ is enjoined in Hinduism, but not in Jainism. The inclusion of this phrase in the present record is due to the absentmindedness of the drafter, who, accustomed to include this expression in Brahmanical grants where it was appropriate, allowed it to remain in the present grant also, forgetting that it was in favour of a Jain establishment.

³ This sentence is rather enigmatical. If the reading were to be amended as Śāmaśāstī-viśiṣṭa the translation would be 'The (principal) writer (in the secretariat office) of the donor certifies that . . .'

No. 23.—THE CHANDRĀHE INSCRIPTION OF PRABODHASIVA : THE KALACHURI
YEAR 724.

BY THE LATE MR. R. D. BAKERJI, M.A.

The inscription which is edited below was discovered by the late Mr. Baglar, one of the Assistants of the late Sir A. Cunningham, at Chandrāhi or Chandrāhe,¹ a small village near the banks of the Sōna close to its confluence with the Banā. It lies in lat. 81° 33' E and long. 24° 18' N (Rewah Topographical Survey Sheet No. 291 of 1877). The village is situated in the State of Rewah in Baghelkhand Agency of Central India and is noted for the existence of ancient ruins, two buildings among which are still standing, viz., a temple of Śiva and a fine Śaiva monastery.²

The inscription which has already been noticed by Kielhorn³ is incised on two slabs of stone of the same size which are let into the back-wall of the front verandah of the monastery, one on each side of the main door. Altogether there are twenty-seven lines of writing which are unequally divided, the first slab, marked A in the text below, bearing fourteen lines and the second, marked B, thirteen. The inscribed surface is a sunken panel with a plain border, which is on the whole in a very good state of preservation. Except for a few stray letters the writing is clearly legible.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and with the exception of the invocation at the beginning and the second half of the concluding line, which are in prose, the whole of the record is in verse. It has been carefully incised and mistakes are very few, e.g., *śaśad* for *śaśad* (l. 12) and *-charaṣ-ṣajagati* for *-charaṣ-jagati* (l. 16). As regards orthography the following peculiarities may be noticed: *ṇ* is used for *anusvāra* in *kaṇa* (l. 2) and *dhama* (l. 18); consonants with a superscript or subscript *r* have not always been doubled, e.g., *r-muni* (l. 10), *kāya* (l. 14), *guru-guru* (l. 23), *śāra* (l. 13), *mahārā* (l. 18), etc.

The characters belong to the Northern variety of the Indian alphabet of the 10th century A.D. and bear great resemblance to the Bīhārī Inscription of the Kalachuri Yuvarājadeva III. The principal peculiarities of this alphabet are the presence of two acute-angled triangles in the lower part of *kh*, cf. *kikhi* (l. 1), the looped form of *th* where the loop is not yet open, cf. *tathā* (l. 1) and the angle at the back of *d*; cf. *amāhōdā* (l. 1). There is no acute angle in the lower part of *p* or at the bottom of *v*, *m*, and *y*. Two different forms of *pā* have been used, cf. *phāsi* (l. 1) and *spāsi* (l. 2). *R* is wedge-shaped and one loop of *l* is longer than the other.

The object of the inscription is to record the erection of a monastery (*maṭha*) and the excavation of a tank and a well by a Śaiva ascetic named Prabōdhasiva who also repaired and re-excavated a well formerly caused to be excavated by his preceptor Prāsāntasiva. This inscription and the Gurgi inscription of Prabōdhasiva provide us with the spiritual genealogy of the Rewah branch of the ascetics of the Mattamayūra clan whose full genealogy has been discussed elsewhere.⁴

The present record throws light on the date of erection of the temple of Śiva at Chandrāhe which was the first specimen of its kind to be discovered. We learn from verse 17 that Prabōdhasiva built a monastery close to the temple erected by his spiritual preceptor Prāsāntasiva (vv. 21-22). Therefore the temple of Śiva which stands within a few yards of the entrance to the monastery must be the temple erected by Prāsāntasiva. According to the date given in this inscription the

¹ Cunningham, *A. S. I. R.*, Vols. XII, pp. 6 ff. and XIX, pp. 90 f.

² *P. E. A. S.*, W. C., 1921, p. 53.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 85, No. 11 and above Vol. I, p. 354, footnote 1.

⁴ The *Baṭhagās of Tripurī and their Monuments* by R. D. Bakerji (*Memoirs of the Arch. Surv. of India*, No. 23, chapter IV, pp. 110-2).

monastery itself was built or completed in the Kalachuri Chādi year 724 (= 973-3 A.D.). Thus Prāsāntasiṃha's temple must have been constructed in the earlier part of the tenth century. The date of another ruin near Chandréhe is also fixed by this inscription. From verse 7 we learn that Prāsāntasiṃha had built another *śrāma* near the confluence of the Śōṇa at the foot of the Bhramara hill. The place is still called Bhramatsen and is referred to by Beglar.¹

The date is given in the last line as [Kalachuri] Samvat 724 Phālguna śudi 5. For want of further particulars it is not possible to verify the exact date but it would roughly correspond to March 973 A.D. The *prāsasti* was composed by the poet Dharmasāṭa, son of Jōka and grandson of Māhuka. It was written by Dāmōdara, son of Lakṣmīdhara and younger brother of Vāsudāya and was engraved by Nilakaṭṭha at the command of *sūtradhāra* Sūraka.

I edit this inscription from the original in the monastery at Chandréhe which I visited twice with the help of Rai Bahadur B. N. Zutali, President, and Rai Bahadur Pandit Janki Prasad, M.A., LL.B., Home Member, of the Council of Regency, Rewah State.

TEXT.

[Metres : vv. 1, 12 and 13 *Śikharīṇī*; v. 2 *Mandākrāntā*; vv. 3, 4 and 8 *Sardūlanikrīḍita*; vv. 5-7, 9-11 and 18 *Prithvī*; vv. 14, 16 and 19 *Harīṇī*; vv. 15 and 17 *Vamśatīlaka*; v. 20 *Anuśṭubh*.]

A.

- 1 Ōm namaḥ Śivāya || Phaṇi-śvāsa-śyāms̄ avanad-āmara-nady-ambhasi cha yaj-jatā-jūṭ-āmbhōḍe nayana-śikhi-vidyud-vilasati | tathā chōḍā-chandra-dyuti-
- 2 nikara-dhār-śva kakubham kapāllānām mālā tulayati sa Sarvṇo vijayate || [1]*
Hansa-śyāni hasita-mahasān̄ sathhatā-Śaṅkaraaya sphāṭi-bhūtā vadanam-abbhite
- 3 nāga-charuṃ-āvṛitasya | kiñchit-kaṇṭha-cheḥhavi-kalushitā mōḥa-nirvan-mṛigāśka-
cheḥhāvān̄ avacheḥhām̄ sapadi dadhati sampadam̄ vō dadātu || [2]* Chāṭi-sam-
charaṇa-pravīṇa-charaṇa-vyā-
- 4 pāraṇā-ghūṛṇṇita-kaḥḥa-kunḍa-namat-phap-āvara-phagat̄ vidrāga-dig-vāraṇat̄ | dōr-
ḍḍaṇḍa-bhramasāḍ-akāṇḍa-chaḥḥita-brahmāṇḍa-khaṇḍat̄ mudā bhūyād-ṇo niviḍa-
- 5 kvaṇaḍ-ḍamarukam̄ Chāṇḍi-patā-tāḍavam || [3]* Śrīman-Mattamayāra-santatir-
tyam̄ Garuḍ-śva lōka-tṛayam̄ pūyād-yatra Purandarap̄ kṛita-tapā jajōḥ
gurut-bhūbbujam̄ | śaḥyasa-ta-
- 6 sya Śukhasivap̄ śikhi-samō-vi(bi)bhṛat-tapat-tējaś dipatvam̄ vinipātā-ānḍa-tamasō
nirvāṇa-mūṛggē sthitap̄ || [4]* Tatō Madhūmatī-patēḥ kṛita-mahā-tapa-
- 7 sa-sāchayap̄ Prabhāvasiva ity-ābhūt-sakala-śaiva-chōḍāmaṇḍi | anēka-ṇṇipa-vanditap̄
sa Yuvarājadēvāna yas-tapā-dhana-patīḥ kṛita-charaṇa-pāta-gō-lagnikap̄ || [5]*
- 8 Prāsāntasiṃha-chandramas-tad-anu tasya śaḥyō-bhavat-tamaḥ-premathan-ōḍyama-pra-
kaṭita-avarūpap̄ śuchip̄ | va(ba)bhāra guṇāṇu śriyam̄ kumada-kalpa-śaivāṇu yaḥ
samujala-
- 9 yaḥap̄-prabhā-dhavalis-ākḥil-śaś-mukhap̄ || [6]* Sa Śōṇa-nada-saṅgamō Bhramara-
śaila-mūlē-tulat̄ priyāla-vana-saṅkul[ā] phala-mṛigāla-kand-āsanap̄ | chakā-
- 10 sa viditām̄ janat̄-muni-sakhap̄ prāsānt-āramam̄ ava-pāda-pada-patiktibhīḥ pavita-
bhūtālō yaḥ kṛit || [7]* Dēv-ōḍyāna-gat-ēndra-sathadi mudā gandharva-
vidyādhara-

¹ Cunningham, A. S. I. E., Vol. XIII, pp. 14 f.

² Read *śaśa*.

ॐ नमः शिवाय ॥ इति श्रीमहादेवस्य सप्तमः स्कन्धः ॥ अथ श्रीमहादेवस्य सप्तमः स्कन्धः ॥
१ त्रिकरः सारवकः कर्तुं कृपायाः साक्षात्कृत्य त्रिपदां विजयते ॥ दशरथो दयितुं मदसां मदति सुदूरं सुदूरं रोदता वरुणमदितां
२ काशरः सारवकः कर्तुं कृपायाः साक्षात्कृत्य त्रिपदां विजयते ॥ दशरथो दयितुं मदसां मदति सुदूरं सुदूरं रोदता वरुणमदितां
४ पारणाः सारवकः कर्तुं कृपायाः साक्षात्कृत्य त्रिपदां विजयते ॥ दशरथो दयितुं मदसां मदति सुदूरं सुदूरं रोदता वरुणमदितां
६ कृपायाः सारवकः कर्तुं कृपायाः साक्षात्कृत्य त्रिपदां विजयते ॥ दशरथो दयितुं मदसां मदति सुदूरं सुदूरं रोदता वरुणमदितां
८ याराः सारवकः कर्तुं कृपायाः साक्षात्कृत्य त्रिपदां विजयते ॥ दशरथो दयितुं मदसां मदति सुदूरं सुदूरं रोदता वरुणमदितां
१० रविदितं कर्तुं कृपायाः साक्षात्कृत्य त्रिपदां विजयते ॥ दशरथो दयितुं मदसां मदति सुदूरं सुदूरं रोदता वरुणमदितां
१२ पारणाः सारवकः कर्तुं कृपायाः साक्षात्कृत्य त्रिपदां विजयते ॥ दशरथो दयितुं मदसां मदति सुदूरं सुदूरं रोदता वरुणमदितां
१४ सुदूरं सुदूरं रोदता वरुणमदितां

[illegible]

TRANSLATION.

Verse 1. Oh! Adoration to **Siva**. Victorious is that **Siva** (**Sarvva**) in whose piles of matted hair, (*being like*) a cloud and in the hushing waters of the divine river (**Ganges**), dark with the hissing of snakes (*on Siva's body*), flashes the lightning (*in the form*) of the fire of (*his third*) eye and whose garland of human skulls elevates all quarters even as the shower of the collected effulgences of the moon on (*his*) crest.

V. 2. May the mass of lustre of the **hush** of **Satvaka** clad in an elephant skin which is as white as the goose which is spread around his face and which is slightly darkened by the reflection of his (*dark or blue*) neck (*and*) which (*therefore*) bears the clear splendour of the moon's emerging from a cloud, bring you prosperity.

V. 3. May the **Tāṇḍava** dance of the lovely **Chandī** (*i.e.*, **Siva**) give you pleasure, which caused the hood of the lord of the snakes (*viz.*, **Viṣṇu**) to be bent down owing to the hollow on the earth revolving on account of the movements of the feet (*of Siva*) skilled in practising the **chālī** step (*in dancing*), which (*dance*) put to flight the elephants of the cardinal points on account of the revolutions of his rodlike arms, which (*dance*) *even* suddenly caused commotion in parts of the universe (*and*) which (*note accompanied by the*) sound of the **ḍamaru**.

V. 4. May the uninterrupted succession of the virtuous **Mattamayōra** (*elen*) purify the three worlds, like the **Ganges**, in which (*elen*) was born **Parandara**, who had performed austerities (**tapas**) and who was the spiritual preceptor of kings. His disciple (*was*) **Śikhāśiva** (*who was*) like the fire, (*and*) who through the heat of his austerities became a lamp (*lit.* bore the qualities of a lamp) illuminating (*lit.* standing on) the path of final beatitude and having destroyed the intense darkness (*of ignorance*).

V. 5. After him (*who was*) lord of **Madhuvati** came **Prabhāvasiva** who had accumulated great austerities (*to his credit*), who was worshipped by many kings, who was the great-jewel of all **Saivas** (*and who*) was made to accept the **ash**, sanctified by his feet (*i.e.*, was induced to settle in his territory by free gifts of land, etc.,) by **Ivarājadēva**.

V. 6. Thereafter came his disciple **Prāntāsiva**, (*who like*) the moon, (*was*) pure, whose real self was manifested in his attempt, dispel ignorance (*or darkness*), who whitened all the quarters with the rays of his bright forehead who bestowed prosperity on the meritorious **Saivas**, as the moon bestows splendour on the stars night lotuses.

V. 7. He, the virtuous, whose lodes fruits, the stalk of the lotus and (*subtle*) bulb, who had the **Muni**s as his companions, and so had sanctified the face of earth by his footsteps, built an incomparable hermitage, well-known to the people, at the confluence of the river **Sōṇa** and at the foot of the **Bhramara** hill covered in dense forest of **Priyāla** trees.*

V. 8. Whose fame was incessant with delight in every (*month of*) **Māgha**² in a high tone by **Ganāharva**s and **Vidyādēvi**s, in the assembly of **Indra** in the celestial garden and by **Nandin**, who for the pleasure of **Śiv** directed his attention to instrumental music, (*to enable the God to hear his devotees' songs*) (*id. by*), the charioteer of the sun who loosing his head (*from one side to the other*) in an ecstatic rapt let the reins of the horses slide from his hands.

V. 9. **Prabodhasiva**, the foremost among all his (**Prāntāsiva's**) disciples, just as **Parasurāma** was of the ego of **Madana** (*i.e.*, **Siva**), who had conquered all enemies, who had

* [Apparently the moon with slight dark spot on its surface is likened to the splendour of the hush, while the cloud in the vicinity has counterpart in the elephant skin—Ed.]

² *Bachannāma* *Lat. Gāthā*.

³ [This month being the commencement of the **Siva-rātri** festival is particularly sacred to **Siva**—Ed.]

placed the earth under obligation by bestowing riches on the qualified (and) who had adorned the faces of the quarters by his fame.

V. 10. Who betimes, was like Kumāra (i.e., Kārtika), whose one hand was manifested in pouring libations on high tongues of fire (as Kumāra one hand was engaged in pacifying his fierce peacock), who had always abjured the company of women; who had shown the effect of his own power (or weapons) on exalted kings (or high mountains), who was devoted to (Śiva), the enemy of the mind-born (i.e., Kāma) (as Kumāra is the favourite of Śiva) and who had performed (all) the duties towards the gods (just as Śaśura carried out the daughter of the demon Tāraka, a duty imposed upon him by the gods).

B

V. 11. Who, after investigating all the scriptures acquired the knowledge of God through meditation and performance (of religious duties) as living on greens (śāka), roots of water plants (kūṭaka) and fruits such as amalaka, priyāla¹ as roots (mūla), caused the world to wonder by practising austerities, even in (his) boyhood the bank (lit. on the surface of land) washed by the river (Śoṇa), imitating his spiritual preceptor.

V. 12. Who, having obtained greatness and in a friendly manner (or as the sun) setting his auspicious foot on the heads of (world) kings (just as the sun, having reached high altitude emits his powerful rays on the peaks of mountains) (and) performed the duty of dispelling ignorance (or darkness), who was worshipped by all in peaceful undertakings (just as the sun is worshipped by all at the beginning of the rainy season). What more (to say)! He has pervaded the three worlds with his prowess (just as the sun spreads heat over the three worlds).

V. 13. Who, through the expedients of excavating, breaking and ramming masses of heavy stones built a wonderful way through mountains, through rivers and streams (as also) through forest and thickets, as Rāma (did) through the sea. The achievement of the great proclaims great wonder in the world.

V. 14. At night, this hermitage (āśrama) caused the people the semblance of lightning on account of the phosphorescence of plants (growing at it), resembling lightning, (that) of clouds on account of the (dark) bees flying at the sides of main peaks, (that of thunder) on account of roars of lions causing the skies to echo (and that of stars) on account of the air being cooled by the sprays of the waters of the Śoṇa.

V. 15. In this place herds of monkeys like the lions, the young one of a deer sucks at the breast of the lioness; so other (lower animals), to (natural) enemies, take leave of their antipathy; indeed, in forests devoted to austerities (that) of all become peaceful.

V. 16. Near the temple built by his preceptor, the Prabodhaśiva caused to be built this high and big monastery (matha) (which was white) his own fame, resembling the white clouds; he also caused to be excavated, close to the sin, a well with copious water and a tank, called the Sindhu.

V. 17. On account of his devotion for his preceptor caused to be deeply re-excavated (and re-built) with beautiful masonry of heavy stones, in which was excavated by Prabhāśiva, at this place, (but which) had become dilapidated out of (the passage of) time, and full of wood.

V. 18. There was a Dīkṣita named Mīhuka whose son known in the earth. He who was the foremost among good men, begot a son named Jata womb of Amarikā. To him was born the poet Dhāmsapa. He composed this praiseworthy composition.

¹ [The process of road-making described here is strikingly similar adopted by modern engineers in metalling roads and we may thus conclude that 'macadamizing' is known in Hindu India. The word *ṣṭy* must be taken to mean here 'crushing' or 'ramming' of metal and apparently survives in Hindi *ṣṭy* and Bengali *ṣṭy* = a rammer.—Ed.]

V. 19. Let this fame (*of this work*) last as long as the divine stream (i.e., Ganges) wandering through the mass of matted hair of Śiva, with its waters shattering over the rocks of Himādri (*the Himālayas*), whose billowing waves purify the earth, proceeds to the ocean (*lit. lord of rivers*) along the path (*shown by*) Bhagīratha.

V. 20. This *prastāvi* was written, in excellent letters, by the learned and famous Dāmōdara, who was the younger brother of Vāsudēva (*and*) the son of Lakṣmīdhara.

Inscribed by Nīlakaptha according to the orders of the (*master*) mason Sūrāka. The year 724, the 5th day of the bright half of Phālguna.

No. 24—THE NALA INSCRIPTION AT PODAGADH; 12TH YEAR.

By C. R. KRISHNAMACHARI, B.A., MADRAS.

The record edited below was discovered¹ in the spring of 1922 by the late Mr. G. Vankoba Rao, the then Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, and myself when we were touring in the Jeypore Agency of the Vizagapatam district, Madras Presidency. We had gone thither to examine the Telugu inscriptions at Kōṣṭakambēru² in the Malkangiri Agency, brought to the notice of the Department by F. G. Butler, Esq., I.C.S., the Assistant Agency Commissioner at Kōrāput, and the Nāgarī inscription at Doḍra,³ a village situated at a distance of about 10 miles from Podāgaḍh, reported by Mr. Burrows, the late Forest Officer, Jeypore, in the year 1916-17. Our attention was drawn to the inscription at Podāgaḍh by the Duffadar of the Umarkōḷ Thāpa office who accompanied us as our guide. It was no small surprise to us to be led at the end of our tedious journey to the slab bearing the inscription⁴ leaning against the natural rock at a height of 40 feet from the ground level. This was a veritable epigraphical oasis in the deserted and barren Agency tracts.

The approaches to the hill are thickly shaded by the tall teak trees of the forest. Within a furlong from the foot of the hill, as we approached it, we observed some *śaī* stones (nearly a dozen) lying scattered in a group which gave us hopes of some useful discovery. Not far from this spot was a ruined Śiva temple with fallen roof and dilapidating walls and entrance, with the Nandin (bull), Gaṇḍa and other associate minor sculptures lying about it. There was a well-watered pond also within a few yards of it embowered by a thick-set bamboo grove. All these associations brought home to us the impression, suggested by the discovery of the Nāgarī inscription at Doḍra, that the Agency tracts are now only a fallen country like the adjoining State of Bham. The provenance has been described at some length only with a view to indicate the extent of the decadence that has come over a country, which, judging from its few known inscriptions and monuments, once enjoyed a civilised and cultured life in the early centuries of the Christian Era. The Agency tract seems well worthy of a systematic study by scholars owing to the wealth of antiquarian and ethnographical material it contains, although it has now relapsed into primeval jungle.

¹ [Sewall in his *List of the Antiquarian Remains in the Madras Presidency*, Vol. 1 (p. 317) refers to an inscription on the rock in Devanagari characters at Podāgaḍa, which is possibly the same as the present inscription though his information, derived from local sources, appears to have been rather inaccurate. The stone doorway referred to in his account as being close to the inscription is probably the entrance to the ruined Vishnu temple referred to in verse 3 of the inscription.—Ed.]

² Nos. 286 and 287 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for the year 1922.

³ No. 282 of the same Collection.

⁴ No. 283 of 1922.

⁵ For the inscriptions of this State, see *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, p. 160; Vol. X, pp. 25 ff.; Vol. XII, p. 242; see also R. B. Hirral's *List of Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*.

The Podāgadh hill and village shown as 'Poragarh' in the *Imperial Gazetteer Atlas* (Vol. XXVI), Plate 42, lie on the north-western frontier of the Jeypore Agency bordering on the Bastar State. The way to the hill and the inscribed slab lie from the Nowrangpur side, through the village of Bhaṇḍārīgūḍa which is only a small cluster of insignificant huts. The inscription has been reviewed in the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for the year 1921-22, page 65, where a plate of the record has also been given.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit verse. The epigraph consists of twelve or possibly thirteen verses of which the first is a variety of the Āryā metre while the others excepting verse 9 (which is Vamśasthavilā) are Anuṣṭubh. The inscription begins with the expression "Siddham". Verse 1 contains a glorification of Hari in His aspect as the essence of victory. Verses 2 to 4 describe the recovery of the lost sovereignty by Prince [Skanda?]varman,¹ son of king Bhavadatta of the Nala family, and his repopulation of (the capital) Pushkari. Verses 5 and 6 record his foundation of a [pā]damūla or foot-print of Viṣṇu, for the worship of which he made the gift of a holding and of some money in the shape of *dhāra-dakṣiṇā* the proceeds of which were to be availed of for the feeding of Brahmans, ascetics and the destitute. In verse 7 the holding is made permanently tax-free in the name of the Puruṣa (Highest Being) and non-interferable by state officials. Verses 8 and 9 give (apparently) the warning of the sinfulness involved in the violation of the charity and the promise of salvation through the grace of (god) Vāśudēva, to those that conform to the good path of kings and maintain the donation. Verse 10 gives the date of the setting up of the inscribed monument, perhaps under the personal supervision of the prince, as the 27th day of the Mādhava (i.e., Vaiśākha) month in the 12th year. Since we have no materials to determine the exact date of the commencement of king Bhavadatta's² or his son's reign it is difficult to give the English equivalent of the date. We may, however, for the present, reasonably refer it to the 12th year from the date of accession of or the recovery of the lost crown by prince [Skanda]varman. Verse 11, which is partly damaged, mentions the General (*śāśapati*) Prithbhāgavate(I) who is described as devoted to his master. He was probably the executor of the charter like the *śāśapati* of the Eastern Chālukya and the *śāśapitrāhita* of the other copper-plate records. The writer of the record is said in verse 12 to be Jānturadāsa, the son of Chauli, and the engraver is probably the person mentioned last, viz., Viśvarūpa, son of Aja.

The characters of the inscription belong to the Southern type of alphabet and closely resemble those of the Tālagunda pillar inscription of Kākusthavarma³ which has been assigned by Professor Radhorn to the first half of the 6th century A.D.⁴ and those of the Mādāśa inscription of Kumāraguṇa of the Malava year 493.⁵ The comparatively more developed forms of the letters *ja*, *ka*, *gha*, *ba*, *wa* and *ga* and more ornamental signs of the secondary *i*, *ai* and *ya* employed in the Kadamba inscription, suggest an earlier date for our record. The *anuvāsa* is marked by a small round loop in the Tālagunda inscription while in our record it is denoted only by a point which also shows its earlier character. The record may therefore be assigned to the latter half of the 5th century A.D. The letter *ta* is written without the loop which is found in *sa*, as in the inscription referred to. The final *va* is denoted by a

¹ The name is much blurred in the stampage and I have given here only the most probable reading. But I do not feel quite certain of the correctness of the restoration.

² Bhavadatta of the present record can be tentatively identified with Bhavattavarman of the Bithapur plates. The suffix *varman* which is certainly applied to the son's name has been apparently dropped in the father's name owing to metrical difficulties. In the Bithapur plates the dropping of *da* of Bhavadatta is obviously a scribe's mistake.

³ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 34 and plate opposite page 32.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁵ *Ep. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. XI.

miniature was written after the previous letter and near its bottom, e.g., *siddham* in line 1, *Pushkarim* in line 4, etc. The *jāhāmūliya* is employed in one case, viz., in *jananyā-kṛitā* (l. 4). The *upadhmāniya* is employed in the compound words *pituh-pitāmaha* (l. 4), "*maḥ-pārthiva*" (l. 10) and *[bharta]ḥ-pri* (l. 13). The consonant following the *rēpha* is, in some cases¹, doubled as in almost all early records but aspirates² following it are left single. The consonant preceding the *rēpha* is also doubled in a few instances (e.g., *vikkrama* in l. 2; *vyatikramād-ya* in l. 10). The word *mukhya* is written as *mukkhya* (l. 2).

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it is the first stone record of the Nala dynasty hitherto discovered. The Nalas have been known directly only from the Rithapur³ copper-plates of Bhavattavarman and indirectly by the mention of their defeat by the early Chalukyas of the 6th and 7th centuries of the Christian Era. The Western Chalukya king Kirtivarman I (A.D. 567-597) claims to have destroyed them.⁴ He is also stated to have destroyed the residence (*vilāga*) of the Nalas. They are described as the traditional enemies of the Chalukyas⁵ at whose hands they suffered defeat like the Mauryas of the Kōṅkaṇ.

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar speaking of the family of Nalas defeated by Kirtivarman I remarks 'over what province it ruled we do not know'⁶. Dr. Fleet depending upon the mention of the Nalavādi-*viśaya* made in a copper-plate grant of the Western Chalukya king Vikramāditya I of about A.D. 657 thinks that there is a probable indication that the territory of the Nalas lay in the direction of the Bellary and Karnūl districts.⁷ The mention of the Nalas in the Aihole inscription may be taken to indicate that they were the enemies of the Chalukyas on the north-east while the Mauryas of Kōṅkaṇ and the Kadambas of Vaijayanti were their enemies on the north-west and the south-west respectively. The provenance of this inscription and of the Rithapur plates localizes them in the southern part of the Central Provinces and Berar including the Bastar State. On the extreme east the kingdom might have included the northern part of the Jeypore Agency (Vizagapatam district) from which our inscription comes.

The town Pushkarī mentioned in the inscription (probably the capital of the Nalas) cannot be identified.

TEXT.*

- 1 मिहम् ॥ हरिणा जितं जयति जेष्यतो[त्वे]षा गुणस्तुतिर्ब[हि मा] [1*]
ननु भगवा[निव]
- 2 जयो जेतव्यं चाधिजेता [च] ॥ [1*] श्रीनलान्वयमुक्यस्य विबुधवपित
द्विपः [1*]
- 3 नृपतेर्भयदत्तस्य सन्पुत्रेणान्वसंस्थिताम्⁸ ॥ [2*] भट्टामाकृत्य राजर्हि
- 4 गुह्यामावाप्त्य पुष्करीम् [1*] पितुःपितामहानात् जनन्याऽक्ति(क)तिना [ततः] [12*]

¹ *rēphaddha* (l. 3), *pārthiva* (l. 6), *arvaka* (l. 8), *vicarjika* (l. 8).

² *vripate*-*Bhavadataya* (l. 3) and *dharmadhatay* (l. 5); but cf. *pārthiva* in the above note.

³ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 190 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol. VI, p. 4.

⁵ Ep. Carn., Vol. XI, Devangere No. 1; Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p. 11.

⁶ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 181.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 282.

⁸ From inked stampages prepared by myself.

⁹ It is also possible to read as सन्पुत्रेणान्वसंस्थिताम्.

- 5 कृत्वा ध[र्मो]यनेभ्यागानि(मि)दमानकितैषिणा [1*] पादमूलं कृतं विष्णो [गङ्गा
यो[स्कन्दव]-
- 6 वीणा ॥ [8*] पूजार्थमस्य चैवेह मोदकभृदिच्छिन्नम् [1*] पुनराय
पुरं [द] . . .
- 7 कृतारका[म्]¹ ॥ [9*] सचोपभोज्य विमानां यतीनाञ्च विगेषतः[] [1*]
[दीनानाम]प्यनाद्यानां . . .
- 8 च सर्वेशः ॥ [4*] सप्रवेद्य भट्टेचेदं सदा करचिस्त्रिजितम् । यो[चक्रदो]-
नपुत्र[1*]य . . .
- 9 यद्योचित[म्]² ॥ [5*] स्थितिचेयं पुरो वडा धर्मो स्तम्भे निवे[मि]ता [1*]
यवेमां ज्ञापय[त्स]स्वामहापा[त]³ . . . [2*]
- 10 व्यतिक्रमेयो हि महीपते[ः] स्थिति[म्] कुलाधम[ः] पार्थिवकिल्बिषम्यवे[त्]⁴ [1*]
- 11 समन्विताद्यव [नरन्द]सत्पथम् स वासुदेवाच्च[य]मापूयाच्चिर[म्]⁵ ॥ [2*]
- 12 दादशेष्टे नरन्द्रेण माधवे मासि चोत्तमे [सप्तविंशे] दिने पुण्ये
- 13 स्तम्भोयं [गो]हितस्त्वयम् ॥ [10*] मोतिभागवते[मि]वम् भर्तु[ः]प्रिय[चा] . .
- 14 सेनापतिना कल्पिता मालिनेहास्यजुहिना ॥ [11*] . . .
- 15 निखितं [चो]लिखनुना भक्ता [जा]तुरदामिन [12*]
- 16 [चा]जेन विग्रहरूपेन[क] निर्गुणेन गुणैषिणा [12*]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1). Victory! The praise of (His) qualities (in) such (words) as "Hari was victorious, is victorious (and) will be victorious," is not that (i.e., appropriate). For, verily, the Divine (Hari) is himself the conquest, the object to be conquered and the conqueror."

(Vv. 2 to 4). This foot-print (or sanctuary)* was made by the illustrious king [Skanda]-varman, the noble son of king Bhavadatta—who was the foremost (son) of the glorious Nala family (and) repelled his enemies by his valour—(on) having reclaimed the lost royal prosperity which had fallen into other hands (or was unsettled) and having repopled the deserted (town of

¹ Read मारकम्. [There is no room for more than three letters at the end of the sixth line. The second half of the fifth verse may, therefore be possibly restored as पुरपाद पुर दमपावनकृतारकम् ॥—Ed.]

² [Read महीपतेयम्.—Ed.]

³ The Rithaper plates of Bharatavarman have the expression समुद्रपारेण ॥ ५०३ मन्वेकरप्रतिष्ठित (above, Vol. XIX, p. 103, ll. 12-13 of the text. Cf. also above, Vol. XI, p. 2, l. 9 of the text).

⁴ This might be restored as महापातकनष्टे.

⁵ [Read [हि]निर्माणनेवा.—Ed.]

⁶ [Reading is कल्याणमहि*. One pāda is apparently lost at the ends of the lines 14 and 15. The existing two pādas in l. 15 seem to be the second and first pādas respectively of an Aśvakaṭa half-verse.—Ed.]

⁷ Compare this statement with the description of Viṣṇu as "विष्णो पदम्" given in verse 16 of the Fikhar-sahasranama.

⁸ [The word pādama is evidently used here in the sense of a sanctuary; see above, Vol. XI, No. 19, p. 132.—Ed.]



Pushkari, with the hope of obtaining religious merit for his father, other ancestors and mother and desiring welfare for himself.

(Vv. 5 and 6). And for His worship in this (temple), with (libation of) water and with abundant *dakṣiṇā* a holding (*pura*)¹ for the Supreme Being (*Puruṣa*) to last as long as the Sun and the stars. The proceeds have to be used entirely for the (free) feeding in a *śra*tra of Brahmans, especially of ascetics, of the poor and of the destitute.....

(V. 7). This (holding) (shall remain) impenetrable to State servants and permanently tax-free to the son of the noble [Chakradrūpa]..... as may be suitable.

(V. 8). This order (of the king) was composed and recorded on the pillar in front (of the temple). Whoever causes damage to this (shall incur) great sin.

(V. 9). Whoever transgresses the order of the king, that low-born (one) will commit offence against the king; he who will conform to the good path followed by kings will for long find refuge in (god) Vāsudēva.

(V. 10). This pillar was caused to be planted by the king, personally, on the sacred twenty-seventh day in the excellent month of Mādhava (i.e., Vaiśākha) in the twelfth year (of his reign).

(V. 11). Thus was promulgated (the ordinance) on all sides (i.e., everywhere) by the General **Prītibhāgavata** (who was) devoted to his master (and it) was composed by **Mālin** of poor intellect (*alpabuddhi*).²

(Vv. 12 and 13). (The edict) has been written with devotion by **Jānturādāsa**, the son of [Chau]li,³ (and engraved!) by **Viśvarūpa**, the son of **Aja** (who is) devoid of qualities (and aspires for good qualities!).

No. 25—A NOTE ON TILAKWADA PLATES OF THE TIME OF PARAMARA BHOJADEVA OF V. S. 1103.

BY D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A., SATARA.

These plates were discovered in 1917 in **Tilakwādā**, a *peṭā mahāl* under **Sankhodā**, in the Baroda State, in the bed of the river **Narinadā** and are now preserved in the oriental section of the Baroda Central Library. They form the last two of the three plates which made up the complete grant. The late Mr. J. S. Kojālikar, M.A., Curator of Baroda State Libraries, exhibited them and read an article on them at the First Oriental Conference held in Poona in November 1919 which was subsequently published in its Proceedings,⁴ and again in his own Journal, now extinct, called *Library Miscellany*.⁵ The present note deals specially with the historical bearings of the plates.

The first of the extant two plates begins with the description of a sovereign named **Bhōjadēva**, who is said to have destroyed all the enemies by his great valour. His feudatory was **Sā(Sū)rāditya** born in the family of the *Śravanabhadras* and who had migrated from **Kānyakubja** (modern Kanauj). **Sā(Sū)rāditya** was helpful to **Bhōjadēva** in making his rule firm by slaughtering the (enemy) warriors in the battle with **Sāhavāhana** as well as the warriors of other princes. **Sūrāditya's** son was **Jasōrāja** who was enjoying **Saṅgamakhēṭamanḍala**.

¹ Though the word '*pura*' generally means a 'town' or a 'city', it appears in certain inscriptions to have a special reference to the tax-free lands possessed by temples or Brahmans. The latter are referred to in Kanarese inscriptions as '*Brahmapuri*' or '*Brahmapura*'; see *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Kader Nos. 10, 125; Vol. XI, Chitaldurg No. 12; and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 47; Vol. V, pp. 18, 22, 150; and Vol. VI, p. 202, Text l. 23. Dr. Kielhorn suggests that it might have been some establishment set up for Brahmans.

² This epithet as also *nirapekṣa* in the next line is prompted by modesty.

³ [Probably Chauli of this record is the same as Chauli, the writer of the Rithapur plates of Bhavattarman. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 103).—N. P. C.]

⁴ Vol. II, pp. 319 ff.

⁵ Vol. VI.

The charter records the grant by Jasrāja of the village **Vilābhaja** and one hundred (measures) of land in the village **Ghaṇṭāpalli** to a Śaiva ascetic **Dinakara** for the worship of **Ghaṇṭāśvara** (Śiva). The writer of the grant was **Schika**, son of the **Kāyastha** **Aiyala** of the **Vilābhya** family.

The inscription being incomplete gives us no clue as to the antecedents of king **Bhōjadēva**, whose feudatory issued the present grant. But there can be no doubt that **Bhōjadēva** mentioned here is the famous **Paramāra** king of the same name. The earliest date so far found for **Bhōja** is V. S. 1076 from the **Bānawārū** plates¹ and the latest is V. S. 1099.² The latest date of **Vākpati Muḍja** is V. S. 1050.³ He was succeeded by **Śindhurāja** and the latter by **Bhōja**, evidently, some time before V. S. 1076, the date of the **Bānawārū** plates. For **Bhōja**'s successor **Jayasthha**, we have V. S. 1112 as the earliest date in his **Māndhātā** plates.⁴ It is evident therefore that **Bhōja** died some time before V. S. 1112 and after V. S. 1099. If there is any truth in the popular tradition that **Bhōja** ruled for 55 years, we shall not be far from truth if we assign to **Bhōja**'s reign the approximate period from V. S. 1055 to V. S. 1110. The **Bhōjadēva** of the present record of V. S. 1103 must therefore be identical with the **Paramāra** **Bhōja**. The contemporary **Chaulukya** ruler of Northern **Gujarāt** was **Bhima I**, but his rule does not seem to have extended much to the south and east of his capital. In the **Lāṭja** country (**Surat** and **Broach** Districts) another **Chaulukya** family was ruling which did not acknowledge the power of the **Chaulukyas** of **Apahilapāṭaya** as may be seen from the **Surat** plates⁵ of **Kirtirāja** of Śaka 940 and of **Tribhuvanspāla** of Śaka 972. We know also that the **Paramāras** were not new to the province of **Gujarāt** in the time of **Bhōja**. For the two grants⁶ of the **Paramāra** **Śiyaka** of V. S. 1000 recently found at **Harsola** in **Ahmadābād** District and the incomplete grant⁷ of V. S. 1028 of the same king found in **Ahmadābād** show us that that part of **Gujarāt** at any rate was in the hands of the **Paramāras** during the time of **Śiyaka**.

At **Kajavapa** in the **Nāsik** District an undated grant⁸ of the time of **Bhōja** is found which leaves no doubt that **Bhōja**'s power was at this period acknowledged there. It moreover speaks of **Bhōja**'s defeating the kings of a number of countries including **Lāṭja** and **Gujarāt**. In the **Beṭmā** plates⁹ of **Bhōja** of V. S. 1076 the village granted may probably be located in **Gujarāt**. All these indications point to the fact that the **Paramāras** were connected with **Gujarāt**¹⁰ in the early days of the rise of their family and had gained influence over a considerable tract of country under king **Bhōja** in **Gujarāt** and elsewhere in its neighbourhood.

No account is given of **Sāhāvāhana** who was among other kings subdued by **Bhōjadēva** with the help of **Śārāditya**. **Sāhāvāhana** no doubt stands for the word **CAḤāmāna** as the change

¹ Above, Vol. XI, pp. 182 ff.

² From a MS. of *Rajapurāṇa*.

³ From a MS. of *Amṛtagaṇi's* *Saṁskṛtaśāstrasamgraha*.

⁴ Above, Vol. III, p. 48.

⁵ *Kishore's* List No. 354 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, Appendix and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 201.

⁶ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 241 ff.

⁷ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 178 ff.

⁸ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 71 ff. See also my note on the grant published in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. VII, p. 222. There is reason to believe that the date of this grant, which mentions a solar eclipse in the month of **Chaitra**, must be confined to V. S. 1102-1104 and was therefore nearest to the date of the present grant.

⁹ Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 322 ff.

¹⁰ In fact I am led to believe that the **Paramāras** had no footing in **Mālwa** before about V. S. 1027, a short time before **Śiyaka** attacked **Mānyakhṣa** as is known from the *Pāṇḍurāṣṭhān-Nāmasāli* of **Dhannpāla**, since the *Pratāpāditya* inscription of *Pratāpāditya* Mahēndrapāla of V. S. 1003 above that **Mālwa** was governed by a *Pratāpāditya*. See above, Vol. XIV, p. 177.

of *sa* to *sha* and *va* to *ma* is common. The Chāhamānas of Nāṣol were hereditary enemies of the Paramāras of Mīlwa; Chāhamāna Śōbhita, son of Lakshmaṇa is styled lord of Dhārā in an inscription¹ which showed that he had defeated Vakpati Muṣṣa, the king of Dhārā, and become for some time the lord of the city and the surrounding country. Śōbhita's son, Balirāja, again, is said to have routed the army of Muṣṣarāja.² Chāhamāna Anahilla of the same family is said to have slain Śādhā, a general of king Bhōja.³ To avenge this defeat and death of his *daṇḍāyāta* Bhōja might have waged a war with the Chāhamāna king and defeated him with the help of Śūrāditya of our inscription.

Though the actual construction in the record may be taken to denote that Śūrāditya of the Śravaṇabhadra family, whose son issued the present grant, had migrated from Kanaṇ, it is equally possible that the family of Śūrāditya had migrated from Kanaṇ at an earlier date. We know that the Pratihāras of Kanaṇ were sovereign lords of Gujārāt for some time as is evidenced by the Wadhvān plates of Mahipāla⁴ and the Unā plates of Mahēndrapāla.⁵ In their palmy days it is not surprising if some fortune seekers⁶ like the ancestor of Śūrāditya founded a principality in Gujārāt. The name Śravaṇabhadra of his family denotes that it was probably a Kshatriya family like the Uṣṭabhadra family of Śaka Uśavādā's Nāśik inscription.⁷

The reason why this grant, though it belongs to the time of the sovereign Bhōja, does not contain the usual relief⁸ of *Garuḍa* of the Paramāra family must no doubt be that the record was issued by a feudatory of Bhōja and that the latter had nothing in fact to do with the actual issuing of the grant. The Kalavaṇa plates also, issued by a local authority under a feudatory of Bhōja do not contain the usual *Garuḍa* and *snake* seal of the Paramāras.⁹ It must at the same time be noted that more space in the record is devoted towards the praise of the sovereign family than of the family of the actual donor of the grant.

The grant was issued on Monday, the Amāvāsyā (śmā-paraṇa) day of the month of Mārgaśīras in the year 1103 of Vikramāditya. The Christian equivalent of the date, as kindly calculated for me by Mr. K. N. Dikshit is most probably Monday, the 11th November 1045 A.D. taking the month as the *Pūrṇimā* and the year as a *Southern Vikrama Year*, which should be ordinarily prevalent in the locality in question.

No. 26—KHAROD INSCRIPTION OF RATNADEVA III—CHEDI SAMVAT 933.

BY N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., PH.D., OOTAOMUND.

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab affixed to the temple of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa (Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa) in Kharod, a village in District Bilaspur, C. P., 37 miles from the district headquarters. It has been noticed¹⁰ before but is published here for the first time. It contains 28 lines of writing covering a space of about 3' broad by 1' 5½" high. The size of the letters is about ¼". The writing has suffered a good deal the whole way down, particularly, towards the proper left. The

¹ Above, Vol. XI, p. 308.

² Above, Vol. XI, p. 68.

³ Above, Vol. IX, p. 1.

⁴ In a number of plates found of this period the donors are said to have migrated from *Madhyapāṇā*.

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 78. [The recently discovered Narwal plates of Vakpati Muṣṣa contain references to Śravaṇabhadra as a locality from which certain Brahman donors originated. Again, some of the names of Brahmins in the same grant end in—*śūṅga*. It is therefore not improbable that Śūrāditya belonged to a Brahman family originally from Śravaṇabhadra, that may have settled in Mīlwa.—Ed.]

⁶ Similarly the Kalavaṇa plates of the feudatory of Bhōjadēva do not contain the *Garuḍa* relief and other peculiar features of Paramāra grants. See above, Vol. XIX, pp. 71 &.

⁷ See *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. VI, p. 228.

⁸ Cunningham, *A. S. I. R.*, Vols. VII, p. 201 and XVII, p. 43; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 42 f.; *PRAS.* W.C., 1903-04, pp. 53 f.; Hiralal's *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar* (2nd edition), pp. 417 f.

⁹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 71 and XI, p. 67.

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 183.

characters are Nāgarī of the 12th Century A.D. The language is Sanskrit and with the exception of *Grāmasaḥ Śivāya* at the beginning and the date at the end, the whole of the inscription is in verse. The verses are all numbered, their total being 44. The orthography does not call for any special remark with the exception of the facts that *anagāra* has been frequently used where necessary and *r* and *b* have not been distinguished.

The inscription is important as it gives a complete genealogy of the Kalachuri rulers of Ratanpur down to Ratnadēva III. It has been noticed by several scholars but owing to the damaged condition of the stone the information so far given was meagre and unsatisfactory and also contained several errors. I cannot claim to have deciphered the whole record but I have been able to make out with a fair amount of certainty all that is important in it. The inscription is divided into two parts, the first containing verses 1-19 and the second verses 20 to the end. Like several other records of this dynasty the present record is Śaiva. The first two verses contain an invocation of Śiva and the third that of the Moon to whose race the Kalachuri family is said to belong. The next verse brings in the princess of the Haihaya lineage of whom **Sahasrārjuna** is said to have imprisoned "the overlord of Laṅkā." In verse 5 **Kōkalla** and his eighteen sons are mentioned after whom comes **Kaṭṅgarāja**—one of the younger if not the youngest of Kōkalla's sons—who by propitiating Baṅkṣēvara or Śiva obtained the overlordship of Tamiṇāya. He was followed in regular descent by **Kamala**, **Ratnadēva (I)** and **Prithvidēva (I)**. Verse 6 speaks of Prithvidēva's son, **Jājalladēva (I)** who defeated in battle **Bhujabala**, the lord of Savanapura. In the next two verses are described the exploits of his son and successor **Ratnadēva (II)** who defeated the king **Chōdagaṇḍa**, the lord of Kaṭṅgadēva. His son was **Prithvidēva (II)** who is credited with defeating the king **Jatṣēvara** (vv. 9-10). His son was **Jājalladēva (II)** (vv. 11-12). After his death his elder brother (I) **Jagaddēva** 'came from the Eastern countries' and became king (v. 13). The next verse (v. 14) speaks of the able rule of this king. Verse 15 gives the name of his wife as **Sōmalladēvi**. Their son was **Ratnadēva (III)** who is glorified in the next three verses (vv. 16-19).

The second part, an imperfect account of which was given by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar¹ for the first time, begins with verse 20 in l. 15. It gives the pedigree of Gaṅgādharma, a minister of Ratnadēva (III.) and also an account of his various charitable and pious deeds. There was one Dēva-dhara belonging to Kāṭyapa-gotra. His son was Rājapīḍva. The name of his wife occurs in l. 16 but is now not quite legible. Probably her name was Jivā. They had a son named Gaṅgādharma who afterwards became a minister of Ratnadēva (III.). The rest of the inscription is devoted to the praise of Gaṅgādharma's virtues and records his benefactions. It appears from verse 25 that when the kingdom of Ratnadēva was in a critical situation, most probably when the king was engaged in fighting a powerful adversary, Gaṅgādharma, through his wonderful ability, restored the peace and prosperity of the kingdom. We also learn from verse 27 that it was through the advice of this capable minister that Ratnadēva made his kingdom free from all foes. Gaṅgādharma had two wives named Rāmā (I) and Padmā. The former gave birth to two sons Prada and Jyāka while the latter had one son born to her named Khadgaśekhara. Verses 30-40 mention a series of charitable and pious acts performed by Gaṅgādharma. He built a temple of Śiva, which is evidently identical with the Lakṣmīśvar temple at Kharot where the inscription is found. To the south of this temple he constructed a *matha* made of well seasoned wood for the habitation of the ascetics. He also built, evidently at the same place, a beautiful *mandapa* for Sauri (Vishnu). On the top of a hill to the west of Ratanapura, he constructed a temple of Bhavirā which resembled a *Pushpaka*². In the forest of Vajāda (near Vajadē)³ he built a *mandapa* for "the enemy of the

¹ PRAS. H.C., 1903-04, pp. 231.

² For a description of *Pushpaka* see P. K. Acharya, *Indian Architecture*, pp. 113-14. [The temple of Bhavirā still exists on a hill to the west of Ratanpur—Ed.]

³ Bhandarkar reads *Nāgādē* and Hiralal Vaswani *Nāgādē*.

(three) cities', i.e., Śiva, as well as extensive temples dedicated to Śiva and Gaṇeśa. In the fortrees (*dhurpa*) he built a temple for the goddess Durgā. He also seems to have dedicated a shrine to the Sun (*Ravi*) at a place the name of which is not clear and also erected a Śiva temple at Pōratha. To the north of Ratnapura he built a temple for Tuṅḍā (=Dhundi ?-Gaṇapati). He also had tanks excavated in the villages of Tiparaga (†), Girahall (†), Uluṇā and Sēgāḍa (†). Besides the above-mentioned pious donations he raised a beautiful flower garden at Nārāyaṇapura and also a *sarva-śrī* or public almshouse abounding in savoury food and drink.

The *prashasti* was composed by Kumārapāla of the Hālhaya lineage who appears to have had a younger brother of the name of Jalhaya (†). It was written by himself on the slab and engraved by one Nātā who was clever in this art. The Kumārapāla of this inscription is evidently identical with the Kalachuri Kumārapāla, the composer of the Śeśrinarayana¹ and Malhar² inscriptions. According to the last verse it seems that a part (*kaṭā*) of the inscription was composed by the Śeṣashin Jalhaya who was the minister in charge of religious endowments (*Dharma-karm-ādhikārī*) in the reign of Ratnadēva (III).

The date of the inscription is given in the last line as Chēdī samvat 933 without any further details and would correspond to 1181-82 A.D.

In most of the inscriptions of the Ratanpur rulers a reference is made to Kōkalla and his 18 sons. Kielhorn seems to have taken him to be Kōkalla (I),³ the founder of the Kalachuri dynasty of Tripuri. We know from the Benares Plates of Karpadēva⁴ that Kōkalla (I) was contemporary of Bhōjadēva of Kanauj, Vallabharāja or the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛṣṇarāja II and the Chandella Harsha. He would thus belong to a period between 880 and 900 A.D. as has been pointed out by Kielhorn.⁵ But according to the Amōḍā Plates⁶ of Pyṭhivīdēva I, Kōkalla whose son was the founder of the Ratanpur branch, 'took treasure of the Karpāṭa, Vaṅga, Gūjara, Kōṅkaya and Śākambharī kings and also of those born of the Turuṣka and Raghu families.' The absence of any names of these kings renders the identification difficult, but the reference to Turuṣkas is very significant. If this term has been used in a broad sense to refer to the Muhammadans (which is very probable) and if the exploits mentioned in this inscription are not due to a mere poetical exaggeration, then the reference cannot be to Kōkalla I of the Tripuri family as he belonged to a period anterior to any Muhammadan invasion of North India. A still better clue is afforded by another reference in verse 9 of the same plates that 'having churned the king of Utkala with emaciated water he (i.e., Kamalarāja, son of Kōkalla II) made over the goddess of wealth (Śrī) to his overlord Gāṅgāyādēva'.⁷ This latter prince can be no other than Gāṅgāyā Vikramāditya, the son of Kōkalla II.⁸ The reference to Gāṅgāyā's defeating the Utkala king is found also in the Goharwā Plates of Karpadēva.⁹ Again, according to the present inscription, Kallīgarāja appears to have been a younger son of Kōkalla while according to the Amōḍā Plates of Pyṭhivīdēva I, which is the oldest known record of the Kalachuri rulers of Ratanpur, the eldest son of Kōkalla became the ruler of Tripuri and the others were made petty chieftains and Kallīgarāja is mentioned as the descendant of one of the younger sons of Kōkalla. The latter pedigree

¹ Hiralal, *Inscriptions in O. P. and Berar* (2nd ed.), p. 123, No. 293 and *PRAS W.C.*, 1903-04, pp. 52 f.

² Above, Vol. I, p. 42.

³ See Index to *Inscriptions of Northern India*, above, Vol. V, p. 107.

⁴ Above, Vol. II, pp. 305 ff. and Plates.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 301.

⁶ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 78 ff.

⁷ I am unable to accept Hiralal's explanation that 'Kamalarāja endeavoured to equal Gāṅgāyādēva in prosperity.'

⁸ R. B. Hiralal has not identified the Utkala prince who was defeated by Kamalarāja. The pun on the words *kaṭapāṇi* and *Gāṅgāyā* shows that the prince referred to was probably Kāmārjaya, the father of Vajrabhāta.

⁹ Above, Vol. XI, pp. 142 ff.

is found in other records of the Ratanpur kings and may therefore be accepted as correct. Savarṇapura of verse 6 is probably identical with Sonpur on the Mahānadi, the present capital of the homonymous state now transferred to Bilāṣ and Orissa from C. P. But we are not aware of Bilāṣabala the ruler of Savarṇapura from any other source. Savarṇapura is mentioned in the Sonpur plates¹ of Kumāra Śaṁśīvarādēva and the Jāṭeśinga Durgri Plates² of Mahāśivagupta which show that Sonpur was at an earlier time under the suzerainty of the Śōṇavarāṇī rulers of Trikalīṅga. Only two chiefs of Sonpur are mentioned in the Sonpur Plates, viz., Abhiramasyādēva and Śaṁśīvarādēva.³ This as well as other inscriptions of the rulers of Ratanpur show that their relations with the Eastern Gāṅga, their immediate neighbours on the east, were not friendly. Chōḍagaṅga, the lord of Kalīṅgadēva who was defeated by Ratnadēva II, is identical with the Eastern Gāṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. The king Jaṣṭhēvara who was defeated in battle by Prithivīdēva II is no other than Kāmārpava, the son of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga as we know from an inscription⁴ in the *śāhāna-maṇḍapa* at the Mukhalīṅgam temple dated Śaka 1070.

My reading of verse 13 in the text throws some new light on the genealogy of the Ratanpur kings after Jājallādēva II. Kielhorn and following him, Hirāl, were under the impression that Śōmallādēvi was the wife of Jājallādēva II and that Ratnadēva III was their son. No other inscription of Jājallādēva mentions the name of his wife. But in verse 13 of the present inscription it is clearly stated that after the death of Jājallādēva II, Jagadīdēva, probably his elder brother, came from the eastern countries and became king. The reading appears to be *jagāyān-arya* and not *-putrā* or *-vādā*. If Jagadīdēva was the son of Jājallādēva the succession would have been in quite a natural order. But if Jagadīdēva was the elder brother of Jājallādēva and thus the eldest son of Prithivīdēva, as the reading of verse 13 appears to show, I do not understand why he did not become king after the death of his father Prithivīdēva II. The most plausible explanation seems to be that Jagadīdēva was all the time engaged in a conflict with the Eastern Gāṅga and was thus obliged to be absent from the capital and that owing to his long absence Jājallādēva took the reins of government in his own hands. The verse under consideration seems to imply that Jājallādēva's death took place somewhat suddenly and that was probably the reason why Jagadīdēva hastened back from the eastern countries to take charge of the government.

Of the geographical places mentioned in the inscription several have already been identified by Hirāl. Thus **Tumūṅga**, the original capital of the Ratanpur Kaśachuris, exists under the name of Tumān in the Lāphā Zamindari of Bilāspur. **Savarṇapura**, as has been pointed out already, may be Sonpur. **Ratnapura** is the present Ratanpur and **Nārāyapapura** and **Pōratha** are still known by the same names (the latter as Portha) and are situated, respectively, about 20 miles S. W. and 30 miles N. E. of Kharod. The name read as Vanavāṭa by Hirāl, I have read as **vana Vajada** which may be Balodā⁵ near Kharod. If the reading **Śāṇāḍarā** is correct, it may be identified with the present-day Sendri between Bilāspur and Ratanpur. **Ulavā** is probably the same as Ulba in Raipur District. I cannot identify the other places mentioned in the inscription.

¹ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 237 ff.

² J. B. O. R. S., Vol. II, pp. 52 ff.

³ E. C. Majumdar identifies this Śōṁśīvara with the king defeated by Jājallādēva as mentioned in the Ratanpur stone inscription (above, Vol. I, pp. 32 ff.). Hirāl, however, identifies this latter Śōṁśīvara with the Nāgarahall King of Bastar. If Mr. Majumdar is correct in his identification, then Bhujabala would be only a brother of Śōṁśīvara.

⁴ A. I. I., Vol. V, No. 1044.

⁵ [Baloda, 20 miles north of Kharod, must be the Vajada of this record. Being the headquarters of a forest range, it is aptly called *vand*. Baloda for Baloda Bazar, as it is called, is the headquarters of a Tahsil in Raipur District, but there is no forest in its immediate vicinity.—Ed.]

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- 21 vij[ra]mam-anya cha Khadgsambham-ajjanat [39] Ālōky-ānēna vidvut-tati-
tamatār-ānā-tāruya-[dadhānām] Lakshman-a — — — m-ēvañ cha [j]ta-m[igad]pālāś
p[ri]tān-a[py]-aṅganānām | — — — k-ā[pta]yā [tat-punar]āha suk[ṛ]itān-[d]i[ś]hāta — —
pta-v[ā]b[ā]dhād-ānāc-cha[r]ē navinān sahaja-śubha-na-
- 22 tir-ummaṇḍapam Bhūtabhartuh [30] Maṭhaḥ kaṭhōra-kāśhā-anghaur-atr-aiv=
ākāri dhimatā | dēva-lakṣhṇa-dig-bhāgō nivāśrīthan-tapaśvinām [31] Kāritāś
vistrīta[ā] Sauri-maṇḍapam¹ paṇya-kāriṇā | Gaṅgādhārēya [dharapōr-bhū-
shām]-ēv-ātiśāndarām [32] Śrīmad-Ratnaparē chā-
- 23 ru prathīyān Puṣpak-ōpamam | akarōd-ākavirāvā maṇḍapam giri-mūrdhānī
[33] Maṇḍapam vanē Vajrad² [Pu]r-ārāśr-vinimītam | Hara-Hīramayōś-
chakrē tat-aiva vīṣa[śa]d[ā]lāyau [34] Dēvi-Durgā-griham durgā Ravēḥ
Paka[takā(?)] purā | Pōrathō bhavanam Śāntāhōra-
- 24 Bhramkasham-achikarat [35] Ratnaparāy-ōlōkyān dīnī Timpā-Gaṇapatōr-asa-
chakrē | maṇḍapam-aśōśa-vāśhita-phala-dātar-vighna-hantā-cha [36] ||³
Saras-[Ti]puruga-[grā]mā nirṇāla[śa]⁴ vihaś-āśva[śa]jam | tathā Girahā-
[grāmō] sphārām puṣkarīṇam-āpī [37] ~~~~~
- 25 kṛitān-saṇalān sarasīja-ruchirān aśā jagat-ōḍyam | tūp-āpaham-uro-harim-aiva
[U]ḥvā-grāmē saras-chakrē [38] Guḷjan-mūḷja-madhavata-chāya-chamvīa-vīra-
cha-paṭkajām-akarōt | puṣkarīṇam-āpī śōbha[na]-Sōḷ[ā]dā[ś]-ā[ś]bhī[śa]-[grā]mā [39]
Mīśr-ānna-pāna-sampannā[ś] sa-
- 26 rvasatr[ā]n vyadhād-asañ | Nārāyaṇapurē puṣpa-vā[ś]kām-āpī śōbhanām [40]
Yāval-dīlāvatīnām sayana-sarasīja-prānta-saśīthō Manōbhār-yāvan-Maināka-
pakṣh-āṇa-chapula-chalad-vichi-mūḷāḥ payōdhiḥ | chand-ārkan yāval-ētan
gagana-tala-samud[ā]yōtāmānau prabhātas-tā-
- 27 vad-Gaṅgādhārāya pravara-guṇa-nīlāḥ śhairyatām-ēn kīrttiḥ [41] Dakṣhō
lakṣhṇa-nūna[rūpa]yā kavi-kalā-sarva[śa]-vīrāma-bhūś-ohhandab-sundara-vu-
(bu)dhiś-ādibhuta-matīḥ śhivya-Chāḷakya[ś]yōḥ | khyātō Haihaya-vanlabhāḥ
kavi-vīrāś yasy-ānūjō Ja[śha]ga[ś]-tōn-ākāri Kumārāpāla-kṛitānā [ch-ōyañ ?]
- 28 prastātr-mamudā [42] Akṣharair-mauktik-ākāśais-tōn-aiv-āśīchi kausukāt [Nāśā]
nīlānā samatkiṛṇā śīpa-vijñāna-śālīnā [43] Śrōśhīnā Rāhaḡa-āra-
dharmma-karmam-ādīkārīṇā | kṛitā kalā kalāpājā-jana-sukṛta-vu(bu)dhiñ[ā] [44]
Chādi Samvat 933 [45] Maṅgalam-astu ||

No. 27.—THE UDAIYARGUDI INSCRIPTION OF RAJAKESARIVARMAN; A.D. 968.

By PROFESSOR K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A., MADRAS.

This inscription¹ is engraved, along with some other Chōla inscriptions of the tenth century A.D., on the west wall of the central shrine in the Anantēvaraśvāmīn temple at Udaiyārgudi, a hamlet of Kāṭṭumannārkōyil, in the Chidambaram taluk of the South Arcot District. The village is celebrated in the hagiology of South Indian Vaiṣṇavism as the birth-place of Nāthamuni and his grandson Yāmunāchārya, also called Ājavandār, the spiritual preceptor of Rāmānuja. In the inscriptions, the place is called Viranārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaśgalam, the same as the Viranārāyaṇapuram of Vaiṣṇava literature and our inscription further describes

¹ Read Sauri. Probably the length is introduced for the sake of the metre.

² The metre is irregular here.

³ Here in this and the next line enough space for 3 or 4 letters is left unscrubbed.

⁴ No. 677 of 1920. *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1920-21*, part II, paragraph 31.

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it as a *brahmadya* on the Northern bank (evidently of the Coleroon). Most probably, it was an *agrabāra* founded by Parāntaka I Virāṇḍīyaya (A.D. 907-53), whose inscriptions are also found in the Anantāsvam temple.¹

The inscription consists of eight lines of almost equal length, and occupies a space of about 12' by 14'. Except for the loss of some letters at the end of the first and second lines, it is in a fair state of preservation. The size of the letters is on an average well over an inch, some of the ligatures being 2" high. The characters employed are Tamil and Grantha. The writing is of the regular type found in the Chōla inscriptions of the tenth century. The chiselling of the letters is very good and hardly excelled in its beauty by any stone inscription of the period outside the Tanjore temple. In general appearance, our inscription strikingly resembles the Tamil part of the Madras Museum plates of Uttama-Chōla², allowance being made for the difference in the material on which the inscriptions are engraved. The loops in *ṣ* are fully developed; but not so in *ṣ*. Medial *ḍ* and *ṇ* are clearly distinguished though not always; the first two lines contain several instances where the distinction is maintained, while *ṇ* is written exactly like the subsidiary *ḍ* in *p-pṇṇamūridum* and *uḥṇamūridum* in line 3, and in *ḍṇṇ* in line 7. Medial *ḍ* and *ṇ* are sometimes, but by no means always, distinguished from *ṇ* and *ṇ* by loops, the loop indicating length in *ḍ* being placed at the end of the left arm of the curve indicating *ṇ* instead of at the end of the right arm as at present. The long *ḍ* is best seen in the letters *ṣṇ* and *ṇṇ* and in *ḍṇ* in *ṇṇṇ* (line 7). The long *ḍ* is sometimes indicated by the short *ṇ*-sign attached to the main letter and followed by the *ḍ*-sign as in *ṇṇṇṇṇ* in line 2 and *ṇṇṇṇṇṇ* in line 3; the regular sign with the loop occurs in *ṇṇṇṇṇ* in line 4, *ṇṇṇṇṇṇ* in line 5, and twice in *ṇṇṇṇṇṇ* in line 6. Though the length of these medial vowels is not always indicated in the inscription, I have added it in my readings where necessary. The letter *ṇ* is invariably written in the Grantha form as in some of the Uttaramūṇṇ inscriptions of Parāntaka I and in the Museum plates of Uttama-Chōla. The *ṇ* is not marked.³ Ligatures are almost invariably in Grantha form; *ṇ* is written in two forms in line 6—*Palla* and *Malla*—in the one case, a Grantha is placed over a Tamil *ṇ* and in the other, two Tamil *ṇ* are placed one above the other.

As regards orthography, a tendency to omit *ṇ* is noticed in such forms as *ṇṇṇ* (lines 2 and 3 and 4). The only other features calling for notice are the insertion of *ṇ* in *ṇṇṇṇṇṇ* in line 3.

The language of the inscription is Tamil. The construction of the second sentence (ll. 1-4), the most important in the whole inscription, is much obscured by its faulty grammar. It gives a list of the names of some persons involved in treason, and of their relatives, but the first five names in the list are in the nominative case, while the remaining eight are virtually in the genitive as indicated by the possessive suffix *ṇṇ* attached to each of them and by the phrase running up the whole (*ṇṇṇṇṇṇ*) being clearly employed in a possessive sense. Line 4 also contains a similar confusion of case endings.

The object of the inscription is to record an endowment by Araiyaṇ Bharatya *alias* Vyāḷagaḷamalla-Pallavaraiyaṇ, the son of Nakkap Aravaiyaṇ *alias* Pallava-Mattaraiyaṇ, the lord of Veṇṇaiyāṇ. The aim of the endowment was to provide for the supply of drinking water in a *ṇṇṇṇṇ* before the temple in which the inscription is engraved, and for the daily feeding of fifteen Brahmans. The endowment took the form of land, and in the narration of the

¹ Annual Report on Epigraphy, 1920-21, part II, para. 24 and Appendix B, Nos. 529, 547, 549, etc.

² South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. III, No. 123. [While in the Uttama-Chōla plates, the letter *ṇ* is almost a plain vertical stroke without any curve at the top as in the sign for medial long *ḍ*, in the present inscription the symbols for both of these have a curve at the top, usually open on the proper right side.—C. R. K.]

³ [The *ṇ* is marked in a few cases: e.g., see *maḷḷḷḷḷḷ* *p-pṇṇṇṇṇ* *p-pṇṇṇṇ* in l. 1, though in the rest of the inscription it is not so.—C. R. K.]

circumstances of the purchase of the land by the donor, the important historical fact is disclosed that **Āditya II Karikāla** fell a victim to assassination at the hands of some persons who, to judge from their names and titles, must have been highly placed Brahman officials of the army.¹

The inscription opens by stating that in the **second year of Kō-Rājakēsarivarma**, a letter (*śrīmukham*) was sent by the Emperor to the Great Sabhā of Viranārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam (line 1). The letter is next reproduced (lines 1-4). It recounts that Sōmaty, and his younger brothers Ravidāsa and Paramēśvara had been found guilty of treason (*dāśakēśa-dāsa*) for their murder of Karikāla Śōja 'who took the head of the Pāṇḍya' (ll. 1-2); the properties² of these three persons and their relatives specified (ll. 2-3) were to be taken over³ by Brahma-śrīrājāy of Koṭṭaiyūr and Chandrasēkhara-bhāṭṭa of Poḷḷamaṇḍalam (l. 4); the Sabhā (*lāgaḥam*) were to arrange, in co-operation with these two persons, for the sale at current prices of all these lands and to remit the proceeds to the Treasury in accordance with the king's order (l. 4). The letter concludes with the statement that it was written out by Kurnkāḍi Kīlāṅ (l. 4). In accordance with this letter, the lands of Rēvadāsa⁴ (either the second of the traitors named above or more probably his *śaṣappirundā* Malaiyanārāṇ), Rēvadāsa's son and his mother, situated in the western *piḍāṇ* of Viranārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam (line 5) were bought from the *sabhā* by Bharataṅ *alias* Vyāḷaḷajamallan. The property purchased comprised, according to an old measurement (*paḷambaṭi*), two (*ēḷi*) and three quarters and one-twentieths, and six residential houses (line 6), and the price paid was 112 *kaḷaṅṇa* of gold (lines 6-7). In the month of **Mēsha** in this year, on a **Sunday** which was a **Pāraṭṭādi** day, Bharataṅ gave this land and these houses to be utilised in the Anantēśvara temple for the purposes specified (lines 7-8).

The astronomical details given in line 7 will be seen, from a reference to Mr. L. D. Swaminathan Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, to be correct for **Sunday, the 15th April, A.D. 988**, which would fall in the third regnal year of Rājārāja I, whose accession has been fixed by Kiehlhorn between 25th June and 25th July 985 A.D.⁵ The regnal year cited in our inscription is the second, and this must be understood to be, not the current, but the expired year. The chronology of the record, its reference to the murder of Karikāla 'who took the head of the Pāṇḍya', i.e., Āditya II, the elder brother of Rājārāja I, and its paleographical peculiarities alike point to the identity of the Rājakesari of this inscription with Rājārāja I who began his rule in A.D. 985. In fact there is no other Rājakesari in the period after Āditya II whom the facts recorded in the inscription suit so well.

The interval between the close of the reign of Parāntaka I and the beginning of that of Rājārāja I is still one of the rather obscure periods in Chōḷa history. The order of succession of the kings who ruled in this period is far from clear, and the length of each reign does not lend itself to precise determination. There is no doubt, however, that the immediate predecessor of Rājārāja

¹ [There is nothing to suggest that the officials belonged to the army.—C. R. K.]

² See n. 1, p. 170 *post*.

³ The expression *perundāṣam* makes it appear like a gift to these two persons. But in view of what follows this cannot be understood literally. [The expression has to be read as 'perundāṣam' in the sense of 'dominated'] cf. *S. J. J.*, Vol. III, p. 404, l. 128 and p. 429. If the sense intended were 'obtaining' the original should be *peru*.—C. R. K.]

⁴ The second of the traitors named at the beginning of line 2 is called Ravidāsaḥṣa Paḷḷachavay-Brahma-śrīrājāy. The name given in line 5 is Rēvadāsa, a slightly different form, though it is possible that the sign of medial *v* preceding *a* in the beginning of line 2 or at the end of line 1 has not come out in the inscription. But Rēvadāsa is here called a *Kṛantavitta* and has the *alias* Malaiyanārāṇ, facts which strengthen the doubt that he may be different from Ravidāsa of line 2. But the preceding phrase *ś-śa-mukham* *śaṣappirundā* means that the same man is mentioned in the letter reproduced earlier in the inscription; and this may be a reference either to Ravidāsa or Malaiyanārāṇ of line 2. [The surname 'Malaiyanārāṇ' clearly proves that the reference is to the latter of the two persons.—C. R. K.]

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII, App. 2, p. 22.

I was Madhurāntaka Uttama-Chōja, who had a reign of about sixteen years (A.D. 969-85).¹ Of Āditya II, the Parakāśari 'who took the head of the Pāṇḍya,' we have inscriptions bearing the fifth regnal year.² He was the son of Parāntaka II Sundara-Chōja, and it is generally admitted that the period of his rule must lie between the end of Sundara-Chōja's reign and the commencement of that of Uttama-Chōja. The latter was the son of Gaṇḍarāditya and most probably a baby at the time of his father's death.³ This was doubtless the reason why the succession passed to a junior branch of the family, and Ariṇjaya, his son Parāntaka II, and his son Āditya succeeded one after another. After Āditya, we find Uttama-Chōja ruling for sixteen years before the crown passed to Āditya's younger brother Rājārāja. The Tiruvālaṅgūḍu plates of Rājendra-Chōja I seem to furnish a clue which, when interpreted with the aid of the present inscription, enables us to trace the probable course of events. Verses 69 and 70 of these plates state that though on the death of Āditya, the people, in their eagerness to witness the destruction of the increasing darkness of *Kali*, desired Arumōḷivarmaṇ, i.e., Rājārāja, to take up the reins of government, he, the true Kshatriya, did not desire to rule his kingdom so long as his paternal uncle coveted it, and that Arumōḷi was made the *Puraṇḍiya* by Madhurāntaka Uttama-Chōja who became king.

Though the Tiruvālaṅgūḍu plates and other Chōja records tell us nothing of the manner of Āditya's death, the reference to the increasing darkness of *Kali* looks like a thinly veiled allusion to the state of anarchy that prevailed at the sudden demise of the late king. The people's wish to have Arumōḷi as king, Arumōḷi's unwillingness to accept the throne when his paternal uncle coveted it, and the recognition of Arumōḷi as heir-apparent, may be taken to indicate the troubles of a disputed succession ended by a political compromise by which Uttama-Chōja was induced to enjoy the fulfilment of his heart's desire, but the succession was to revert to the ruling line, viz., that of Ariṇjaya. A certain Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarādityag is found in the service of Rājārāja I, and it is probable that he was a son of Uttama-Chōja. If this view is correct, he must be taken to have acquiesced in his exclusion from the succession which was the direct result of Arumōḷi having been made the *Puraṇḍiya* at the time of Uttama's accession. Apparently the choice before Arumōḷi after his brother's death was between a civil war with his paternal uncle and a compromise such as the one actually adopted; Arumōḷi preferred the latter course, and his wisdom seems to be commended in the phrase *Kshatradharmadethacēti* (v. 69) of the Tiruvālaṅgūḍu plates.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Malaiyāṇṇ and Koṭṭaiyār cannot be identified without more details. Pullamaṅgalam may be the same as Pullamaṅgai, a village near Paṇḍatikōyil, about nine miles south of Tanjore. Veṇṇaiyār-nāḍu may be the same as the subdivision of Vaḷagaṇai-Rājendraśaṅkha-vaḷanāḍu in the Sōḷamaṅgalam.⁴ If that is so, Veṇṇaiyār must be included in the list of villages in the *aḍḍu* given by Venkayya.

I edit the text from a set of *astampages* received from the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.

TEXT.

1. *Syaṁti Śri* []* Kō-Rājakāśari-varmaṇmarkku yāṇḍu 2-āvaḍu Vaḷagaṇai-brahmaḍāyam Śri-Viraṇārāya[ṇa]-chchaturvēdīmarchalattu-pperruṇḍuṇi-pperrumakk[]akku Cha-kravarṭti-śrīmakkham Pāṇḍiyāṇai-malai-koṇḍa Karikāle-Sōḷagaṇai-kkoṇḍu deṇṇika-[]-āḍos Sōma[ṇ]. *rumbi

¹ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Nos. 133, 138 and 144.

² *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, No. 204.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

⁴ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, II Introduction, p. 24.

⁵ The stone is damaged here but there can be no doubt about the missing letter.

⁶ There is a gap of seven or eight letters here. They must form the rest of the name of the first *aḍḍu* followed by *koṇḍu*.

- 2 Ravidāsa-āga Pañchavan-Brahmādhirājum ivag-rambi Paramēśvarag-āga Itumñi-
chchōja-Brahmādhirājum ivaga[-udappiranda Malaiyañṛāgum ivaga[-mahi-
mārum-ivaga]-makkaḍum ivar-brāhmaṇin[ar]*-pērālum-i.....*raṇattam
- 3 pēraṇṇamāridum-ivaga[-makkaḍum-ivaga]ukku-ppillai-kuḍutta māmaṇṇamāridum tāyōḍ-
uḍappiranda māmaṇṇ māmaṇṇamāridum*-ivaga[-udappiranda poṇḍa]ai
vēṭṭārīṇavum-ivaga[-makkaḍai vēṭṭārīṇavum-āga ivv-aṇaiyar [maṇḍiyum
namu-āṇaikk-urīyavāru Ko-
- 4 tṭaiyūr Brahmādhirājum Puḷḷamaṇḍalattu Chandraśekhara-Bhaṭṭaṇḍiyum pera-
ttandōm tāṇḍalum-ivaga[-kaṇḍiṇiyodum-ivaga] āṇṇavāru namu-āṇai-
kk-urīyavāru kuḍiyōḍu kuḍipērum vīlaikku viṇṇu-ttālattiḍuga ivai
Kuru[kāḍi]-kiḷṇu-ēḷutt-eṇru* i-ppariṇa vara i-
- 5 śrimukhattin mēppaṭṭa Malaiyaṇṭag-āga* Pāṇṇanachchēri Rēvadāma-kraṇavi-
ttanum ivag-maganum-ivag-rāy Periyanaṇḍai-chchāṇḍiyum-i-muṇḍavaridum-āga
nilam śrī-Vīraṇārāyaṇa-chchatu[r]jvōḍimaṇḍalattu miy-paḍāḍai Dēvaṇḍaṇḍalam-
āga paṭṭiḷa nilam śrī-Vīraṇārāyaṇa-chchatu[r]*-vōḍi-
- 6 maṇḍalattu sabhaiyār-pakkal Veṇṇaiyūr-nāṭṭu Veṇṇaiyūr-udaiyāṇ Nakkaṇ-Ara-
vaṇḍiyāṇ-āga Pallava-Muttaraiya-magan Barataṇḍ-āga Vyāḷagaḷamalla-
Ppallavaraiyaṇḍ-i-niḷam paḷambadi iṇḍōḍ-makkālēy-oru-māvum-aḷamaṇḍai-
y-ārum-āga i-niḷamum-i-muṇḍaṇḍiyum nūrr-eṇṇaṭṭ-i'.
- 7 ra-kaḷaṇḍa poḍ kuḍuttu vīlai-keṇḍ-ivvār-Tiruv-Anantēśvarattu Bhaṭṭārakar-
kōyililēy-ivv-āṭṭai Mēba-nāyagru Nāyagru-kkiḷamai-pera Pūṇṭṭādi-āṇḍu
chandr-ādityavat āḷvār-kōyil-muṇḍu [Mūvā]yirattarunūṇṇuvāṇḍa nilaiy-
ambalattu taṇṇir-aṭṭum brāhmaṇan-oruvaṇḍu niḷa[-
- 8 dan paḍi-pāḷi nallum-āṭṭaivaṭṭam-oru kākum niḷadam paḍinaiyvar brāhmaṇan-
unbadaṇḍum-āga paḍipāru ivarūḷēy-aiyvar āvaṇḍika[-uḷḷa]vum vaiyṭṭōḷ
Araiyāṇ Bharataṇḍ-āga Vyāḷagaḷamalla-Ppallavaraiyaṇḍ i-dha[r]umam
raḷaḷikkōṇa mahā-sabhaiyār-śrī-pādaṇḍa[-eṇ-taḷaṇḍāṇa][*]

TRANSLATION.

Line 1. Hail ! Prosperity ! (In the) second year of (the reign of) King Rājakesarivarmān, the order of the Emperor (addressed) to the members of the Great Assembly of Śrī-Vīraṇārāyaṇa-pachaturvēḍimaṇḍalam, a brahmadēya on the North bank :

* Length is marked by the sign for secondary ā.

* The signs for ā and r are lost just below the missing letter noticed in note 6 above.

* A gap of the same length as at the end of line 1.

* Cancel the second and third.

* Read "vīḷḷa".

* See D. 4, p. 167 note.

* The length of subsidiary ā in nā is expressed by the sign for subsidiary ā. The letters poṇḍ and ā were to have been corrected from the original poṇḍ and ā.

II. 1-2. Sōmag, his younger brother Ravidāsa alias Paśchavaṇa Brahmadhīrāja, and his younger brother Paramēśvaraṇa alias Irumūḷehēhōja Brahmadhīrāja have been guilty of treason as they murdered Karikāḷināḷja who took the head of the Pāṇḍya :

II. 2-4. We have ordered that the (properties)¹ (of these persons), of their brother Malaiyaṇḍirā, of their younger brothers and sons, of their wives, of the elder brothers of their father and their children, of their fathers-in-law (i), of their uncles who have given their daughters in marriage to them), of their uncles who are brothers of their mother, of the persons who have married their sisters, and of their sons-in-law²—these (properties) I shall, in accordance with our command, be obtained³ by Brahmadhīrāja of Koṭṭaiyūr and Chandrasēkhara-Bhāṣya of Paḷla-maṇḍalam.

II. 4-7. You shall,⁴ in the presence of these (two) persons and in pursuance of what they say and in pursuance of our command, sell at the prevailing price⁵ and return (the amount) to the treasury.⁶ This is the writing of Kurukūḷi-kīḷā. When this (letter) was received, the lands of the three persons, viz. Malaiyaṇḍirā alias Ravidāsa-Kramavittā of Pāṇṇamahēri, who is mentioned above in the letter, his son, and his mother Periyaṇḍai-cchām, these lands in the paper known as Dēvaṇḍaḷgāḷam in the western pāḍṇai of Viranārāyaṇa-chaturvēḷimaṇḍalam and including, by the old measurement, two and three-quarters and one twentieth (of a vēḷi) and six residential houses,⁷ these lands and these houses, were bought of the members of the Saḍḍā of Viranārāyaṇa-chaturvēḷimaṇḍalam by me, Bharataṇ alias Vyāḷagajamallā-Paḷḷavaraiyaṇ, son of Nakkam Atavaraiyaḷ alias Paḷḷava-Muttaraiyaṇ, (a resident) of Veṇṇaiyūr in Veṇṇaiyūr-nāḍu, after payment of one hundred and twelve kaṇṇaṣu of gold.

II. 7-8. In the month of Mēśha in this year, on the Pārattādi day which was a Sunday, I, Aratiraṇ Bharataṇ alias Vyāḷagajamallā-Paḷḷavaraiyaṇ, ordered these (lands and houses) in order that, as long as the sun and the moon endure, one Brahmin, who supplies water in the (sacred) place called Three-thousand-six hundred alias Nilaiyambalam in front of the Āṇḍar shrine in the temple of Tiru-Anaṇḍavarattu-Bhāṭṭāraka of this village, may get ten vēḷi of paddy every day and one kōḷu in a year,⁸ and that fifteen Brahmins may be fed every day, (provided that) among these sixteen⁹, five āṇḍaṇḍa¹⁰ shall be fed. The sacred feet of the members of the mahāśaḍḍā who protect this charity (will be done by me) on my head.

¹ The gap after *pa* (*properties*) and before *pa* in line 3 greatly obscures the meaning. The space is just enough for two letters, and I think the first of them is most probably *ma*. Some word like *maṣi* in the sense of 'portion' or 'share' may be suggested. The general sense is, however, clear from what follows, and I have followed this in filling the gap in the translation with: (properties) *pa*. No. 112 of 1911 is another instance of the confusion of the properties of persons found guilty of treason (*drāḍḍa*) in the reign of Rājārāja III.

² Literally, 'of those who have married their children'.

³ [See note, p. 167, l. a. 2—C. R. K.]

⁴ The pronouns 'I' and 'you' are at first puzzling; but a little consideration shows that the former must refer to the members of the Saḍḍā to whom the letter is addressed, and the latter to the two persons to whom a part of the confiscated rights was assigned by the king. What this exactly was is not clear on account of the gap noted above—n. 1. I have understood *Kaḷḍa* in its abstract sense. Though *Kaḷḍa* also means 'superintendent', the meaning hardly suits the present context. [The expression means 'under the supervision of these people'—C. R. K.]

⁵ Literally, 'at the price which one peasant gets from another'.

⁶ That *ṭāḷa* means 'treasury' will be seen from the following: "Nilamam vāra pāṇḍi-kāḷḷāṇḍi-māṭṭar dāṇḍa-ṭāḷattu vāra vāra vāra āṇḍa vāra māṭṭar dāṇḍa-ṭāḷattu vāra" (No. 603 of 1911); and "Vāṇḍiṭṭa pōḷ kaḍavar mūḷḍaṇḍa iṇḍa pūṇḍiṇḍa pūṇḍiṇḍa pōḷ vāra pūṇḍiṇḍa pōḷḍaṇḍa vāra māḍa-ṭāḷḍa-ṭāḷḍa vāra." (No. 379 of 1922).

⁷ 'House' and 'house-off' occur in the sense of 'house' and 'house-off' respectively in the Uttaramēśar inscriptions of Parantaka I.

⁸ [This number includes also the water Brahmin—C. R. K.]

⁹ See *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 382.

No. 23.—THE PALANPUR PLATES OF CHAULUKYA BHIMADEVA (V. S. 1120).

By K. N. DIKSHIT, M.A., CALCUTTA.

These plates were received from Palanpur by Mr. Pura Chaud Sahar, M.A., LL.B., of 48, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta, who brought them to me for decipherment and for the preparation of impressions. They consist of two unusually thick ($\frac{1}{2}$ " to $\frac{3}{4}$ ") plates joined together by a ring $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter, passed through a hole $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter in the middle of the edge of the longer side. Only the inner side of the plates is inscribed, in all there being 15 lines of bold writing. The dimensions are $7\frac{1}{2}$ " by $4\frac{1}{2}$ " of which about $\frac{1}{2}$ " of the rim has been raised on all sides to protect the writing. The thickness of each plate is $\frac{1}{4}$ " but there are two knobs on either side of the ring where the thickness is about half an inch. The plates weigh 108½ *tolas*.

The characters of the record are Dēvanāgarī and the language Sanskrit prose calling for no special remarks. The engraving is full of mistakes. The document refers itself to the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja Bhīmadēva* (I) apparently of the Chaulukya (Solanki) dynasty of Gujaraṭ, who was encamped at Dā, its object being the grant of 3 *halas* of land at a village named Varapādvāḍā to a Mōḍha Brāhmana named Jānaka. The boundaries of the land are specified as : ' to the east, the way to the village Vāra-Amavallī; to the south, the village Pādra; to the west, the way to Chhīndriyāḷā; to the north, the field of Kāṁava and Vāḷaṇa '.

The date of the grant is mentioned as the fifteenth of the bright half of Pausa in the Vīramā year 1120. It is further stated that the grant was made by Bhīmadēva, on the occasion of the *Uttarāyana purnā* or winter solstice. Now the particular coincidence of the full-moon day of Pausa and the *uttarāyana* occurs neither in any of the possible equivalents of Samvat 1120, taking the year as northern or southern, current or expired; nor within a few years on either side. It is therefore apparent that either the details of the date are wrong or that the actual date of issuing the grant was somewhat later than the date of the donation. In the latter case, it is probable that the date of issue of the grant was 6th January 1064 A.D. while the *Makara-saṅkrānti* or *uttarāyana* which occurred on 25th December 1063 A.D. was the occasion of the king's donation.

The date of the grant is interesting inasmuch as it is the last recorded date of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva. According to Mārutunga in his *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi*, Bhīmadēva's accession took place in V. S. 1078 (1022-3 A.D.), which must be regarded fairly accurate, inasmuch as we have V. S. 1076 as the last recorded date of his predecessor Darabharāja. From the testimony of the Muhammadan chroniclers it is apparent that Bhīmadēva was the ruler of Gujaraṭ and Southern Kāthiāwār at the time of the well-known sack of the Sōmanātha temple in 1024 A.D. (circa 1080 V. S.). The first epigraphical date for Bhīmadēva known from his Rādhanpur¹ and Muṇḍaka grants² is V. S. 1086. The next reference is in the Mount Abu Vimala³ temple inscription, where it is stated how in V. S. 1088 (1031-2 A.D.) Vimala, who had been appointed *daṇḍapati* by Bhīmadēva, founded the temple. The duration of the reign of Bhīmadēva as given by Mārutunga was from V. S. 1078 to V. S. 1120, but practically no records of the latter part of his long reign have survived. The date of another donation made at the Vimala Śaiva temple by a minister of Bhīmadēva in V. S. 1119⁴ can now be definitely accepted as made within the monarch's reign and life-time. The date of the accession of Bhīmadēva's successor Karpadēva is given by Mārutunga as V. S. 1120; *Chaitra sudi 3 Śaravā*. It is clear that this date can be reconciled with

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 193 ff.² *J. E. R. E. A. S.*, Vol. XX, p. 49.³ *Above*, Vol. IX, pp. 43 ff.⁴ *Above*, Vol. XIX, *List of Northern Inscriptions*, No. 137.

that of the present grant, only on the supposition that the year used was the Southern Vikrama year commencing with the month of Kārtika. Bhīmadēva must therefore have died during the period between Pausa and Chaitra of the Southern Vikrama year 1120. On verification, however, the date of Kārpa's accession as given by Mānuṅga appears to work out regularly only for Saturday, 12th March 1065 (=Southern V. S. 1121), which is more than a year removed from the date of the present grant. The first epigraphical dates for Kārpa are those provided by his Navasāri¹ grants dated Śaka 296 and V. S. 1131 (=1074 A.D.).

The writer of the grant was Kāṅkaka, the son of the Kāyastha Vajāsvara, who appears to belong to a family of hereditary scribes of the Chaulukya. Thus we know the Kāyastha Vajāsvara to be the writer of the Rādhanpur grant of Bhīmadēva and Kāṅkaka himself to be the writer of the Navasāri¹ and Sūnak² plates of Kārpa. The Dātaka was the illustrious Bhōgāditya, the minister of peace and war, who also figures in the Navasāri plates.

Of the geographical names, Ilā, the place of the king's encampment, can possibly be identified with the modern Ilol, a petty state in the Mahikāpṭha Agency, to the south-east of Pālanpur. The ending -ol of place names in North Gujarat (e.g., Halol, Kalol, Palol) is to be considered the local equivalent of *pur*, through *ur* and *ul*. Ilāpura can thus be a good Sanskrit equivalent to Ilol. I am unable to identify the other places.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm¹ Vikrama-Samvat 1120 Pausa sudi 15 ady-āha kālā Ilā-
- 2 vāma-śrīmad-vijayi-kāṅkaka samasta-rāj-āvali-vitāji-
- 3 te-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Bhīmadēvaḥ svabhujyamāna-Dhōgādī-
- 4 hāra-pathakā samasta-rāja-purashān⁴ janapadānā-cha bōdhaya-
- 5 ty-astu vaḥ samvīditam yathā ady-ōtvarōyaga⁵-parvayī Mahōtva-
- 6 ram-abhyarchya pītṛō-ātmanā-cha puṇya-yasō⁶bhividdhaya⁷ Mōḍha-Hrā-
- 7 lmaṇa-Jānakāya Varnapāṇḍā-grānō(mō) Pātō-satka-kahētrō | Vi-
- 8 yuka-satka-kahētrō cha iti hāra-trayaaya hārah 3 bhūnā⁸

Second Plate.

- 9 śāsanā⁹-ōḍaka-pūrvam-aumābhīḥ pradattā¹⁰-syāmō-cha¹¹ pūrva¹²
- 10 sūh(ayān) Vāra-Aavali-grāma-mārgaḥ | dakṣiṇāyān grāma-Pādman | pa-
- 11 solunāyān Chhidānriyālā-mārgaḥ | uttarāyān Kāṣava¹³-Vālagayōḥ
- 12 kahētrā-iti catur-āghōḥ-ōpalakṣhīyāḥ bhūmēr-asyāḥ pa-
- 13 ripatīthanā kēn-āpi na kāryā | lū(kh)itam-jḍan śāsanā kō-
- 14 yatu¹⁴-Vajāsvara-suta-Kāṅkakaḥ | Dātakō¹⁵-tra mahā-sād-
- 15 dhivigrahika-śrī-Bhōgāditya iti¹⁶ śrī-Bhīmadēva¹⁷ ||

¹ J. B. S. R. A. S., Vol. XXVI, pp. 202 ff.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 317 ff.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read *purashān*.

⁵ Read *-ōtvarōyaga-*.

⁶ Read *-yasō-*.

⁷ Read *bhividdh*.

⁸ Read *ātmanā-*.

⁹ Read *śāsanā-*.

¹⁰ Read *pradattā-*.

¹¹ Read *Kāṣava-*.

¹² Read *yathā-*.

¹³ The symbol after *i* either stands for a punctuation mark or abbreviation of *iti*

¹⁴ Read *Dātakō-*.

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१ विक्रमराजसूत ११२० पोतश्रुति १५ अश्वदत्तकालशुला
 २ वासिने श्रीमहि रुद्रि रुद्रक सनम राजावली विराजि २
 तमहा राजा विराजु श्रीमहा एवः ससुसैमान कालरा
 ४ दाने यस्य किममम गुरु पुनया नूनन पयथा तावय ४
 तसु तः नं विदिने यवा अथावु सो यण पवलिमहादश
 ६ रमसा र्गि विवा रानन थपु ल्य ग साहि नृ उ यत्मा दत्त ६
 द्यपजानकाय वरुणा वाडा यान पाद स क क विवा
 ८ बुक स रुक्ति वं उतिह ल व य सा द ल ३ ह मी ८

शासनात्तादक सवर्ममस्त्रा निःश्वदत्ता स्त्राधुर्द
 १० सा कर्पुषा श्रवलिथाममार्गः रक्तिण्ण सायाम पादप १०
 सिमायौ ली द्रिया मो मार्गः उ उ पंश्या करव बा न ला या
 १२ तिवमि निचत्र या या रि पल हिता टाः न त्र न र स्त्राः य १२
 पि यं प्रवा क ता पि न वां यो लि स्त्र न मिदं शा स नं क
 १४ य उ व द श्रु त सु त क क क व ह न का ३ म दा सा १४
 वि वि य दिके श्री सा श दि त्य ३ श्री रू म दे वा ॥

No. 29—HALDIPUR PLATES OF THE PALLAVA CHIEF GOPALADEVA.

By N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A., OOTACAMUND.

The existence of these plates was brought to the notice of Mr. K. N. Dikshit, M.A., Officiating Government Epigraphist for India, by Mr. S. V. Haldipur, B.A., LL.B., M.B.E., Officer Supervisor, Judge Advocate General's Department, Army Headquarters, Simla. They were discovered several years ago when digging in the garden belonging to Mr. Haldipur's family in Guddehittal at Haldipur, a village in the Honavar Taluka of the North Kanara District, Bombay Presidency. I now edit the inscription engraved on them from ink-impressions as well as the originals kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. K. N. Dikshit who obtained the plates on loan from the owner.

The plates which are in an excellent state of preservation are three in number, each measuring about $6\frac{1}{2}$ " in length, $2\frac{1}{4}$ " in breadth and $\frac{1}{2}$ " in thickness. The first and the third plates bear writing only on one side while the second is written on both the sides. Their rims are slightly raised in order to protect the writing from damage. They are strung together on an almost circular ring which has a diameter of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ ". The ends of the ring are soldered on to the back of the seal which is circular in shape, with a diameter of about 1". Together with the ring and the seal the plates weigh 96 tolas.

On the seal is shown in bold relief the figure of a rampant lion facing the proper right. The head of the animal is erect, its mouth open, the right forepaw raised and the tail twisted over its back. The Uruvapalli¹ grant of the Pallava king Vishnugōpavarman and the Pikkira² grant of Simhavarmān of the same dynasty bear on their seals the figures of the same animal. In the monolithic shrine at Sīyamaṅgalam³ excavated by the Pallava king Mahēndravarmān I and the Uḍjavalli caves, also attributed to the Pallavas⁴, we find representations of the lion. The figure in the Uḍjavalli caves bears a striking resemblance to that found on the seal of the present grant.⁵ Thus the emblem of a Pallava chief on the present seal confirms the view expressed by the late Mr. V. Venkayya⁶ that "along with the recumbent bull usually associated with the emblem of the Pallavas, the lion was also the Pallava crest at some period of their history."

The characters of the inscription belong to the southern type which were in use in the Kanarese country during the eighth century A.D. The writing is beautifully executed and there are hardly any mistakes in engraving. The characters are round and upright unlike the longish and slanting ones found in Early Chālukya grants. In general appearance the alphabet of our grant is certainly earlier than that of the Maṅga Plates⁷ of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III dated Śaka 732, and the plates of the same king bearing the date Śaka 726⁸. It closely resembles the characters of the Āḷupa inscriptions of Udiyāvaram⁹ in the South Kanara District which the late Dr. Hultzsch has assigned to about A.D. 800 and those of the Kovalaveṭṭu grant¹⁰ of the Western

¹ Above, Vol. XI, p. 338 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, plate facing p. 59.

² Above, Vol. VIII, p. 166.

³ *A. S. R.*, 1906-07, p. 232, f. n. 6.

⁴ Longhurst: *Pallava Architecture*, Pl. I, p. 5.

⁵ Dubouff, *The Pallavas*, p. 33; the author is, however, of the opinion that the caves were the work of the Vishakhapandya.

⁶ *A. S. R.*, 1906-07, p. 232, f. n. 6; see also above, Vol. XI, p. 343.

⁷ *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XIV, plate facing p. 82.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, plate facing p. 123.

⁹ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 15 ff. and plates.

¹⁰ *Mys. Arch. Report*, 1927, plates facing pp. 106 and 107.

Gaṅga king Śrīpuruṣa for whom we have a sure date in Śaka 710¹ and who began to rule, according to the Dēvarahaḥḥi plates², if they are accepted as genuine (and I think they can be), in A.D. 726. But the most striking resemblance the present grant bears in respect of palaeography is to the Anṇigeri inscription³ of the 6th year of the reign of the Early Chālukya monarch Kirtti-varman II (i.e., A.D. 752), the form of every letter except *l* being exactly alike in both the records. As regards individual letters in the present epigraph, we have the initial vowel *a* in *aṇḍa* (ll. 3 and 4), *aṇḍavara* (l. 7), *aṇḍaś* (l. 14), *aṇḍaś* and *aṇḍaś* (l. 17). The initial *ā* occurs only once in *Arīda* (l. 8). The curves at the ends of these two letters have not yet closed completely at the top. The initial *ṣ* consisting of two dots below a double curve occurs thrice in *ṣṣeṣṣa* (l. 13), in *ṣṣa* (l. 16) and *ṣṣa-parāṇa* (l. 17). Initial *ṣ* occurs in line 13 and *o* in line 16. Among medial vowels *i* is distinguished from *ī* by a small loop in the circular sign (cf. *Lakṣmī* with *nīḍa*, l. 3). Medial *u* is marked in two ways; when it is attached to the letter *r* it is denoted by a hook bending downwards at the proper left of this letter but in other cases it is denoted by a U-shaped symbol at the bottom of the letter to which it is added (cf. *puruṣa* and *guru* in line 3). In medial *e* the length is indicated by the addition of a downward curve. No distinction is made between short and long *e* and *o*. Medial *ai* is made up of two strokes, one attached to the serif or the *talakattu* of the consonant and the other to the letter itself, both placed on the proper right (e.g., *Ka* in *Kaṣṣa*, l. 2). Medial *au* is merely a combination of the *e* and the *i* strokes, the one on the proper right and the other on the proper left of the consonant. Among the consonants, the epigraph contains the letters *ṣ*, *j*, *b* and *l* which along with *ṭṭ* (not found here) furnish, according to Dr. Fleet, the leading test letters in determining the approximate period of undated records. The *ṣ* which occurs only once in *ṣṣeṣṣa* (l. 12) differs from *j* only in the absence of the centre prong. We have *j* in *rāja* (l. 2), *jana* (l. 4), *rājāna* (l. 6), *gōtraja* (l. 8), *jamaṇi* (l. 16) and as a second member of the conjunct consonant in *paljavan* (l. 14). *B* appears twice, first in *bāṇa* (l. 6) and a second time in *koṇḍa* (l. 15). All of them are of the earlier type found in records prior to the ninth century. *L* is used more frequently and though it is of a cursive type, the down-stroke of the letter on its proper right side is not yet prolonged up to the top of the letter on the left (e.g., *vallabha* and *Pallava* in line 1, *espula* in line 4, *tal* in l. 8, etc.). According to Fleet this form of *l* cannot be placed much before A.D. 800 in records coming from Western India.⁴ But it should be noted that this cursive form of the letter already appears in the Rāygaḍ Plates⁵ of the Early Chālukya king Vijayāditya dated Śaka 625 and in the Boppan Plates⁶ of the same king dated Śaka 640. The record includes final *u* (l. 9) and *r* (ll. 10, 17 and 18). Lingual *ḍ* can be distinguished from the dental *ḍ* by the lower part of the letter turning upwards and ending in a loop as in *ḍa* of *paḍavappā* (l. 12) and *ḍa* of *ṣṣeṣṣa* (l. 16). But the distinct form of *ḍ* is not shown in *paḍa* of *Chañḍamāḍṣeṣa* (l. 5) and *paḍa* of *Karapipṣa* (l. 15) and, as Fleet has remarked, "it was seldom, if ever, the early practice to use the distinct form of the *ḍ* in the combination *paḍ*".⁷ The Dravidian *r* as well as *j* are represented in the record, the former in *aṇḍavaraṇa* (l. 7), *Nyḍalgeṛa* (l. 13), *nīḍaṇḍa* (l. 14), *nīḍapattana* (l. 15) and *aṇḍaṇḍa* (l. 17) and the latter in *kajani* (l. 11), *Paramala* (l. 12), *Gārapāḍi* (l. 12), *aḍeḍe* (l. 17) and *aḍiḍa* (l. 18) and as the first component of the conjunct consonants in *ṣṣa* (l. 10) and *paljavan* (l. 14). These two letters differ considerably from their later varieties used, for instance, in the

¹ *Ibid.*, 1918, p. 42.

² *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV, pp. 223 ff. and plates.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

⁴ *Above*, Vol. VI, p. 41.

⁵ *Above*, Vol. X, plate between pages 16 and 17.

⁶ From ink-impressions in the possession of Mr. E. N. Dikshī.

⁷ *Above*, Vol. VII, p. 203.

Mantrawādi¹ and Sirūr² inscriptions of Anūghavaraha I while they are almost exactly similar to those in the Appigeri inscription³ and the Kōndūr Plates⁴ of Kirtivarman II and the Hattimattūr inscription⁵ of Kṛṣṇa I. Thus paleographical considerations point to the middle of the 8th century A.D. as the probable period of the present record.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and Kanarese. Lines 1 to 6 are written in Sanskrit prose and the rest in Kanarese prose which may be considered among the oldest specimens of the language. Particular attention may be drawn to the following linguistic and grammatical features. The accusative termination *ān* as in *śālaguṇān* (l. 9), *idān* (l. 17) and *Vāraṇasiguṇān* (l. 18) is found only in early records like the Pattadakal inscription of Vikramāditya II⁶ in which we find *śālaguṇān* (l. 3), *idān* (l. 8) and the Bādāmi inscription⁷ of Maṅgalāśa which has *itodān* (l. 3). In later records this case suffix is *an* or *ān*. In masculine nouns ending in *a* the dative termination *ya* is preceded by *a* as in *gārajaṇya* and *Paṇḍuraṇya* (l. 8). With this we may compare the datives *anayārāṇya* and *adayaṇya* found in the Udyāvāra inscription⁸ of Raṇasāgara and Śvetaśāhana, and *mādhuryyaṇya* (l. 5) in the inscription of Kappe-Arabhatta of about the 8th century at Bādāmi.⁹ In other inscriptions of this period the nasal *a* takes the place of the dental *n*¹⁰ (cf. *Dhureyārāṇya* in the Udyāvāra inscription of Prithvīnāga¹¹). The genitive suffix is long *ā* and not short *a* as found in later records (e.g., *Kāṇasapāyā* in line 9 and *Nayalagayā* in line 13). Instances of this form of the genitive are found in the Lakṣmīdevār pillar inscription¹² of the Yuvarāja Vikramāditya (II) (cf. *Porigereyā*, *anayayā*, etc.), but obviously it is seldom used in records of the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi.¹³ The peculiar forms *adayaṇyā* (l. 11), *paḍuraṇyā*, *teḥḥayā* (l. 12) and *māḍayā* (l. 13) (which denote the four points of the compass) involving a double *ya* are, so far as I am aware, found nowhere else either in epigraphical or literary Kanarese. Characteristic of the archaic nature of the language are the verbal nouns *appaṇya* (l. 8) and *alālorā* (l. 18), with which may be compared the words *appaṇya* and *enoda* in the Lakṣmīdevār inscription referred to above and *uḷāḥya* and *parāḷālorā* of the Pattadakal Inscriptions of Vikramāditya II.¹⁴ The adverb *uḷappināśa* meaning 'as long as (they) exist' is another archaic formation¹⁵. The word *kulani* which denotes a wet land or a rice field is not generally found in epigraphical records later than the 10th Century. With the rather rare expression *bhūti-śubhāntaḥ* used in the sense of 'to be in continued enjoyment' we may compare *bhūti-śubhāntaḥ* of the Lakṣmīdevār pillar inscription. The imprecation found in the present grant, viz., those who destroy this will go to the world of those who destroy *Vāraṇāśi*, etc., occurs

¹ Above, Vol. VII, plate facing p. 201.

² Below, plate facing p. 205.

³ Above, Vol. VI, plate facing p. 162.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 61.

⁶ *Ibid.*, plate facing p. 204.

⁷ Above, Vol. IX, plate facing p. 202.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 164.

⁹ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 18 and 19.

¹⁰ According to the *śāra anubhāntarāḥṣṭāṅga-śānta-pāraṇi-paṇi* of Nāgavarman's *Bhāṣāśāstra* R. Narasimhaśa's edition p. 28, śāra No. 67, the earliest extant Kanarese grammar of the 12th century A.D. the dative termination *ya* is preceded by an *an*. It is thus evident that the form used in our grant had become obsolete by the time of this grammarian.

¹¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 20.

¹² Above, Vol. XIV, p. 180.

¹³ It may be noted, however, that the genitive suffix long *ā* and the accusative suffix *ān* are allowed optionally by Nāgavarman in the *śāra anubhāntarāḥṣṭāṅga-śānta-pāraṇi-paṇi* (Bhāṣāśāstra, No. 67) and *śānta-śānta-va-śānta* (*Ibid.*, No. 68) but the examples he cites to illustrate the latter appear to be from the works of two writers who lived before him, viz., Haripāla and the poet Bhuvanabhavi.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 164.

¹⁵ On this word Rao Bhaṣkar R. Narasimhaśa has kindly written to me as follows:—"Usually we have the adverb *uḷpinaśa* but here the form is *uḷappināśa*. May it be for *uḷar-appaṇa*?"

also in Bhoja records of an early period (cf. The Udiyāvara Inscription of Vijayāditya).¹ The significance of certain incomes, the halves of which were granted to the donee, viz., *koṭaguppa*, *paṭṭavasi*, *kāṇasoppa* and *nīrai* is not quite clear. I may suggest, however, that *koṭaguppa* may denote a heap (*guppa*) made up of the share due to the state on every *loṭa* (a measure of capacity) of the produce. *Jacasi* may mean a tax in kind on *javasa* (Skt. *javasa*) meaning meadow grass; *paṭṭavasi* would then be a tax levied on big (meadows of) straw. *Kāṇa* or *kāṇa* means forest and *soppa* means foliage in Kanarese. *Kāṇasoppa* may therefore be a tax on the foliage of the forest used by the cultivators for manure and other purposes. In Tamil *nīrai* means spoil², and it is not unlikely that it had the same connotation in Kanarese. The words *kāṇa-paṭṭavasi*³ and *koṭṭa-gūṇaḍṇa* are obscure and do not occur in any of the Kanarese inscriptions so far published.

The orthography of the record does not call for any remarks except that *-eṇḍa* has been engraved for *-eyṇa* in line 13, that the name of the donor is written as *Gōpala*⁴ instead of *Gōpālā*⁵ in line 16, that *ha* has been written for *ā* in lines 5 and 18 and that there appears to be a superfluous *anusaṇḍa* at the end of the word *paṭṭavasi* in line 16. These mistakes are apparently due to the engraver.

The donor of the grant was the Pallava chief *Gōpālādēva* who also bore the surnames *Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya* (l. 1). It is clear that he belongs to the well-known lineage of the Pallavas as he is twice described as *Paṭṭavarāja* (ll. 1 and 6) and, as noted above, uses the lion-crest of the Pallavas. The phrase *Kaṭkēya-vaṇḍa-śilhan-ādihata-pradhāna-purūṣa* (l. 3) might only indicate that he was connected with the *Kaṭkēyas* probably on his mother's side. In line 5 we are told that he was the son of *Chaudamahāsāna* and that he was the lord of the city *Payvegundu*. The record does not tell us anything more about the donor beyond bestowing some ordinary praise on him. The object of the grant was the equal share (i.e., half) of the village *Kāṇaṭṭaṭṭi*, (l. 9) along with certain incomes, the details of which are given (ll. 14-16), to *Siṅgitale-Paṇyāra* of the *Hāṇṇa-gōṭra* (l. 8). Similar instances of the endowment of a moiety of the taxes (*ardha-dāna*) also occur in Nos. VI and VIII of the inscriptions of Udiyāvara.⁶ As we learn from line 17 that the village had six hundred pieces of land the portion granted must have consisted of three hundred pieces. The grant was made in the presence of the *maṇtri*, the *parihāṭa*, the *śrīṇaṭṭa* the one-thousand and the six-hundred. The last two were probably the *mahājanas* (the Brahmanical Assembly) and either the *śāḍa* (non-Brahmanical Assembly) or the *nagara* of the place. As *Kāṇaṭṭaṭṭi* appears to be a village it is likely that it did not have the *nagara* or the merchant guild. The reference to such bodies merely by their numbers is not uncommon.⁷

¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 23.

² I am indebted for this suggestion to Rao Bahadur B. Narasimhaiah.

³ Since *kāṇa-paṭṭavasi* is specified as 128 it appears to me that it denotes the gift of a lump sum (*paṇḍa*). If so, *kāṇa* may be taken to be the Samskrit word *kāṇa* (= *kāṇāpāna*). *Kāṇāpāna* would then mean the *kāṇāpāna* paid in a lump unlike the taxes noted above, of which the donee was to receive a half. This explanation seems to gain strength by the use of a somewhat similar expression in an inscription, of the 13th year of the Chāluṅga king Pratiṣṭhapakravartī Jagadīśamalla II (No. 593 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1915); the passage runs as:—*kāṇa śāḍa mahājanaṁ śrīṇaṭṭa-śāḍa naga-śāḍa-buddhi varaha-graṭi kṛtānāṁ gadyānāṁ paṇḍa-śāḍaṇḍi śrīṇaṭṭa śāḍa-pāṇḍaṇḍi addi kṛtā. Hata the twelve paṇḍas (lump coin) were granted as a lump sum.*

⁴ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 21 and 23.

⁵ An inscription of about the 7th or 8th century at Alhola (Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p. 227) calls the five hundred *mahājanas* of the place as simply the 'five-hundred'. The 'mahājana' of Chidambaram in the Gauda Taluka who are stated to be fifty-six in a Rāṣṭrakūṭa record of Saka 819 (No. 104 of the Bombay-Karnatak Collection for 1926-27) are referred to merely as the 'fifty-six' in another Bhoja record of the same place (No. 101 of the same collection). Similarly while the one-thousand *mahājana* of Lohitiguppi are designated as such in an inscription (No. 51 of the same collection) of that place, another inscription (No. 52 of the same collection) describes them as the 'one-thousand'.

Till now no Pallava chief was known to have ruled in North Kanara or on the West Coast. Since there is little doubt that Gōpālādēva was only a feudatory chief, it is not likely that he was directly related to the imperial Pallavas of Kāñchi who continued to rule till the Chōja King Aditya I took possession of their territory towards the close of the 8th century A.D.¹ The only family that claimed connection with the Pallavas of Kāñchi and is known to have been flourishing in the 8th century was that of the Nolamba-Pallavas. But their sway was then confined to portions of Tumkur and Chitaldroog Districts in Mysore and part of the Anantapur District in the Madras Presidency. Chandamahāsēna, the father of Gōpālādēva figures in this record for the first time. The only Chandamahāsēna known to Epigraphy was a Chāharāṇa and is referred to in an inscription of Vikrama-Sarvat 898 from Dhōlpur.² A Chandadanda of Kāñchi is, however, known to have been defeated by the Kadamba king Ravivarman in the 6th century.³

The Kaikeyas who seem to have given a princess of their family in marriage to Chandamahāsēna of the present record are known to have contracted similar matrimonial alliances with the Ishvākuas,⁴ probably of the Telugu country, and the Early Kadambas of Banavasi. The wife of Kṛishṇavarman I of the Kadamba dynasty was a Kaikeya princess⁵ and Mṛigēśvaravarman, the brother of Ravivarman, was married to Prabhāvatī who "was born in the noble Kaikeya family".⁶ On the authority of the Purāṇas Pargiter places the Kaikeyas in the Panjab⁷ but no information is available as to when and how they came to the south.

The record is not dated but, as shown above, it can be assigned on palaeographic grounds to the middle of the 8th century. Other internal evidence also supports this view. We know that Satyāśraya was a distinctive and well-known *śiṛṇa* of the Chālukya kings and among the Early Chālukyas of Bādāmi there were two kings of the name Vikramāditya. The surname Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya of the donor of the present grant would therefore lead one to infer that either Gōpālādēva himself adopted the name of his overlord the Chālukya Vikramāditya, most probably the second of that name; or that Chandamahāsēna who owed allegiance to the Chālukya king named his son after his suzerain. This grant might therefore either belong to the reign of Vikramāditya II who ruled from 733-34 to 746-47; or in the absence of mention of any paramount sovereign it may not be impossible that it was issued at a time when the central authority of the Chālukyas had become weak and, along with other feudatory chiefs, Gōpālādēva also tried to assume independence. The Chālukya power had not only waned towards the end of the reign of Kirtivarman II, the latest date available for whom is A.D. 757, but a portion of their territory had also been conquered by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dantidurga. But it was Kṛishṇa I who dispossessed the Chālukyas of all their territory and established the Rāshtrakūṭa supremacy by "transforming into a deer the great boar" which was the emblem of the Chālukyas.⁸ Since Kṛishṇa I must have ceased to rule sometime between 772, the date of his Bhāndak plates⁹ and 775, the date of the Pimpri plates of Dhārāvārsha,¹⁰ the final overthrow of the Chālukyas may be placed somewhere about 770. Thus our record may have to be allotted to a period between 735 and 770.

¹ A. S. R., 1900-07, p. 239 and above, Vol. XIX, p. 54.

² No. 12 of Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*. But we know of no earlier Chandamahāsēna who was the king of Avantī and father of Vāmanaśakti as well known to Sanskrit literature.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 29.

⁴ *Ep. Cars.*, Vol. XI, Dg. 181.

⁵ Above, Vol. VI, p. 18.

⁶ *Mys. Arch. Report*, 1911, p. 35.

⁷ *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 264 and 293.

⁸ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part II, p. 391.

⁹ Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 121 ff.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. X, pp. 81 ff. Gōvinda II for whom we have no dated records seems to have ruled only for short time before 775.

Of the places mentioned in the grant Payvegunda can be identified with Haigunda, a village about 12 miles east of Honavar, on the bank of the river Sarivati. Paramaja has probably to be identified with the modern village Honavali which lies at a distance of about six miles north-west of Haigunda; and Tanvalli may be the same as the present Tamballi, also close to Haigunda.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 ॐ Svasti [1*] Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-*arī*-prishuvi(*dhvī*)-vallabha Pallava-
2 va-rāja-Gōpālādēvaśya Kaikōya-vandā-śābhar-śābhata-pradhāna-pu-
3 rusaśya anēka-guṇa-gaṇ-śābhakṛta-prasēva-lakṣmī-nivā-
4 sa-valaha-śthalaya anēka-rupa-vipulā-śatra-jana-prabhañjana-ka-
5 ri-kaś-śātra-bāhu-drayaya Chapāmahā(ś)śēna-puṭraya Payve-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 6 gunda-pur-śivaraśya Pallava-rājāna dattah' [1*] Mantri-purohita-śrīkara-
7 tanuś śābhavaruś aruśśrvaruś sahitam tanaśa prasāda-purāṇa-
8 pponga Arida(Hārita)-gōtrajange Śingitale-Panyārange Kāśampa-
9 Hiyā samp-bhāgumāna chandra-śrīyaya-śūlappinam sarva-viruddha-ra-
10 hnam Gōpālādēva[1*] kottas bhukta-śāmbhuktas salott-śānda [1*]

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 11 Mana-dāmanuś Palage-gaṇṭas modā-śge kaśaniyūś vaśagannā śme
12 Paramaja paśuvannā śme Tanva[1] Oikapā[1] tūkannā śme
13 Noydalgeyyā śi mūdannā śme Idavejjadā vaśaga-
14 gōś nūṇaga ॐ Kolaguppe peljavai ardhah kāśasoppin-ardham
15 vāśai-ardham kara-pōṇṇam nū-śrpati-śatu(śu) kōmba gōraśana pa-

Third Plate.

- 16 śeram metta(śu) mōḍe jamaśi endu ॐ Ida Gōpa(ś)lādēvaś da-
17 tti ita-śaram-śāśa-śāśa[1] aruśśra bhūmī agra-
18 ka(ś)ratam Vāśaśayumāś-śāśa[1] śāśa[1] śāśa[1] śāśa[1] [1*]

TRANSLATION.

Lines 1-6. Hail! This is the gift of the Pallava chief Gōpālādēva alia Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya, who was the favourite of Fortune and Earth, the chief among the exalted personages born of the Kaikōya family, who was adorned with a multitude of virtues and whose breast was the abode of the (goddess) Lakṣmī, who had a pair of arms which resembled the elephant's trunk in shape and which had destroyed the hosts of enemies in several battles, who was the son of Chapāmahāśēna and the lord of the city of Payvegunda.

LL 6-10. Gōpālādēva, attended by his minister, the purohita (family priest), the Śrīvaraga (officer of Accounts), the one-thousand (śāśaśana) and the six-hundred (śāśa) granted, free from all opposition, to Śingitale-Panyāra of the Hārita-gōtra who had earned his (Gōpālādēva's) favour the equal share (i.e. half) of the village Kāśampā[1] (to be enjoyed) as long as the sun and the moon exist. (This estate) was in (his) continued enjoyment.

* Read Pallava-rājāna dattah.

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ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥

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THINK: FIRST - THE ACTUAL RISK.

Ll. 11-14. (*The portion granted was as follows*) :—The house site and the rice-fields beginning from (the place called?) Palage-gayta. The northern boundary (of this was) the (village) Potamajē, the western boundary (consisted of the villages) Tagvajji and Gārapāji, the southern boundary (was) the embankment of the (tank called) Neydalgeṇe and the eastern boundary (was) the lake on the north of (the hill called) Iḡvetṭa.

Ll. 14-16. (*Besides this*) he was granted one half of the incomes *bolaguppe*¹ and *poljavasi*, one-half of *kāna-coppa* and one-half of *śīra* and a lump sum of one hundred and twenty eight *karsa* (*śāśrahāpaṇa* D.....² and a pair of eight *māḍas*.

Ll. 16-18. This was the gift of Gōpālādēva. He who destroys this will enter the world of those who destroy this *agrahāra* comprising six hundred lands and Bāṇāras.

No. 30.—TWO UNPUBLISHED VALABHI GRANTS.

By D. B. DICKHART, M.A.

A.—Santia Plates of Dharaśena II [Valabhi-] Śaṅkvaṭ 257.

While examining the old records of the Watson Museum, Rājkot, I found two impressions of two plates of a Valabhi grant hitherto unpublished. On the cover of the impressions the late Mr. Vallabhi H. Acharya, formerly Curator of the Watson Museum, had made the remark that the impressions were given to him by a vernacular school-master of the village Banja, in the Bātwa *talukā* in the south-west of Kāthiawār, in 1894. It seems that the late Mr. Acharya was not successful in obtaining the original plates. My efforts to trace them have not yet been successful. But considering the importance of the inscription I think it proper to publish it here with the help of the impressions only.

Unfortunately the impressions were not properly taken and being kept in the files for the last 27 years the paper has become very fragile. It is clear, however, that the two plates were in a perfect state of preservation, and formed a complete grant. Each plate measures 12½" by 8" and contains two holes meant for the rings. The first plate contains 17 and the second 15 lines of writing.

The characters are those usually used in Valabhi grants. As regards orthography it is sufficient to note that the name of the grantor king is spelt as Dharaśena (l. 15) instead of Dharaśēna as is usually found in the grants. The symbols of *Jāṇasāyī* and *Upādhyāyī* are used only once in l. 15 and l. 30 respectively. The word *śāśra* (or *śāśra* as in some grants) is left to be engraved after *bahubhīr-masūkhā* in l. 30. The record is however generally free from mistakes.

The record opens with the name of the place, viz., Valabhi from which the grant was issued. Then as usual the genealogy of the Maitraka family from Bhatārta, the founder, to Dharaśena II, the donor of the present grant is given with poetical description of each ruler, which is identical with that of all other published grants of Dharaśena II. The donor is a Brāhmana named Dēva-datta, of *Sāṅgijīya-gōtra* and *Maitrāyāniya-Sākhā* (l. 20).³ The property granted consists of a village named Bhaṭṭaka- (or Bhadraka) *patra* (dra 1) in the northern part (*ādhipati*) of *Kaṇṇa-dīnyapura* in the Śaśāstras (ll. 11, 17, 18). The purpose for which the grant was made is, as usual with grants to Brāhmanas, for the maintenance of the five sacrificial rites (l. 20). The names of officers (ll. 15-16) who were addressed by the grantor king as also the privileges (ll. 18-19) accompanying the enjoyment of the grant are the same as in the grant of Dharaśena of Sam.

¹ For the explanation of these terms see above p. 176.

² The meaning of *śāśra* is not clear.

³ The place of residence of the Brāhmana is not mentioned.

332¹. The grant was written by Skandabhata, the minister for peace and war (l. 31), and the Dātaka was Chirbhira (l. 32). The date of the grant is the fifteenth day of the dark half of Vaiśākha of (the Gupta-Valabhi) Samvat 254 (l. 33) when there was a solar eclipse (Sūrya-ṣparśya l. 22).

Both the Dātaka and the writer in this grant are the same as in the seven grants² of Dharaśēna II of Sam. 352. In his grant of Sam. 269 however the Dātaka was a different person.

As regards the localities mentioned in the grant it is well known that Valabhi is modern Valā in Kāthiāwār. The village of Kauṇḍinyapura can be identified with Kojnār in south Kāthiāwār. The village Bhaṭṭakapat(d)ra in the Surasāṭras cannot be identified.

Of Dharaśēna II as many as twelve grants are known : seven³ of these are of Sam. 252, one⁴ of Sam. 269, two⁵ of Sam. 270 and the remaining two⁶ being fragmentary do not give the dates. The most interesting point about the date of the present grant is the mention of a solar eclipse on the fifteenth day of the dark half of Vaiśākha in Sam. 254. Though as many as 9 grants were issued by Valabhi kings on the amāvāsya-day (mostly on the amāvāsya of Vaiśākha), it is only this grant that makes mention of a solar eclipse. It is also probably the earliest mention of an eclipse in an epigraphical record. According to Mr. L. D. Swaminathan Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* (Vol. I, part I, pp. 220 f.) there was a solar eclipse in the month of Chaitra (i.e., Vaiśākha according to the Pūrāṇadatta calculation) on 19th March 573 A.D. which may be taken to be the date of the grant.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 श्री लक्ष्मि [1^a] वलभीतः प्रसभ-²

 15 पालिवधीः परमसाहेवरः श्रीमहाराजधर्मेन्द्राय सन्निवाहुक

 17 वामदे सुरादेव

Second Plate.

- 18 कौण्डिन्यापुरा उत्तरपदे भद्रकपच(द्र)सामकोद्रक
 20 मैत्रायणिकसवस्त्रवारिशाण्डिकसमोवस्त्राण्डवदत्ताय वलिवस्त्रवेष्टदेवामिहोवा-
 तिधिपंचमहायाज्ञिका-
 21 ना क्रियाणां समुत्पत्त्येणार्थमाचन्द्रार्कार्थवसरिचिति(तिवति)समकालीनः पृथगोवा-
 न्ववभोज्यः पूर्व-

¹ Above, Vol. XI, p. 80.

² See n. 3.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vols. XV, p. 187; VII, p. 68; VIII, p. 301; XIII, p. 140; *Sta. and Pkt. Inscri. of Kathiawar*, p. 33; *Ancient of the Bhamburda Inscriptions*, Vol. IV, pp. 35 ff. and Above Vol. XI, p. 80.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 9.

⁵ *J. B. E. A. S.*, Vol. I (N. S.), p. 86; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 70.

⁶ *J. B. E. A. S.*, Vol. I (N. S.), pp. 24 and 21.

⁷ As the text is practically identical with that of the Palitana grant of Sam. 262 (Above, Vol. XI, p. 80) only the most important portion is given here. It may be noted that the names of Bhaṭṭaka, Dr̥ṣṭadīha, Dharaśēna, Dharaśēna and Guhaśēna, are recorded in the lines 2, 3, 4, 7, 8 and 12 respectively.

⁸ Read वलिव.

३२ मुच्यमान[इत्येव] सूर्योपरानि उदकमन्येन व्रजदेयो निवृष्टः

३१ दिभिः [१^{*}] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति ।
निश्चितं सन्धिविपहाधिकृतस्कन्दमटेन ॥

३२ स्रजस्तो मम महाराजचोवरसेनस्य ॥ इ चिर्चिरः सं २०० ५० ४ ।
वैशख^२ व १० ५ ॥

B.—Bhavnagar plates of Dharasena III—[Valabhi.] Sarhavat 304.

Prof. B. K. Thakore, B.A., I.E.S. (retired), kindly gave me information of the plates edited here, which are lying with a grain merchant named Dipasang Kānāji in Bhāvnagar in Kāthiāwād. Through the good offices of Prof. Narainīhāprasād Bhattacharya of the Dakshināmūrti Bhavan, Bhāvnagar and other friends I have been able to purchase them from the owner.

The plates are two in number each measuring $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}''$. They contain 24 and 20 lines of writing respectively, which is in an excellent state of preservation. Each plate contains two holes as are commonly found with Valabhi plates and meant for the insertion of copper rings holding both the plates together. But both the rings, one of which must have contained the usual Valabhi seal, are missing. The characters are those usually found in Valabhi grants. They are neatly engraved though not in perfect straight lines. The writing is almost free from mistakes. The language of the record is Sanskrit.

At the beginning of the record is mentioned the military camp, *Khātaka-pradēsa* from which the grant was issued by Dharasena III, the son of Kharagraha, who was the younger brother of Śīlāditya. The introductory portion containing the description of each ruler from Bhāpārka, the founder of the family, to Dharasena III, the donor of the grant, is practically identical with that in the grant of Dhruvasena II of Sam. 310³. The grantor king bears only the epithet *parama-māhātara*. The donor is a Brāhmaṇa named Mitrayāsa, son of Brāhmaṇa Viśvayāsa, of *Ātrya-gotra* and a follower of Atharva-Vēda, resident of Hastavapra. The property granted to him recorded in the grant consists of the following—

(1) 100 *pādāntas* of land called Kōṭikā, ploughed by Kuṭumbi Gōmīyaka and situated in the north-west quarter in the village Amākārakūpa in the Hastavapra-*ādēsa* in the Śurāṣṭrā-*śālagṇa*. The boundaries of the field are : to the south, the village cattle-truck ; to the west, the junction of the boundary of the village Chūṭikā (with that of the village Amākārakūpa) ; to the east,⁴ the rising ground of a stone quarry (and) to the north, the field called Pālātika (†) of the Kuṭumbins Chārabbhaka and Ohandravaka, as well as the field belonging to Kariraka in the north of the Rōhīṭaka-*śālā* adjoining the Arāṇṇijjikā-*śālā*.

(2) A ploughed field of Kuṭumbi Kapardiyaka in the north-west quarter in the village Dabhaka in the Kālāpaka-*paṭhaka*. It lies to the west of the field Avakṣāṭṭi (*i.e.*,

¹ The usual imperatory verbs and injunctions.

² Read *अथवा*.

³ It is well known that in grants beginning with and later than the year 286 the names of the rulers between Bhāpārka and Guhmasena are dropped. See above, Vol. XI, p. 175 and J. B. R. S. A. S. (N. S.), Vol. 1, p. 24.

⁴ The word is generally used in the masculine but in a few cases it is used in the feminine as in the present case. Cf. above Vol. XVII, p. 104.

⁵ It may be seen that the boundaries are not given in the proper order.

unpoughable land I), to the north of the field of Khujjaka, to the east of the field of Nappuvaka, (and) to the south of the junction of the boundary of the village Bhajjaka (with that of the village Dabhaka).

(3) In the same village in its south-east quarter an irrigation well with an area of *sixteen pāṇḍarvas*, dug by Kuṇḍa Kapāṇḍiya of the same village. It lies to the west of the field irrigated by (*prachikāṭa*) the Khajjāri well, to the north of the field of Somaḥ and a canal, to the east of the play-ground (and) to the south of the old way by the side of Dabhaka.

(4) Similarly in the village Hasthridaka in the Strāvāśākha-*śālā* in its southern quarter *seventy superficial (ulāpa) pāṇḍarvas* of the field of Kuṇḍa Nāgala, to the west of (the temple of ?) Śaṭhacikā . . . (i.e., goddess Bhavāntī) built by the villagers, to the north of the field of Khachchabhaya, to the east of the junction of the boundary of Sanviraḥ, to the south of the limit of the field irrigated by (*prachikāṭa*) the well called Śrīdala.

The Dātaka, who executed the grant was the prince Śāmanā Śāladitya and it was written by Vataṛabhāṭṭi, the chief secretary and the minister for peace and war.

The record concludes with the date the seventh day of the bright half of Māgha of (Gupta-Valabhī) Samvat 304 and the sign-manual (of the king).

The historical importance of the inscription lies in the fact that no date was hitherto found between Samvat 292,¹ the latest date of Śāladitya I and 319,² the earliest date of Dhruvasena II Śāladitya. Although we know that two rulers (viz., Kharragala (I) and Dhruvasena III) had ruled in the intervening period, no record was so far found of either of them. The present grant gives us a record and a date for one of these rulers³ and partly fills up the gap existing between Samvats 292 and 319.

The Dātaka of the present grant, viz., Śāmanā Śāladitya, is the same as is found in the earlier grants of Dhruvasena II-Śāladitya. The writer Vataṛabhāṭṭi is mentioned in the grants of Śāladitya-Utarmāditya beginning with the year 286 and also in the grants of Dhruvasena II-Śāladitya at least up to the year 313. From Samv. 330 to 339 his son Shantabhāṭṭa succeeded him as the keeper of records and writer of grants and from 334 to 365 Anabha the son of Shantabhāṭṭa. We know that another Shantabhāṭṭa (probably the father of Vataṛabhāṭṭi) was the writer of the later grants of Ouhāsena beginning with the year 246 and in all the grants of Dhruvasena II from 252 to 270 just before Vataṛabhāṭṭi. The office was thus held by four generations in this family for at least 120 years.

The following places are mentioned in the record: *Surāshṭrā* mentioned as a *viśaya*, *Hastavapra* mentioned as an *śāla*, *Kāṭhāpaka* mentioned as a *paṭaka*, *Strāvāśākha* and *Arudhā* (or *Arudhā*), mentioned as *śāla* and *Arudhāśākha*, *Dabhaka*, *Bhujjaka*, *Hasthridaka* and *Chūpika* all these mentioned as villages. Of these *Surāshṭrā* is the old name of the Kāthiāwār peninsula. Though in later times and at the present day *Surashtra* denotes only the southern part of Kāthiāwār, it appears that eastern Kāthiāwār was once included in *Surashtra* since *Hastavapra*, which is modern Hāthap⁴ in Bhavnagar State is said to be in *Surashtra*. *Kāṭhāpaka*

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 117 ff.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 12.

³ Very recently Mr. Cohen, the present Curator of the Rajasth Museum has discovered a grant of Kharragala dated Samv. 297 cf. *Asi. Rep. Station Mus.* 1931-32, p. 7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. LIV, App. p. 42.

which is mentioned in the grants of Sam. 310 and 326 and perhaps also of 286 is modern Kāṣṭhīja, 80 miles north-west of Porbandar.¹ The other places cannot be identified.

The expression *Khātaka-pradeśa* seems to denote that the king had probably encamped just outside (*pradeśa*) the city of Khātaka. The use of the word *pradeśa* is also found used in connection with Valabhi itself, the capital of the dynasty, in the Dhānk² grant of the year 290 as *विजयस्कन्धावाराहलभोप्रहारहोस्ववासकात्*. It is also found used in a Gurjara grant³ of Saka 417 as *भरकच्छप्रहारवासकात्*. In fact, the use of *pradeśa* in the ancient grants would appear to be analogous to that of the modern *para* which is added to the names of several towns in Kāshī-wār to indicate the precincts or suburbs in the vicinity.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 स्मृति विजयस्कन्धावाराहलभोप्रहारहोस्ववासकात्
समंप्रवसण्डनाभोगमंसहप्रहार⁴

Second Plate.

- 25 निषिद्धपतिपचदर्योदयः स्रधनुःप्रभावपरिभूताक्षकौशलाभिमानः सज्जनपतिमण्डना-
भिर्नन्दितगासनः पर-
26 ममादिष्टः श्रीधरसेन × कुमली सर्वानिव यथासंवध्यमानकाशमाज्ञापयत्यसु वो
विदितं यथा मया मातापितोः
27 पुष्पाभ्यायनाय हस्तावपवास्तथाचेयमगोचाक्षर्चसम्रज्ञचारिणे ब्राह्मणविश्वयशःपुत्र-
ब्राह्मणमिषयमसे सु-
28 राष्ट्राविप्रये हस्तावपाचारि अमाकारकूपयामि पूर्वोत्तरसीन्नि गोमियककुटुम्बिकृष्ट-
कोलिकाचेयपादावर्तयन्तं यस्यावाटनाति
29 दक्षिणेन यामगोसरपवः अपरतवूटिकायामभीमासन्निः पूर्वतः पाषाणज्वलिकाम-
स्तक(क) उत्तरेण आरभटकचद्रवककुटुम्बिचेव
30 पालाशिकं तथा अरिष्टिज्जकास्वलोपत्यासखरोचिडकमालादुत्तरतः करीकस्तत्तत्त्वं २
तथा कालापकपयके डभकयामि
31 उत्तरापरसीमायां कपदि(हिं)यककुटुम्बिकृष्टसीता अवलपिजेवादपरतः शुद्धवेवा-
दुत्तरतः नण्णकवेवात्पूर्वतः भडानक-
32 सोमासन्नेर्हत्तणतः लवाचैव यामि पूर्वदक्षिणसीन्नि कुटुम्बिकपदि(हिं)यकास्व(कतु)कृष्टा
अष्टादशपादावर्तपरिसरा वापी-धञ्जुरि [वापी]

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 237.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 81.

⁴ For the portion II, 2-34 omitted here as being common with other Valabhi plates cf. above, Vol. VIII, pp. 190 E., 196 E.

- 33 प्रचीनादाः*] अपरतः शोककचेवद्वन्द्वसुरतः खिलपात्वा-पूर्वतः इभकाहे पुराण-
कगामिमाहोदधिगतः तथा सो[गवा]टाका[क]
34 स्वत्यां हस्तिहृदकयामे दक्षिणसेशि नागिलककुटुम्बिसेवोत्पन्नपादावर्त्ता सततिः
सामोर्णनिर्मितगङ्गारिकाव्या[परतः]
35 खड्गव्यजेचादुत्तरतः सौवीरकसीमासन्नेः पूर्वतः सेरिद्रववापीप्रक्षीचामर्थादाया
दक्षिणतः एवमितद् सोदृक्
42 नरके वसेत् ॥ दूतकोच रात्रपुच सामन्तशोलादित्वः ॥ निश्चितं चेदं सन्नि-
विषहाधिष्ठतदिविरपतिवच द्विना ॥ सं ३०० ३
43 माच थ ० खहस्तो मम ।

No. 31.—THE PALLAVARAYANPETTAI INSCRIPTION OF RAJADHIRAJA II.

By V. VENKATASUBBA AYYAR, B.A., Madras.

The inscription¹ published below is engraved on the south wall of the *mapigai* in front of the central shrine in the Sundarésvara temple at **Pallavarāyappēttai** near Mayavaram in the Tanjore district. It is in a fair state of preservation though the inscribed surface is broken in certain portions and especially in ll. 9 and 10, thereby slightly obscuring the sense of the record. Some of the words lost can, however, be restored from the context.

The record is written in the **Tamiz** language and script of the 12th century A.D. Orthographical peculiarities are very few. Some of the words used in the inscription, however, deserve to be noticed. The word *Kōyir-kattu* (l. 6) may be rendered as 'the palace establishment,' *kōyir* meaning 'palace' and *kattu* a 'division' or 'establishment.'² The word *apandāḥ-ṇipāṇam* (l. 6) may be explained as 'the body of armed men and women employed in the inner apartments of the palace.' The first part of the compound implies 'those that are attached to the inner circle,' in which sense, the word is, however, now obsolete. The significance of the term *ṭaṇai* (l. 6) is not quite clear. From the context it seems to denote 'a division' or 'a department.' In this sense it lingers to the present day in masons' vocabulary. *Mūl-ṭaṇai* (l. 7.) may be taken to denote the class of officers who first receive the royal commands and communicate them to others for execution. The word *viṇḍalakuṇai* (l. 21), not ordinarily found in inscriptions, means 'a married woman.' The term *uṇṇari* (l. 28) may be explained as 'an extract from the tax-register issued by the State to a person for the actual enjoyment of a grant.' The *uṇṇari*-documents are invariably issued over the signatures of the revenue officers of the State.

The inscription is dated in the eighth year of the reign of the Chōja king **Rājakēśari-varmaṇ** **Rājādhirājādēva** (II) and begins with the words '*kaḍai-ṣṭheda*,' etc., which usually introduce this monarch in his inscriptions. The object of the record is the grant of an *uṇṇari*

¹ The portion ll. 36-41 contains the usual privilege accompanying the gift of a land and the imprecatory *ṛṣṭma*.

² Registered as No. 423 of 1924 in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for the year 1923-24. The inscription is noticed in the *Journal of the Madras Society*, Vol. XIX, p. 57, but the readings and the interpretation given there requires great alteration.

³ [The word means also 'a household' or 'family' see Wiegand's *Tamil-English Dictionary*.—G. R. E.]

regarding the estate of **Tiruchchirrambalam-Uḍaiyāṅ Perumānambī alias Pallavarāyar** of Kāṇṇai-Kuḷattūr, which had been made tax-free on his death. In giving an account of this Pallavarāyar, who appears to have been a trusted officer of Rājārāja II, the inscription recounts his services to the crown in connection with the Chōla succession and the Singhalese invasion of South India in the latter half of the 12th century A.D.

The record, which is mainly historical in character, may be divided into three sections. In the first are stated the circumstances under which Pallavarāyar brought in Rājādhirāja II and placed him on the throne; in the second, the help rendered by the Chōla king to the Pāṇḍya refugee Kulakṣhara, Pallavarāyar's victory over the Singhalese army and the restitution of Madura to Kulakṣhara are detailed at length; and in the third section, are recorded the demise of Pallavarāyar, the grant of tax-free lands to his relatives and their distribution among them by **Vēdavanam-Uḍaiyāṅ Ammayappaṅ alias Pallavarāyaṅ** and the final grant of an *aḥvāni* for this, signed by royal officers.

From the inscription, we are given to understand that the Chōla king Rājārāja II, having had no male issue for a long time, the question as to who should succeed him came up for consideration and the king himself selected **Edirūl-Perumāl**, the son of **Neṟiyuḍai-Perumāl** and the grandson of **Vikramaśōḷaḍēyar**, residing at Gaṅgaikondaśōḷapuram, and appointed him as his successor by investing him with the crown. However, soon after making this selection, Rājārāja II had two sons born to himself, but before any arrangements could be made for their accession, the king passed away. At the time of the king's demise his sons (*piḷḷaṅgaḷ*)¹ were aged one and two years respectively and the minister Pallavarāyar escorted them to Rājārājapuram along with the harem² from the stronghold at Āyirattal. Then in accordance with the original intention of the departed king this officer placed on the throne **Edirūl-Perumāl**³ under the title Rājādhirāja (II) with the consent of the *uḍay-ḷāṅgam* and the *nāḍu* in the fourth year of installation.⁴ Since the inscription is damaged at this portion, more information is not available about the prince selected.

¹ The common term *piḷḷaṅgaḷ* is to be interpreted here as 'male children', because in this inscription daughters are clearly distinguished as *poṇ-maḷḷaḷ* (l. 21).

² [If the daughter of Pallavarāyar, who is described as 'the wife of Rājārājādēyar with her sons' (l. 26) and to whom by far the largest share of his property has been allotted in this inscription (as many as 8 out of 40 *ṇḍi* of land), is the same as the queen who bore two sons to Rājārāja II in the last three years of his life, we can understand how Pallavarāyar could obtain the control of the harem and household of the late king. His tactical removal of the king's infant sons (probably his own grandchildren) to a place of safety and his helping the former king's successor-designate to the throne during their minority must have been prompted alike by his anxiety for the safety and good government of the realm as by personal considerations for his own daughter and grand-children.—Ed.]

³ There could have been no grounds for resentment since only a member of the elder branch of the royal family was chosen for the throne.

⁴ No. 337 of 1914 from Maḍattakūḍiyil in the Pudukkōttai State belonging to Rājādhirāja II gives the date '2nd year, Makara 7, Monday, Svātī', corresponding to A.D. 1162, December 3, Monday. Prof. Kishore has fixed the date of accession of this king between 25th February and 30th March 1163 A.D. According to the present inscription, Rājādhirāja II was invested with the crown over three years earlier, i.e., in 1160-61 A.D. His second year, therefore, would be 1161-62 and the Maḍattakūḍiyil grant was probably issued while Rājādhirāja was a crown prince. A record from Pannaiyūr in the Cuddalore district (No. 209 of 1931-32) gives the date '14th year which was equal to the 12th year of Rājādhirājādēyar', thus counting the date from the time of his nomination.

[There are, however, three other inscriptions (Nos. 571 of 1907, above Vol. X, p. 127, 428 of 1912 and 19 of 1913) the dates of which work regularly for the year 1166 A.D. as the first year of Rājādhirāja II's reign; on the other hand there is at least one record (No. 96 of 1920) according to which Rājārāja II was ruling in 1124th Daṣamī, i.e., about 8 months subsequent to the date of his predecessor's accession as fixed by Kishore. The resulting confusion can possibly be cleared up by future discoveries.—Ed.]

Though Rājārāja II had no sons at the time he selected Edirū-Perumāi to succeed him, it is clear from the inscription that he did not die without leaving an heir-apparent to the throne. Since it is said that the princes were one and two years old respectively at the time of Rājārāja's demise, when Edirū-Perumāi was crowned king as Rājādhirāja, they must have been 17 and 18 years old respectively and therefore fit to assume the reins of government in A.D. 1178, which was the last year of the reign of Rājādhirāja II and the year of accession of his successor Kulōttunga-Chōja III. It is, therefore, likely that Kulōttunga-Chōja III was one of the two sons of Rājārāja II and that during the former's minority,* Rājādhirāja II was brought in to rule the Chōja country. The fact that the inscriptions of Rājārāja II and those of Kulōttunga-Chōja III commence with the identical eulogistical expressions 'Pū-maruvīya'¹ and 'Peyal-ēyala',² etc., also lends support to this view.

After crowning Edirū-Perumāi under the title Rājādhirāja, the next service of Pallavarāyar to the Chōja kingdom was in connection with the war of the Pāṇḍya succession³ waged by the two rival claimants Parākrama-Pāṇḍya and Kulāśkhara-Pāṇḍya for the throne of Madura. The inscription states that the forces of Ceylon entered the Pāṇḍya country in large numbers and forced its king Kulāśkhara to leave his territory, whereupon this king is said to have sought the shelter of the Chōja king, entreating him to get back his kingdom. Pallavarāyar undertook to lead the Chōja army into the Pāṇḍya country, to restore Kulāśkhara to the throne, to decapitate the Sinhalese commanders and nail their heads on the gates of Madura⁴ so as to inspire terror in the enemy's camp. Kulāśkhara⁵ is stated to have stayed in the Chōja country for some time before he started with the necessary forces to win back his kingdom. Pallavarāyar carried out all his undertakings and as a result of his invasion the Sinhalese forces were driven out of India and Kulāśkhara was installed on the throne of his forefathers.

Only three other records of Rājādhirāja II refer to this war, viz., one from Ārpākkam⁶ in the Chingleput district, dated in the 5th year; another from Tiruvālaṅḡi⁷ near Madura, dated in the 12th year; and the third from Tirumayāgam⁸ in the Tanjore district, dated also in the 12th year.

¹ Copper-plate No. 23 of 1916-17 which belongs to Rājārāja II as the ruler of the Vēṅgi country couples the Śaka year 1091 (= A.D. 1160) with the 23rd regnal year. We know that Rājārāja II was not alive in A.D. 1160 and that the Chōja country was then ruled by Rājādhirāja II. The period of regency was probably denoted here as a continuation of Rājārāja's reign. Incidentally, however, we see from the record that the Chōja hold on the Vēṅgi country was not lost even after the death of Rājārāja II, whose very rule over this part of the country was doubted (*A. R.* for 1917, para. 25).

² *A. R.* No. 173 of 1908; also *A. R.* for 1909, para. 50.

³ *A. R.* No. 154 of 1907. For similar commencement with the introduction of predecessors, see *A. R.* for 1913, para. 33, and *A. R.* for 1924, p. 102.

⁴ This war is detailed at length in chapters 75 and 77 of the Sinhalese chronicle *Mahāvamsa* and its authenticity is borne out by inscriptional evidence. The chronicle is one-sided in its version, inasmuch as it ascribes victory to the Sinhalese general, but from Tamil lithic records we find that the Sinhalese general was not only routed but that the heads of this general and of his subordinates were cut off and nailed to the gates of Madura by the Chōja general. The help that the Pāṇḍya king Kulāśkhara received from Rājādhirāja II is mentioned at considerable length in the *Mahāvamsa*, which fact is also corroborated by the present record.

⁵ Such gruesome acts are not uncommon in the warfare of the Tamils (see *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 37 and 68).

⁶ In this connection it may be noted that Kulāśkhara sought help from his uncle, the Kōṅga king Kulōttunga-Chōja, who also seems to have taken an active part in the restoration of his nephew to the Pāṇḍya throne (*A. R.* No. 336 of 1928). The *Mahāvamsa* also corroborates the help received by Kulāśkhara from the king of Kōṅga. The chronicle states that 'Kulāśkhara gathered together the forces of Trinivāla and those also of his mother's brethren which were at Ten-Kōṅga and Vēḷa-Kōṅga' (*Wijesinha's translation* p. 245).

⁷ No. 30 of 1899 of the Madras Epigraphical collection and *S. I. I.* (Tamil), Vol. VI, p. 188 B.

⁸ No. 465 of 1905 of the same collection.

⁹ No. 261 of 1925 of the same collection.

These epigraphs confirm and supplement the information given in our record and are, therefore, valuable sources for the history of this war, our knowledge of which, in the absence of any reference to it in Tamil literature, has been hitherto wholly based on the one-sided account of the Ceylonese chronicle *Mahāvamsa*. In this war the two Chōla generals that took prominent part were, Pallavarāyaṇ mentioned in our present record, and after him, Vēdavagam-Udaiyāṇ Ammaiyaṇṇa alias Annaṇṇa Pallavarāyaṇ, the officer who distributed the lands among the former's relatives. After detailing the events recorded in the present inscription, the Tiruvālaṅgadu epigraph sets forth that Vēlavagam-Udaiyāṇ Ammaiyaṇṇa alias Annaṇṇa Pallavarāyaṇ counter-acted the subsequent machinations of the Singhalese king. Finding that his attempts to place Vira-Pādya on the Pādya throne were frustrated by the intervention of the Chōla king and that his own generals were defeated and killed, the Singhalese king Parākramabāhu¹ mobilised his forces in his camps at Ōratturai,² Pulaichechēri,³ Mātōttam,⁴ Vallikāmmam,⁵ Māttivāi⁶ and other places and was busy preparing his ships for a naval attack. Hearing of this, the Chōla king summoned Śrīvallabha,⁷ the nephew of the king of Ceylon and a previous claimant to the throne of Iḷam, supplied him with what was necessary and helped him to enter Ōratturai, Vallikāmmam, Māttivāi and other places with large forces with the result that Pulaichechēri, Mātōttam and other villages were destroyed, the elephants stationed therein were captured, more than 20 *kūdam* of land in extent from east to west and 30 *kūdam* of land from south to north in Iḷa-maṇḍalam was devastated, and among the Singhalese chiefs that were stationed in the region, some were killed and others taken captive. The general Vēdavagam-Udaiyāṇ Ammaiyaṇṇa alias Annaṇṇa Pallavarāyaṇ then sent for these captives, the booty and the captured elephants and presented them to the Chōla king.

At this stage, the Tiruvālaṅgadu inscription states that the Pādya king Kulasekhara, ignoring the good done to him, proved a traitor, made an alliance with the king of Iḷam and conspired with him against the Chōlas. In furtherance of this policy, he drove to the north of the river Vaḷḷaru the Chōla generals Rājārāja-Karkudiyarāyaṇ, Rājagambhīra-Aṇḍakōttinādāivāṇ and others that were

¹ Parākramabāhu (A.D. 1183-1186), the greatest ruler of Ceylon, is remembered chiefly for his activities in building cities, constructing and restoring large tanks and for his imperialistic attempts to extend his authority over Southern India. There is a statue of this king, carved on a rock at Polonnaruwa.

² Ōratturai is now known by the Dutch name Kayts and is situated on an island to the west of Jaffna. In Singhalese works the place is called Hārā (or Ōrā-tōṭa) and in the *Mahāvamsa* it is referred to by the name Sākaratitttha. It was an important port in the time of Parākramabāhu.

³ Pulaichechēri is the same as Pulaveri of the *Mahāvamsa* (Ch. 83, V. 17).

⁴ Mātōttam is the Mahātittam of the Pālī chronicles. In Tamil inscriptions it is called Rājārājapuram (S. I. I. (Texts), Vol. IV, Nos. 1412 and 1414). It is now known as Mānai or Tirukhādīvaram and is situated about 6 miles to the east of Mannar. There was a temple called Rājārāja-Iṇṇeratu-Mahādēva in this village (A. R. for 1912, para. 21).

⁵ Vallikāmmam may be identified with Valikkāmm about 8 miles to the south-east of Mannar. The village is called Vallikagūma in the *Mahāvamsa* (Ch. 83, V. 17).

⁶ Māttivāi may be identified with Maṭṭurū, a village about 10 miles to the east of Jaffna. A sea-port of this name is mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* (Ch. 60, V. 34).

⁷ The assistance rendered by Śrī-Vallabha to the Chōla king is not noticed in the *Mahāvamsa*. In the Tiruvālaṅgadu inscription it is clearly stated that Śrī-Vallabha was the nephew (son-in-law) of the Singhalese king. He was the son of princess Mīṭā, sister of Parākramabāhu (see genealogical table facing page 52, *Ep. Zeylonica*, Vol. II). His father Mañdhariśa was a rival of Parākramabāhu for the overlordship of Ceylon, and indeed the latter assumed the throne, there was a protracted struggle between the two claimants for sovereignty. Mañdhariśa was in the end defeated, but his son does not seem to have been reconciled to the conqueror. It may be said that the Jaffna kings had been the allies of the Chōla emperors and so, when help was needed, Śrī-Vallabha readily embraced the opportunity. It is not certain whether Śrī-Vallabha went to the assistance of the Chōla king with the connivance of Parākramabāhu. It cannot also be affirmed whether the treachery of Kulasekhara, which stands unexplained in the inscriptions, is in any way to be traced to Śrī-Vallabha.

stationed in the Pāṇḍya country, and also removed the heads of the Ceylonese generals that had been previously nailed to the gates of Madura by Tiruchelirrambalam-Uḍaiyāṇ Perumānambī alias Pallavarāyar. Some letters and presents despatched to the officers of Kulāśekhara,¹ hinting that the Singhalese king was an ally of their master, were intercepted by the Chōḷa king. It was therefore, decided to re-estate on the Pāṇḍya throne Vira-Pāṇḍya, the son of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, the former protégé of Ceylon and a claimant to the throne of Madura. Vāḍavaṇam-Uḍaiyāṇ Ammaṭṭappaṇ alias Pallavarājan was directed by the Chōḷa king to proceed with the necessary forces. When he had successfully accomplished his object, the general was granted 10 *vell* of land in Rājārājān-Palaivanūr, according to the Tiruvāṅkōḷa record. All the above events are also recorded in the Tirumayāpam inscription which appears to be an almost exact copy of the Tiruvāṅkōḷa inscription. Both of them are dated in the 12th year and 157th day; the Tirumayāpam inscription is, however, very fragmentary, but it has helped to fill in certain lacunae in the text of the Tiruvāṅkōḷa record. The reason why the same inscription should be engraved in two distant places as Tiruvāṅkōḷa (Chingleput district) and Tirumayāpam (Tanjore district) is not quite clear.

Of the persons figuring in the present inscription, the most important is Tiruchelirrambalam-Uḍaiyāṇ Perumānambī alias Pallavarāyar who took an active part in the coronation of Rājādhirāja II and in the war of the Pāṇḍya succession. From the Ārppukkam epitaph we learn that his father was Kāṭṭiṇṇāḷa-Sambuvacāvar. He seems to have died before 1171 A.D., the date of the present record. Next in importance to Tiruchelirrambalam-Uḍaiyāṇ Perumānambī alias Pallavarāyar stands Laṅkāpurī-Daṇḍanīyaka. He was entrusted with the command of the Singhalese army by the Ceylonese king Parākramabāhu, when Parākrama-Pāṇḍya sought his assistance against Kulāśekhara-Pāṇḍya. Before Laṅkāpurī-Daṇḍanīyaka could start for India, Parākrama-Pāṇḍya had been murdered, but the Ceylonese general succeeded in besieging Madura, the capital of the Pāṇḍya country, and in forcing Kulāśekhara to flee from his kingdom. Vāḍavaṇam-Uḍaiyāṇ Ammaṭṭappaṇ alias Pallavarājan, who effected the distribution of lands among the relations of Tiruchelirrambalam-Uḍaiyāṇ Perumānambī alias Pallavarāyar seems to have been an important officer and general both under Rājārāja II and his successor Rājādhirāja II. The several persons noticed in the record as the relatives of Pallavarāyar are obscure and are, therefore, not easily identifiable. The signatories to the *uḍaiyāṇ*, Chōḍirāśār, Vāṇādhirāśār, Śingai-arāyar, Nilagaḍagaraiyar and the royal secretary Māṇavaṇ-Māṇḍavāṇ appear to have held office even in the time of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III, the successor of Rājādhirāja II.

Among the places mentioned in the inscription Kāṭṭigai-Kuḷattūr, the native place of Pallavarāyar, deserves notice. The Tamil prosodist Amudasiṅgar commenced and completed his work Kāṭṭigai in this village, which, therefore, came to be known as Kāṭṭigai-Kuḷattūr.² It is stated to have been in Āmūr-kōṭṭam which roughly comprises the eastern portion of the present Chingleput taluk. There are two villages in this taluk bearing the name Kuḷattūr, one near Tirukchechiyūr in Kāḷattūr-kōṭṭam and the other near Tiruppōḷūr in Āmūr-kōṭṭam and the village mentioned in our record may be identified with the latter. In the time of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I, Kaṇḍan-Māḍhavay,³ a descendant of the chief who patronised Amudasiṅgar, was

¹ The chronicle describes Kulāśekhara as 'a powerful king,' 'cunning in the art of war,' 'a terror to his enemies' and as 'skilled in deriving means such as reconciliation, etc., to prevail against the enemy.' We find that Kulāśekhara was driven out of Madura by A.D. 1108 (Ārppukkam inscription) and that he was reinstated on the throne by A.D. 1171 (Pallavarāyapittā record). By A.D. 1175 (Tiruvāṅkōḷa inscription) he had been de-throned and Vira-Pāṇḍya crowned in his stead. It is, therefore, clear that Kulāśekhara could have occupied the throne only from about 1171 to 1175 A.D.

² *Atiya*, Vol. XVIII, p. 67.

³ *Ibid.* p. 64.

in charge of this village, but it is not certain if he was in any way related to the Pallavarājar of our record. **Jayanakonḍaśōla-maṇḍalam** and **Gaṅgaikonḍaśōla-puram** are well known to Tamil epigraphy. **Ayirattai** was a quarter of Niyamam, a village situated close to Palamānāri in the Tanjore district. The village is also mentioned in the '*Vīraśūyam*' of Buddhamiṭra and mentioned as 'a place of thousand temples.' **Bājādhirāja-Kuṭattūr** probably formed a portion of the present village Pallavarāyappettai which is known in inscriptions as Kuṭattūr and must have been called Pallavarāyappettai later to perpetuate the name of the Chōla general. **Viruḍarājabhayaṇkara-vaṇaṇḍu** was evidently named after the surname 'Viruḍarājabhayaṇkara' of Kuṭattuṅga-Chōla I.

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- 1a. Svastī arī [*] Kaṣaḷaśāṁśa Pār-mālarum Pī-mādarū=Kalaī-mādarum=aṣaḷaśāṁśa
Pār-mādarū=Chīr-mālarum [amaruḍa-vāḷa]
- 2 nāṟ-kaṣaḷaśāṁ puvī-āḷum pār-kaṣaḷa-pōḷ* puṟaḷ parappa āḷiyugamū=ey[ṇa]* sōḍimūḍi
punaḍindarūḷi aru-āmaiyamūḷi
- 3 aṁ-bādamum nēṟṟiḷ nīṟu pārippat* Te[n*]navarū=Chēralarū* [Śāḷaḷa]ra-mudalāya
maṇ[ṇavarga] t[ti]ṟāḷi āmāndu var[ḍa-ṟaṇṇi] sōḷvippaṟṟi āḷṇṇōḷ oḷu-p[ḷ]rum=ina-
aḷippach-chem-po vī-
- 4 ra-eṁbāsaṅattu Ulaguḍat-Mukkōḷki[ānaḷiga]ḍum viṟṟirundaruḷiya Kōv-ṟāḷakōvarī-
pūmar-āṇa* [Triḷḷuḷvanachchakravartiga]* Śrī-Rājadhirājadēvarkku yāḍu
oḷtāvadū? III
- 5 Jayāṅḍaḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalattu Āmūṟk-kōṟṟattuch-Chīṟukūṟa-nāṟṟak-Kāṟḷaḷ-Kaḷattūṟk-
Kaḷ[ḷa]ttuḷḷaṅ Tiruchchirambalem-Uḷaiyāṅ Perumāṇambiyār-āṇa Pallava-
- 6 rāyar Periyadēvar Rājarājadēvar pērttu kōyir-kottum-āvar-kudirai-aṅambāḍi-niyāyan
uḷḷiṟṟa tūḷaiḷaḷḷukku mudaligaḷum-āy mudaligaḷ-ōpūḷi kāriyat-
- 7 mukkuḷ-kaḷavarum-āy oḷ[*]ā variseigaḷum muḍ-āval uḷḷiṟṟa mudaligaḷ pēṟakkaḍava
āṅaḷigaḷum poṟṟu uḷṟu Periyadēvar¹⁰ tūḷḷi-aruḷip-piḷḷaigaḷuḷḷu oḷṟum iṇaḍum
tirumakṣatram-ā-
- 8 nūṟṟiḷ Ayirattalip-paḷaiḷidum viṟṟop-pōḷavēḍip-pōḷuḷiṟa-ḷattut-tiruv-antapuramum
...¹¹ ānaḷaḷum uḷḷi[*]ḷaṁ eḷḷam paṟiṟarittuk-[kūṟṟi]ḷ-kōḷu-pōndu Rāja-
- 9 [rā*]oḷ[pu]ra[r *]ḷāḷ iruḍa iḷaṭṭakku [sōḷ]da iḷaṇ...yaru migudip-.....[ra]ṭtu uḷaṅ-
kūṟṟatt[ā].....[rā]ḷum eḷḷaḷ-[kaḷakka].....[Sōḷ]rāḷyat¹² takku.....yā iruppār]
kāraṇavaruḍ.....
- 10 vēḍip-puṟattu eḷḷa aḷaiṟu kōḷuḷum va[rāḍa] iḷattu lu.....ḷum paṟiṟarittu iv.....
Periyadēvar eṇḍaruḷiḷ.....¹³ oḷ[ā]ḷḷa tīru-ābbi[āḷḷaṭṭakku]ḷa uṟiya p[ā]ḷaigaḷ iṇiyā
...[mukki]-

¹ S. J. J., Vol. III, p. 182.

² *Amarindus* is another reading for *amaranta* wife (No. 58 of 1000).

* For full version, see page 100.

*Other mailings are *Adipogen madagascari* (No. 20 of 1899) and *Adipogen diversus* (No. 474 of 1905).

² Female *gobellus* is another reading (No. 20 of 1890).

¹ No. 23 of 1899 given in addition: *Komarovium Pulchrum*. ² No. 465 of 1905 has been synonymized.

* No. 20 of 1889 has *parabharicaraan*; and in *paravajja* is engraved as a conjunct letter in *Grantha* cha-

* Some inscriptions have *Maduraipum Tammam* in addition (cf. No. 474 of 1905) also in *chokkumattai* is engraved as a conjunct letter in *Graha* characters.

²⁰ This factor can be converted between μ and σ .

19 The gap may be filled up with the bottom panel.

¹² *J* is interpreted as a confluent letter in Greek characters.

¹² The word *friends* may have been lost here.

22. epirandāḥukkum iva[makka]ḥukkum iva[makka]-vargattāḥukkum Virudarājabhayaḥkara-
valanattuk-Kuṇḍakā-nāṭṭu iva-kāṇḍy-āpa Chō[ḥ]indira[n]garallūṇil paḷam-peyar
avira[du] yāḷuḍu eṭṭāvadu-muda[ḷ] antaṛāyam pāṭṭam-uṭṭaḍa [ḷ]
23. raiyilīyāy vēra-piṇḍa Rājādī[ra]yāy-Kuṇḍatū[ṇ]i nilam nāṭṭaḍiṇṇu-vēli [*] in-nilam aṇu-
bhavikkompāḍikkō Jayāḥkōḍāṇḍā-maṇḍalattu Mēgmalatp-Paḷaiyaṇḍu-[nāṭṭu]ḷ-
Paḷaiyaṇḍu-udaiyāy Vēdavagam-udaiyāy Am-
24. maiḷappāṇ-āṇa Pallavarā[ya]y nīḷchaya[ḷ]ṭṭaḍiṇṇu aṇubhaviḥkum viruṇḍāṇḍalil
Śirgāḷattūṇḍaiyāy-magaḷukku nilam mā-vēli[ru]ḷu Āṇḍāḍaiyāy-magaḷukku
nīḷ[ḷ] mā-vēli[ru]ḷu iva[makka] v[ḷ]ḷi[ka]ippa...[ḷ] mā-varkku
25. pēṇḷ nilam iṇu-vēli[ru]ḷu-āṇa... aṇu-vēli[ru]ḷu Neḷṇuṇḍā-kīḷār Kuḷappāḷārāy-magaḷukku
nilam mā-vēli[ru]ḷu iva[makka]ḷi Āḷaiyāḍavagukku nilam mā-vēli[ru]ḷu pēṇḷ-makka[ḷ]
ukku pēṇḷ nilam iṇu-vēli[ru]ḷu-āṇa nilam aruvēli.
26. yam Ambar Aruvandai Kāḷiṇḍārāy-magaḷukku nilam mā-vēli[ru]ḷu makka[ḷ] Śēṭṭa[ḷ]ḷ
Tirunaṭṭamāḷi Viranā[mbi] Dēvaḍ[ḷ]ḷaiyā[ḷ]ḷ-magaḷukkum iva[makka]ḷukkum nilam
iṇu-vēli[ru]ḷu Rājārājāḍvā[ḷ]ḷ-viruṇḍāṇḍāḷukkum makka[ḷ]ukkum nilam eṇ-vēli[ru]ḷu
tāyār Vaippā-
27. ruḍaiyāt-magaḷāḷukku nilam vēli[ru]ḷu uḷḷa[ḷ]-piṇḍa pēṇḷ Vēli[ru]ḷaiyāḷukku pukka
pēṇḷukkum iva[makka]ḷukkum nilam iṇu-vēli[ru]ḷu āṇa uḷḷa[ḷ] nāṭṭaḍiṇṇu-vēli[ru]ḷu
antaṛāyam pāṭṭam-uṭṭaḍa iṇḷi-
28. iṭṭamaḷukku [ḷ]-eḷvāriḷukku eḷṭṭiṭṭār [ḷ]-Nandiyarāy [ḷ]-Amarakōḷār [ḷ]-Kacakarāy [ḷ]-
Māvēṇḍarāy [ḷ]-Jigattarāy [ḷ]-Vēḷaiyarāy [ḷ]-Puvuvuvarī-Śēkarāṇa-
nāḷyaka[ḷ] [ḷ]-Śirukudaiyā[ḷ] [ḷ]-Kuṇḍāḷi[ḷ] [ḷ]-Kāḷ-kiḷavag[ḷ]-Nāṇya[ḷ] [ḷ]-
Uḷai[ḷ] [ḷ]-
29. Puvuvuvarī-Śēkarāṇattu Mugaḷe[ḷ]ḷi Īṇḷai-Uḷaiyā[ḷ] [ḷ]-Āṇḍ-Uḷaiyā[ḷ] [ḷ]-Tattaiṇḷ-
Uḷaiyā[ḷ] [ḷ]-Śirunāḷ-ḷ-Uḷaiyā[ḷ] [ḷ]-ippaḷukku pīṇḍāḍāḷcheyd*-aru[ḷ]ḷa Śi[ḷ]
magat-ukku eḷṭṭiṭṭār Chēḍiṇḍā[ḷ] [ḷ]-Vāḷḍāḷā*[ḷ]ḷā[ḷ]
30. Rā [ḷ]ḷa [ḷ]ḷa [ḷ] Vēḷupparāy [ḷ]-Śiṇḷa[ḷ]āy [ḷ]-Nīḷaḷḷa[ḷ]āy [ḷ]-Dipattarāy [ḷ]-
eḷḷiṇḍa tiruṇḍāḷ-ḷai Mugaḷ Māvē[ḷ]ḷaiyā[ḷ] [ḷ]-

TRANSLATION.

Ll. 1-8. **Hail! Prosperity!** In the eighth year (of the reign) of king Rājākṣarivarman alias the glorious Rājādhirājādva, the emperor of the three worlds, when he was pleased to be seated along with (his queen) Ulagudai-Mukhōkṣi[śinadiv] on the throne of heroes, made of pure gold, having been pleased to put on the lustrous crown (so that) the Goddess of the Earth surrounded by the sea, the goddess (residing in) the flower (i.e., Lakṣmī), the Goddess of Learning, the Goddess of War endowed with power and the Goddess of Prosperity all lived in amity as in the first yuga, (his) fame, white as the milky ocean, spread in the seven worlds surrounded by the four oceans, the six systems of philosophy (flourished), the five elements stood in their respective positions protecting the people, such kings as the Tencavar (Pandyas), Śōrālar (Chēras), Siṅgalar (Singhalese) came carrying (with them) tribute and made their obeisance (to him), and his heavy sceptre well protected the seven worlds;

¹ The word *Hypobryopsis* is engraved in Greek.

* This gap may be filled with the letters H, A, J.

* The most intended was perhaps *Scholar*.

* This letter as is expressed in *Arzulla characteris*.

* The latter, 26, is suggested in *Granitic* characters.

* The word *allure* may be lost here.

* The letters *A* and *B* are engraved in Group 9.

When Kulatūlāy Tīruchchīrāmbalamūḍaiyāy Perumānambī alias Pallavarāyar, (a resident) of Kūrigai-Kūlattūr in Sīrakura-nāḍu, which was a sub-division of Āmūr-kōṭṭam, a district of Jayāṅgōḍaḷḷa-maṇḍalam, who had received all honours (*varīṭai*) (such as) the position of the Palace-Comptroller of the big household of Periyadēvar (i.e., the senior king) Rājārājadēva, the headship of the several departments (*tūṟaiṇal*) of the body of armed cavalry, retinue, etc., and was managing such of the affairs as had been allotted to the chief, receiving all (*aiyā*) dignities attainable by the officers such as *maṅḍal*. Periyadēvar (i.e., Rājārāja) passed away. His (Rājārāja's) sons (*piṭṭaiṇal*) (being three) aged one and two years, it became obligatory for them to leave the citadel of Ayirattai. And while they were moving, he (Pallavarāyar) safely escorted the harem including all their retinue and conducted them to Rājārājapuram.

I. 9. Damaged.

II. 10-13.

protected them watching off all possible danger from outside. Even in earlier years, when the senior king was alive, it having been seen that there were no sons fit for anointment, the (*exact*) state of affairs, as it (*then*) stood, (*was intimated to the king*) and (*having brought*) the prince residing at Gaṅgaikōṇṇasolapuram, and at the time of Periyadēvar's demise, he (Pallavarāyar) had Eḍirūlpperumāl, son of Neriyūḷaipperumāl and the grandson of Uḍaiyār Vikramaśjadēvar, who had already been invested with a crown and was, therefore, bound to be installed on the throne, anointed (*king*) under the title of Rājādhirāja-dēva in the fourth year (*of his installation*) and made the *uḷa-kōṭṭam* (*assembly*) and the *aḍu* (*chamber*) follow him without any dissensions. Then, (*he*) brought all (*parties*) together so that there might be no transgression. (*In this way he*) creditably discharged one of his commissions.

II. 14-24. While the king of Ceylon sent a large contingent of forces along with many chiefs into the Pāṇḍya country so as to effect the capture of this kingdom, the Pāṇḍya (*king*) Kulasēkhara left his dominions and entering the Chōḷa country requested (*the king*) to get him (*back*) his territory; (*whereupon* Pallavarāyar) represented to (*the Chōḷa king*): that Uḍaiyār (Kulasēkhara) dēva should be made to get back the kingdom, that Laṅkāpuri-Dapḍanāyaka and others who had entered and taken possession of this (Pāṇḍya) kingdom should be killed and (*that*) their heads should be nailed on to the gates of Madura, the capital of the Pāṇḍya. When the royal sanction was obtained (*thereto*), he (Pallavarāyar) unsparingly did all that was necessary for (*the Pāṇḍya king*) Kulasēkhara and guarded (*him*) during his stay in the Chōḷa kingdom; captured the Pāṇḍya country with (*the aid of*) his army, resources and zeal; and, as promised, killed Laṅkāpuri-Dapḍanāyaka and others and nailed their heads on to the gates of Madura; (*he*) made all necessary arrangements for the entry of the Pāṇḍya king Kulasēkhara into Madura; and by making him (Kulasēkhara) enter (*his capital*) Madura, prevented the Pāṇḍya kingdom from becoming a Singhalese possession; and made the Tōḷai-nāḍu and the Pāṇḍi-nāḍu subject to him (i.e., the Chōḷa), as was his own (Chōḷa) country.

When (Pallavarāyar) was thus in the height of power, having taken upon himself the management of the country and having appointed persons capable of bearing the burden of the administration even after him (i.e., after his death) in the same manner as it used to be done (*during his lifetime*) through his orders issued to capable officers administering the kingdom, he fell ill and died. (*Thereupon*), his estate, 40 *vill* in extent, in Rājādhirāja-Kūlattūr situated in Kūrukan-nāḍu, a division of Virudarājahhayaṅkara-vaṇaṇḍu, which was separated in the 8th year of the king, from Chōḷandranāḍganallūr after discarding its old name, and being exempted from all taxes including *uṇṇaiyem* and *pāṭṭam*, (*was distributed among*) his wives, sons, their wives and children, (*his*) daughters and mother, (*his*) uterine sister, her children and their relations, by Palaiyaṇḍi-Uḍaiyāy

* It is noteworthy that in this distribution of lands, all the near relatives of the deceased are provided for.

Vēdavaṇam-Uḍaiyāṇ Ammaiappan alias Pallavarāyaṇ of Mēgmalaip-Palaiyaṇūr in Jayāṇḍoṇḍa-sōḷa-maṇḍalam for enjoyment (as follows):—

Ll. 24-25 . Among (Pallavarāyaṇ's) wives (a), (b), (c) and (d).	(a) to the daughter of Śirūḷattūr-Uḍaiyāṇ.	three eḷi (of) land.
	(b) to the daughter of Aṭiṇāḍ-Uḍaiyāṇ.	three eḷi (of) land.
	(c) to the daughter of Nēṇṅaṇḍi-kūḷar Kalappāḷarāyar.	three eḷi (of) land.
To the three married daughters of (b) above.	....	six eḷi (of) land at two eḷi per head.
Among the sons of (c) above	to Aḷagiyāḍavaṇ	three eḷi (of) land.
To the (three) daughters of (c) above	....	six eḷi (of) land at two eḷi per head.
	(d) to the daughter of Aṇbar Aruvandai Kāṇḍarāyar.	three eḷi (of) land.
To the daughter of the son of (d) above, Śōḷṭṭaṇḍi Viṇam-ṭṭi Devaṇḍaiyāṇ and her daughter.	....	two eḷi (of) land.
To the wife of Rājāsōḷavar (who must have been another daughter of Pallavarāyaṇ from (d) above) and her sons.	....	eight eḷi (of) land.
To his mother	the daughter of Vāḷṭṭūr-Uḍaiyāṇ.	one eḷi (of) land.
Among his sisters	to the wife of Vāḷṭṭūr-Uḍaiyāṇ and her daughter.	two eḷi (of) land.

On the whole 40 eḷi of land was thus distributed, free of taxes, including *antarāyam* and *pāṭṭam*.

Ll. 28-30. The signatories to the *uṇṇari* (are):—

Nandiyarāyar||— Amarakōṇḍār||— Kaṇḍakarāyar||— Mūvandarāyar||— Chīgattarāyar||— Vāḷiyarāyar||— The *Paruṇṇari Śrīkaruṇḍa-nḍyakam* are:— Śirukudaiyāṇ||— Kuṇḍakīḷa||— Kūṇḍar-kīḷavaṇ||— Nariyanūr-Uḍaiyāṇ||— The *paruṇṇari Śrīkaruṇḍa Muṇṇaṭṭi* are:— Iḷḷai-Uḍaiyāṇ||— Ārūr-Uḍaiyāṇ||— Tattainallūr-Uḍaiyāṇ||— Śiṇṇallūr-Uḍaiyāṇ||— For the royal order that was issued, (the attesters are):— Chēḷichāṇ||— Vāṇḍiḷirā||— (vā)ṇāṇ Rājā*|rājā*|vīḷupparāyar||— Śōḷḷarāyar||— Nīḷaṇḍarāyar||— Dīṇattarāyar||— (This royal order) is the draft of the royal secretary Mūvōṇḍa|vōḷḷō||—

No. 32.—TWO BRICK INSCRIPTIONS FROM NALANDA.

By N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., Ph.D., Ootacamund.

The Buddhist *sūtra* forming the subject of this article is found in duplicate on two incised bricks which were discovered in 1924 by Mr. J. A. Page, the then Superintendent of the Central Circle, in small votive stūpas near the main stūpa at Nālandā.¹ The inscription on Brick A begins on the top surface and is continued on three sides, the right hand side and the bottom

¹ See A. S. I. As. Rep., 1923-24, p. 74.

surface being left uninscribed. The writing on the top surface covers a space of $11\frac{1}{2}$ " in length and $8\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth while the breadth of the inscribed sides ranges from 1" to $1\frac{1}{2}$ ". The inscription consists altogether of thirty-one lines of writing of which twenty-two lines are incised on the top surface and three on each of the three other sides. Brick B, which contains twenty-three lines of writing, is inscribed only on the top surface, the inscription covering a space which measures $14\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 8". In A, the portions of writing coming in the middle of the top and the left hand side are damaged while the inscription on B is in a fair state of preservation. The letters in both A and B are not uniformly executed, their average size being from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch approximately.

Before proceeding with the discussion of palaeography, I may point out that the two documents under discussion hold a peculiar position as epigrapha. It appears that the letters have not been inscribed in the same way as inscriptions on stone or copper-plates. It is clear from the shape of the letters that the scribe has engraved the text on the brick with a stylus or similar sharp instrument. Thus we have to consider the documents more in the nature of manuscripts than inscriptions and, as one would expect in such records, the writing is in a much more cursive hand than one would ordinarily find in inscriptions. The characters found on these records belong to the Gupta script of a comparatively later period, more strictly to the period of transition from the Gupta to the acute-angled stage and may be ascribed to the sixth century of the Christian era. As to their palaeography the following points may be noticed: of the initial vowels the lower portion of *e* and *ā* shows a curve open to the left and the sign for the length of *ā* is expressed by a hook attached to the foot of the right vertical. *I* is denoted by three dots and in *e* the apex of the triangle is pointed downwards. Of the consonants, single *k* is written in the same way as in the Gupta period and does not yet show a loop on the left but such loops are noticed in places in ligatures (cf. *samādhā* in l. 3, *śaṇḍā* in l. 11, etc.). The triangle of *kh* stands at the right of the vertical and not to its left as found in the acute-angled alphabet, but in common with the latter the third as well as the central horizontal line of *j* are slanting downwards and *d* has a serif in the lower end. In *e* the right stroke has not yet become vertical as we find from the 7th century onwards, though a loop has been attached to its left. *h* is as in the Gupta period¹ and has not yet formed the triangle on the left. *y* is tripartite with a hook to the left which led up to the later bipartite *y*. *ḍ* is rounded at the top of the middle vertical touching the right and the left limbs. Lingual *ḷ* occurs twice in the document (cf. *śaṇḍā-kṣaṇḍā*, B l. 19), a peculiarity not found in later documents. The *Visarga* is denoted by a stroke above the consonant (cf. *śaṇḍā*, B l. 10, 11, 15) and the superscript *r* is denoted by an angular stroke on top evidently owing to cursive forms of letters.

The language of both the documents is Sanskrit which from the whole correct. Notes of *śaṇḍā* have not been strictly adhered to. As regards orthography, attention may be drawn to the following points. Consonants with a superscript or subscript *r* have at times been doubled, e.g., *śaṇḍāddhī* (B l. 6), *śaṇḍāddhī* (A l. 14), *śaṇḍāddhī* (A l. 21). *ś* is frequently written as *ṣ* in A, e.g., *śaṇḍā* for *śaṇḍā* (A l. 3, etc.). *v* and *b* have not been distinguished except in *bhū* (B l. 19; A l. 23). Two different marks of punctuation have been used, one, the ordinary mark represented by a small curve (—) like a comma written horizontally, and the other, a rare one, denoted by two vertical lines (cf. B l. 15 after *cā* and A l. 30 after *śi*). The former has been shown in the transcript below, with a *daṇḍā*.

The text of the *sūtra* as found in both the bricks is substantially the same. I have given below only the text of B, which is the better preserved of the two documents, while the slight differences in reading, occurring in A, have been noticed in the foot-notes. They contain the text of the well-known *Pratīyāsamutpāda* or *Nāḍīśāstra* as well as its *śāṅkha* or division.

¹ Cf. the inscription of Tiranāpa, C. I. I., Vol. III, Pl. XXIII.A.

The *sūtra*¹ portion is found in Buddhist literature both in Pāli and Sanskrit,² while the *vibhāṅga* portion is closely connected with the *vibhāṅga* found in the Nidāna Sāhitya.³ B does not give any colophon while at the end of A we find only *Pratītyasamutpādaḥ samāptah*.

In addition to these records, several other bricks and terracotta slabs containing the Nidāna-sūtra have been found at Nālandā. But none of them is complete and they contain only a fragment of the *sūtra* and sometimes that of the *vibhāṅga* portion as well, but none contains the *vibhāṅga* as found in the two records under discussion. All are written in a cursive hand (No. S. 3, Reg. 231 of the Central Circle, being the most cursive), just as the two documents dealt with here. Of these, No. S. 3, Reg. 237 contains seven fragmentary lines of the *sūtra* and Brick C seven such lines of the *vibhāṅga* only. No. S. 3, Reg. 242 is inscribed on both sides (of which portions of five lines only remain on each side) and contains fragments of the *sūtra* with its *vibhāṅga*. No. S. 3, Reg. 236 originally contained the *sūtra* with its *vibhāṅga* which was repeated thrice. Only at the end of the *vibhāṅga* portion we find an additional sentence which reads *iyam saṃyathā-prakṛitā-śāśvatā nitya-śāśvatāntarā*.

Inscriptions containing the text of the Nidāna Sūtra have also been found in places other than Nālandā. Bricks with this *sūtra* inscribed on them have been discovered at Gopālpur in the Gorakhpur District of the United Provinces.⁴ Besides these we find the text inscribed on the Kasā copper-plate⁵ and the Kurram casket.⁶ Of these the first two are written in the Gupta script and Sanskrit language while the third is written in the Kharoṣṭhī script and a Prākṛit dialect. Palaeographically all the three appear to belong to a period earlier than that of the two Nālandā bricks under discussion, the Kurram casket being the earliest in date. The text in Pāli is not also unknown. A manuscript with leaves of gold but resembling in every way a palm-leaf manuscript, has been discovered within a relic chamber unearthed at Hinawra⁷ in Prome District of Lower Burma. The writing is in the South Indian Script of the 5th or 7th century A.D. then in common use in Burma and the language is Pāli. The manuscript contains, among other extracts from the Pīṭakas, the text of the Pañcoba Samsuppāda Sutta.

The text of the *sūtra* on the Gopālpur bricks and the Kasā copper-plate is on the whole identical. Both contain the positive and the negative arrangements of the 'Propositions of the Theory of Causation', here technically termed as the *ābhaya* (i.e., effluence) and the *apachaya* (the loss) of Dharma, the latter corresponding to the *vibhāṅga* portion of the *sūtra* as found in Pāli and Sanskrit texts. The text of the Kurram Casket contains only the positive arrangements of the *sūtra* and is termed *Pañcassamupāda* (Skt. *Pratītyasamutpāda*). The interest of the present

¹ This has been shown in the text in Italics for facility of reference while the rest is the *vibhāṅga*.

² See *Vāseya Pīṭaka* (ed. Oldenberg), I, pp. 1 ff.; *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, II, pp. 1 ff., etc.; *Majjhima-Nikāya*, I, pp. 190, 257; *Dīghanikāya*, pp. 300, 347; *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 1; *Lalitā Vistara* (ed. Lefmann), p. 347. In most of these texts we find the positive as well as the negative (*vibhāṅga*) arrangement of the *Pratītyasamutpāda*.

³ *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, Vol. II, pp. 2 ff.

⁴ The twelve-fold *Pratītyasamutpāda* or the propositions of the Buddhist Theory of Causation are often found in their 'positive and negative' arrangement. It is essential for a Buddhist to study and learn the respective links in this chain of causation and to understand it in its positive and negative arrangements, both forward and backward (Pāli, *anuloma* and *patiloma*). For an explanation of this theory cf. Oldenberg's *Buddha* (English translation), pp. 223 ff.; Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, pp. 182 ff.; Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, pp. 47 ff.; Th. Stcherbatsky, *The Doctrine of the Buddha*, in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. VI, pp. 876 ff., etc.

⁵ *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1896, p. 29.

⁶ *A. S. I. Annual Report*, 1910-11, pp. 78 ff.

⁷ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 17, and *C. I. J.*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 154.

⁸ *A. S. I. Annual Report*, 1926-27, p. 209.

records, however, lies in the fact that they contain the positive arrangement of the *sūtra* and also a *vibhanga* or division which is not met with in other records so far discovered. Besides this the present text has an interest of its own. As has been pointed out by Dr. Bagchi in his notes appended below, it was the same text which was translated by Yuan Chwang in 661 A.D., i.e., three years before his death. Recently Prof. G. Tucci has published the fragments of the *Pratītya-samutpāda-śākhā*, a commentary on the *Pratītya-samutpāda-sūtra* by Vasubandhu¹ (circa 4th or 5th century), a work which was already known through its Tibetan translation. But it will be of great interest to observe that the text on which Vasubandhu, himself a teacher at Nālandā for some time, wrote a commentary, must have been the same as that now published. Thus the Nālandā text of the *Pratītya-samutpāda-sūtra* reveals to us the original Sanskrit text of a *sūtra* of great importance which was so far known only through translations.

It is to be noted that all these documents containing the text of the *Pratītya-samutpāda* were found imbedded in *stūpas*. Of these the Kasi copper-plate and the Kurram Casket contain the names of donors. The former was the gift of one Haribala who deposited it in the (*Parivara*)-*śrīrāma-śrīrāma* while the inscription on the latter informs us that the casket contained the corporeal relics of the Buddha and the *Pratītya-samutpāda* was written 'for the honouring of all beings'. The present records and the Gopalpur brick inscriptions contain no names of the donors. Now the question that naturally arises is this: what was the object of writing down the Nidāna Sūtra and depositing it in the *stūpas*? It was done obviously for the sake of gaining merit, but why was the Nidāna Sūtra selected above all others? We know that among the Buddhists there are four classes of objects of worship—(i) the corporeal remains of the Buddha, (ii) objects used by the Buddha himself such as staffs, bowls, pieces of articles forming his robes, etc., (iii) objects indirectly connected with the Buddha and thus regarded as holy such as the *bodhi-tree*, *chaitya*, etc., and (iv) *Dhamma* as preached by the Buddha. I-tsing also gives us some interesting information on this point. "The priests and laymen in India," says the Chinese pilgrim, "make Chaityas or images with earth, or impress the Buddha's image on silk or paper, and worship it with offerings wherever they go. Sometimes they build Stūpas of the Buddha by making a pile surrounding it with bricks. They sometimes form these Stūpas in lonely fields, and leave them to fall in ruins. Anyone may thus employ himself in making the objects for worship. Again when the people make images and Chaityas which consist of gold, silver, copper, iron, earth, lacquer, bricks and stone, or when they heap up the snowy sand (lit. sand-snow), they put in the images or Chaityas two kinds of Śāstras. 1. The relics of the Great Teacher. 2. The Gāthā of the Chain of Causation."² The *gāthā* referred to by I-tsing is the well-known Buddhist formula *ye dhammā etc.* supposed to have been spoken by Aśvajit to Śāriputra.³ Prof. Oldenberg and Rhys Davids pointed out long ago⁴ that this stanza alludes, undoubtedly, to the Nidāna-sūtra, 'which explains the origination and cessation of what are called here *dhammā kettu-piṇḍhavā*'. The Sanskrit version of this stanza is extensively found on Buddhist votive gifts such as images,

¹ *J. N. A. S.*, 1930, pp. 613 ff. Prof. Tucci in the text published by him has underlined the portion quoted from the *sūtra*, but on comparison with the Nālandā text it will be observed that his division of the original text and the commentary is not everywhere correct. Moreover, I do not agree with him that in Vasubandhu's work *vibhanga* was 'the name of the various chapters each corresponding to a particular *sūtra*' (*ibid.*, p. 612, n. 1). The text commented on by Vasubandhu is identical with that obtained at Nālandā and contained at the beginning the Nidāna Sūtra followed by the *vibhanga* in connection with each *sūtra*. Thus he is not right in giving the title *Śrīrāma-vibhanga* to the first section of the work which deals only with the *sūtra* portion.

² I-tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion* (translated by J. Takakura), p. 169.

³ See *The Vinaya Pitaka* (ed. Oldenberg), I, p. 40.

⁴ See *S. B. R.*, Vol. XIII.

tablets, plaques, etc., throughout the Buddhist world.¹ The blessings derived from putting in the images or *chaityas* the *darśas* mentioned above are abundant.² The authentic relics of the Buddha were always scarce and must have been more so after the early centuries of the Christian era. That is why we find in the *stūpas* at Nālandā and other places only tablets containing the Nidāna-sūtra, which was part of the *Dhamma* preached by the Buddha himself. To a Buddhist this *sūtra* is next in sacredness only to the four venerable truths (*dharma-satyāni*) and is very important since a proper understanding of this leads to the way of Nīrvāṇa. Nāgārjuna said in his *Saṃskṛitika*, "Even though fire should be burning above our head, . . . we ought to waste no time in putting it out, but should keep in view perpetually our Final Liberation (*Alōka*), reflecting on the truths of the 'Chain of Causality'."³ It is no wonder, therefore, that this *sūtra* is considered as of paramount importance and has so frequently been found deposited in the votive *stūpas* raised by the Buddhist monks as well as laymen.

The following text is transcribed from impressions and photographs kindly supplied by the Superintendent, Central Circle. As the Chinese translation, an English rendering of which has been appended below by Dr. Bagchi, followed the Sanskrit original quite closely, I have not given a separate translation of the Sanskrit text but have noticed the slight differences found in places in the foot-notes to Dr. Bagchi's translation.

TEXT.

- 1 Siddham* [*] Eṣaṃ mayā śrutam-śikṣamāna-samaye Bhagavān-chChravastyaśa
viharati sma Jōtavanō Anāthapiṇḍadāy-ārāṇā¹ mahatā bhikkhu-saṅghāna
sārdham-ardha²-trayāda³-bhāhīr-bhikkhu-sataḥ [1*] Tatra Bhagavān bhikkhū-
pām-ā[ma*]nta-
- 2 yatā⁴ sma Pratītya-samutpādaya vō bhikkhavaś ād[ā*] vō dāyapāyāni
vibhāgaḥ cha⁵ tach-ah[ṣṭa]ṇa⁶]ta⁷ sādhu cha sushthū cha :manasī kuruta
bhāshāhyē Pratītya-samutpāday-ādīḥ katamaḥ [1*] yat-ut-dēma-sat-[1]dānā
bhāvy-asy-āpāda[ā]d-āda-
- 3 ut-padyatī⁸ yat-ut-āvidyā-pratyagāḥ saṃskārā⁹ saṃskāra-pratyayaṃ vijānāt
vijāna-pratyayaṃ ālambāpā[śa] ālambāpā-pratyayaṃ ihaḥ-āyatanaṃ ihaḥ-
āyatana-pratyayaḥ sparśā¹⁰ (cāśa)¹¹ sparśa-pratyayā vādanā vādanā-
- 4 pratyagā¹² trishā¹³ trishā-pratyagā[ya]m-¹⁴upādānaṃ upādāna-pratyagā¹⁵ bhavaḥ
bhava-pratyagā¹⁶ jātā¹⁷ jātā-pratyagā¹⁸ jarā-maraṇa-śoka-paridāsa-dāḥā-taurmanasy-
āpāyāśā¹⁹ saṃbhā[śa]vā[śa]vā[śa]vā²⁰ sam-asya kēśa-

¹ [The latest finds of this kind are from Nālandā and Pāṭharpur excavations, where thousands of tiny clay votive *stūpas* have been discovered in the side-chamber of small *stūpas*, each enclosing little clay balls marked with the Buddhist cross.—Ed.]

² I-tsing, *A Record* etc., p. 151.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ A reads *ardha*.

⁵ There is a small stroke above *tra* in both which may be accidental.

⁶ A reads correctly *daśaśa*.

⁷ A reads *ahṣṭaśa* correctly.

⁸ Here and in several other places A reads *saṃskāra*.

⁹ A has *pratyaya*.

¹⁰ Translated by I-tsing in his *Record*, p. 151.

¹¹ The record A has a mark of punctuation here.

¹² A has *āpāda-cha*.

¹³ A reads *dā* correctly.

¹⁴ A has correctly *spāśa*.

¹⁵ A reads *saṃbhāva*.

198 A

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Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a Buddhist inscription. The text is arranged in two columns, with line numbers 2 through 22 on the left and right margins. The script is highly stylized and appears to be a form of early Devanagari used in the Nalanda region.

- 16 Chatvāry-upādānāni [¹] Kām-upādānāni² dṛiṣṭiy³-upādānāni⁴ ālā-vyat-upādānāni
 ātma-vād-upādānāni⁵ | Upādāna-pratyay[6] bhava iti [⁷] Bhavaḥ kaṭamaḥ
 [⁸] Trayā bhavāḥ [⁹] Kāma-bhavaḥ rūpa-bhavaḥ arū¹⁰.
- 17 pṛa-bhavaḥ [¹¹] Bhava-pratyay[12] jātir-iti | Jātiḥ kaṭamā | Yā tśhām
 tśhām satvānām tasmā¹³-tasmān(amin)-satva-nikhy¹⁴ jātiḥ satv-
 jātir-avakrāntir¹⁵-abhinirvṛtitiḥ prāturbhāvaḥ skandha-pratīlambbhō dhātu-
 prati.
- 18 sambhavaḥ āyatana-pratīlambbhaḥ skandhānām-abhinirvṛtitiḥ jīvit-āndriyasya [prādu]-
 rbhūvaḥ [¹⁶] Jāti-pratyayam jarā-maraṇam iti [¹⁷] Jarā kaṭamā | Yat-
 tat-[k]hālatyaḥ pālityaḥ vaḥ-prachurātā.
- 19 jīratā bhugatā khaḷa¹⁸-gōpānāni-vaṅkatā ālā-kālakā-chita-gūratā [¹⁹] khaḷa-
 khaḷa-pratīlambbhāyātā puratā pīṭh-bhāra-kāyatā [²⁰] danda-vishkambbhapatā
 [²¹] dhandhatvaḥ mandatvaḥ hāmḥ pañhā²²-jāh²³.
- 20 indriyāṇāni paripākāḥ paribhēdāḥ sambhāraṇāḥ purāṇbhāvaḥ jarjurbhāvaḥ
 iyaṃ-uchyate jarā | Maraṇam kaṭamaḥ [²⁴] Yā tśhām tśhām satvā-
 nām tasmāt-tasmāt-sa[va]-nikhā.
- 21 yā chryatā-chyavanataḥ bhēdō-ntara-bhūṇi āyushā bhūṇi bhūṇāpō hāniḥ
 jīvit-āndriyasya nirōdhaḥ skandhānām ukshāpō maraṇam kāla-kriyā ālā-
 uchyatō maraṇam-iti [²⁵].
- 22 Idam cha maraṇam pūrjvikā cha jarā tad-abhayaṃ-aikadhyam-ahimsa-
 khipya jarā-maraṇam-ity-uchyate | Ayam-uchyate Pratitya-samutpādaya
 vibhāgaḥ [²⁶] Pratitya-samutpādaya āh[ān]²⁷ vō
- 23 dēśayishyāmi vibhāgaḥ-cha iti vō yad-uktam-idam-ētat-praty[ā]yam [²⁸] Idam-
 avēchad-Ubagavān-[ā]tta[mānasaḥ]²⁹ m[ā] bhikṣavo Bhagavatō bhā-
 shitam-abhyasaṇam ti (dam-iti)³⁰

No. 33.—A NOTE ON THE PRATITYA SAMUTPADA SUTRA.

By P. C. BACCH, M.A., D. in letters; CALCUTTA.

The small Sanskrit Buddhist text here published by Dr. Chakravarti is of considerable interest for the student of Buddhism. The colophon of the text contained in one of the bricks runs thus—*Pratityasamutpādaya samūptāḥ*. The text contains an enumeration of the causes of "dependent production," their definition and division (*vibhāga*). The complete title of the text was apparently, either *Pratityasamutpāda-sūtra* or *Pratitya-samutpāda-sūtra-vibhāga*.

Though the original text was unknown till now we were acquainted with it through the fragment of a commentary of Vasubandhu discovered from Nepal and published by Prof. Tucci.³¹ Only six leaves of the complete manuscript were found in the admirable collection of His Holiness the Rajaguru Hīmarāja Śāriṇā. They contain fragments of Vasubandhu's commentary on the five *vibhāgas*: *avidyā*, *vedanā*, *trishyā*, *upādāna* and *bhava*. This commentary is preserved

¹ A has a punctuation mark here.² A has *tāmasa* instead of *kāma*.³ A reads wrongly *drishṭi-ya*.⁴ A gives *drishṭi*.⁵ A reads *cha* after this.⁶ A also gives *drishṭi*.⁷ A reads *drishṭi*.⁸ Mark of punctuation unnecessary.⁹ A reads *paribhāṇi*.¹⁰ Read *manasaḥ*.¹¹ A reads at the end *vibhāgaṇāṃ* | *Pratityasamutpādaya samūptāḥ*.¹² A fragment from the *Pratitya-samutpāda-vidyā* of Vasubandhu, J. R. A. S., 1930, pp. 611-629.

in its entirety in the Tibetan collection (Woodier, Catalogue p. 365). A gloss on the commentary of Vasubandhu made by Geyamati is also preserved in Tibetan in the same volume of the *Benar Agur*. The title of Vasubandhu's work as preserved in Tibetan is *Pratitya-samutpāda-sūtrāṅga-nidāna* but it was also commonly known as *Pratitya-samutpāda-sūtrāṅga* (see the fragment published by Tucci).

The Nālandā text is also preserved in a Chinese translation. It is No. 628 *Fang hsi ling* of Nanjio's Catalogue in which Nanjio has inaccurately restored the title as *Nidāna-sūtra*. The translation has been published in Taishō Edition of the Tripiṭaka, Vol. II (Āgama), pp. 547-548 (No. 124). The translation was prepared by Huan Tsang on the 9th day of the 7th month of the year 661 A.D. The *K'ei guan shi hsi* (Tokio Ed. p. 706 II) mentions this translation on the authority of an unknown source called *Fan ling tu* and says that it is a different translation of the 40th chapter of the Ekōttarāgama. The text is found in the Taishō Tripiṭaka, Vol. II, p. 794 *Fang hsi ling*. The Ekōttarāgama was translated into Chinese by Gautama Saṅghadeva in 385 A.D. A separate translation of the same text was made by Kumārajīva a few years later — viz. the *Fang hsi ling*.¹ The same text is also found in another translation in the Chinese Saṃyukta-Āgama (Taishō II, p. 342, Ch. 47, Nos. 1248-1249). An examination of the texts shows that Saṃyukta 1248 is identical with the Chullagopālaka-suttanta and Saṃyukta 1249 with the Mahāgopālaka-suttanta of the Pāli Majjhima (Nos. 34 and 33). To this latter correspond also the text translated by Kumārajīva and that of the Ekōttara. But I fail to understand why the Chinese sources, and after them the Japanese editors, think that the Chinese version of the Gopālaka-sutta is a different translation of the *Pratitya-samutpāda-sūtra*. Even a superficial examination of this text will show that it has no fundamental relation with the *Pratitya-samutpāda-sūtra*.

Dr. Chakravarti has suggested a relation of the Nālandā text with the Desanā and Vibhaṅga of the Pāli Saṃyutta, II, pp. 1 ff. The Desanā consists of two parts, *Pratitya-samutpāda* and its *nirōdha*. The first part of the Desanā which deals with the *Pratitya-samutpāda* is almost identical with the corresponding part of the Nālandā text but the portion dealing with the *nirōdha* is not found in the Nālandā text. Besides, though the Vibhaṅga portion is fundamentally the same in both the texts, in the Saṃyutta text it is given in an inverse order beginning with the *pari-suroga*. Moreover the Vibhaṅga portion in the Saṃyutta is much more amplified than that in the Nālandā text. The Saṃyutta text (including the *Pratitya-samutpāda*, its *nirōdha* and its *vibhaṅga*) really corresponds with section 298 of the Chinese Saṃyukta (Taishō Ed. II, pp. 85 ff.) which was translated by Guṇabhadra in the beginning of the 5th century A.D. The original text of the Saṃyukta had been brought to China from India by Fa Hien in 414 A.D.² The Sanskrit original of the Desanā (the *Pratitya-samutpāda* and *Nirōdha* portions only) was discovered by Dr. Hirananda Sastri in a copper plate inscription found at Kasi (ancient Kāśī-nagara). It was published by Mr. F. E. Pargiter in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey* 1910-1911, pp. 71 ff. A comparison of the Pāli, Sanskrit and Chinese versions of the Desanā shows that the Sanskrit text was the original on which the Chinese translation was based. The formula, *gaḍ-ut-tāmin-ut-tān bhavaty-asy-ut-pādād-ut-tān-ut-padyatī*, which occurs in the Kasi and Nālandā text is not found in the Pāli Desanā but occurs in the Chinese translation. The Chinese text of the Saṃyukta has on the whole greater affinities with the Nālandā and Kasi texts of the *Pratitya-samutpāda* and its *Vibhaṅga* than with the Saṃyutta text of Desanā and *Vibhaṅga*.

¹ Nanjio 627, Taishō Ed. II, p. 546, Bagchi, *Le Canon Bouddhique* I, p. 136 "Sūtra on a pastor".

² See Bagchi, *Le Canon Bouddhique*, pp. 247 and 252.

It is however clear that the Nālandā text did not exactly belong either to the Saṃyukta or to any other Āgama. Though the translation of Hsuan Tsang is included in the Āgama volume of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, it does not precisely form part of any of the Āgamas there. It is printed there at the end of the Saṃyuktāgama. It probably shows that Hsuan Tsang himself as well as the later Chinese writers on the Tripiṭaka had some doubts about the canonical character of the text. As Vasubandhu in all probability flourished towards the beginning of the 5th Century A.D. and commented on the text, it must have been in existence before that time.

The *Pratītyasamutpāda* formula is mentioned in very ancient texts. The *Sūtrālaṅkāra* of Aśvaghōṣa, now preserved only in a Chinese translation made by Kumārajīva, narrates the story of the conversion of the Brahman Kauśika of Pāṭaliputra. This Brahman while searching sacred texts in the house of his relative came upon a Buddhist text called the "Sūtra of the twelve Nidānas," a study of which impressed him so much that he adopted the Buddhist faith.*

The chronology of the texts therefore stands thus :—

Kurram text (<i>Pratītya-samutpāda</i>) ¹	Circa 100 A.D.
Sūtrālaṅkāra Text (<i>Pratītyasamutpāda</i> and <i>Nirōdha</i>)	Circa 100 A.D.
Chinese Saṃyukta text (<i>Pratī</i> ² and <i>Vibhaṅga</i>) translated by Guṇabhadra in	414 A.D.
Kuśi text (<i>Pratītyasamutpāda</i> and <i>Nirōdha</i>).	Circa 450-475 A.D.
Nālandā text (<i>Pratī</i> ³ and <i>Vibhaṅga</i>)	Circa 500 A.D.

This analysis, it seems to me, throws some light on the formation of the Canon. It shows that the Āgamas were still in the process of formation, even shortly before the time of Vasubandhu (fifth century A. D.). In that case we must assume that the formation of the Pāli Nikāyas had not then been completed, as the Saṃyutta text of *Desanā* and *Vibhaṅga* not only embodies all the elements of the texts just analysed (viz. *Pratītya*², *Nirōdha* and *Vibhaṅga*) but its *Vibhaṅga* is much more developed than in the Sanskrit text. The late date of at least parts of the Pāli canon, as established in this case, has also been hinted by other scholars.

I give below an English rendering of the Chinese text (No. 628 *Yuan li king* of Nanjio's catalogue) which closely corresponds to the Sanskrit text recovered from Nālandā.

The discourse on the chain of Dependent Production.

Thus have I heard. Once upon a time the Lord was staying at Śrāvastī and residing in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍada in the Jeta forest with innumerable³ Śrāvakas, Bōdhisattvas, gods and men. At that time the Lord said to the assembly of monks,—I will (Oh monks) promulgate to

¹ The text ran thus—"The ignorance produces the *saṃskāras*, the *saṃskāras* produce the knowledge, the knowledge produces *adverseṣa*, the latter produce the six senses, the six senses contact, contact thirst, thirst attachment, attachment existence, existence birth, birth old age, death, suffering and sorrow. If ignorance is suppressed, the *saṃskāras* are suppressed, the *saṃskāras* suppressed the knowledge is suppressed, the knowledge suppressed the *adverseṣa* is suppressed, the *adverseṣa* suppressed the six senses are suppressed, the six senses suppressed contact is suppressed, contact suppressed thirst is suppressed, thirst suppressed attachment is suppressed, the attachment suppressed the existence is suppressed, the existence suppressed the birth is suppressed, birth, death, suffering and sorrow, all are suppressed" (E. Huber, *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, Paris, 1908).

² For a Pāli text inscribed on the Kurram Casket, see Sten Konow, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, C. I. I., Vol. I, pt. I, No. LXXX.

³ [The Skt. text refers to 650 monks, but not to 'Śrāvakas, Bōdhisattvas, gods and men.'—Ed.]

what is produced from causes (*pralīyana-mūlpaṇna*) or in the six sense-organs. It is *avijñāna* in the insight into real nature of things. Similarly wherever there is *avijñāna* in the real nature of things, wherever there is no observation and no introspection and wherever there is doubt, *avijñāna* and *obscurety* it is called *avijñāna*.

How many are the constituents? The constituents are of three kinds—of body (*kāya-rūpa-kāra*), speech (*vāk*) and mind (*manas*). These are called the constituents.

How many are the elements of consciousness (*vijñāna*)? The collection of consciousness consists of six:—(i) eye consciousness (*chakṣur-vijñāna*), (ii) ear consciousness (*śrotre*), (iii) nose consciousness (*ghrāṇe*), (iv) tongue consciousness (*jihvā*), (v) body consciousness (*kāya*), (vi) mind consciousness (*manas*). Such are the consciousnesses.

The consciousness is the cause of individuality (lit. name and form). How many are the names? They are four, having no aggregate of form (*rūpa-skandha*):—(i) aggregate of sensation (*vedanā-skandha*), (ii) aggregate of perception (*samjñā-skandha*), (iii) aggregate of constituents (*saṃskāra-skandha*), (iv) aggregate of consciousness (*vijñāna-skandha*). How many are the forms (*rūpa*)? All that has form is so called—all the four great elements (*mahā-bhūta*) and all that is created by the four elements. The latter are the forms and, the former, the names which are put together, abridged into one and called *nāma-rūpa*. Such is the individuality or *nāma-rūpa*.

Nāma-rūpa is the cause of the six sense organs (*ṣaṣṭ-āyatana*). What are the six sense organs? The six internal (*adhyātma*) sense organs are:—(i) the internal organ of the eye, (ii) the internal organ of the ear, (iii) the internal organ of the smell, (iv) the internal organ of the tongue, (v) the internal organ of the body, (vi) the internal organ of the mind. Such are the six sense organs.

The six sense organs are the cause of contact (*spṛśa*). How many are the contacts? The collection of contacts (*spṛśa-kāya*) consists of six:—(i) the contact through the eye, (ii) the contact through the ear, (iii) the contact through the nose, (iv) the contact through the tongue, (v) the contact through the body, (vi) the contact through the mind. Such are the contacts.

Contact is the cause of sensation (*vedanā*). How many are the sensations? They are of three kinds:—Pleasant sensation, painful sensation and indifferent sensation (lit. not-painful and not-pleasant).

Sensation is the cause of thirst (*tṛṣṇā*). How many are the thirsts? They are of three kinds:—sensual thirst (*kāma-tṛṣṇā*), thirst relating to form (*rūpe*) and thirst not relating to form (*arūpe*). Such are the thirsts.

Thirst is the cause of attachment (*upādāna*). How many are the attachments? There are four attachments:—(i) attachment arising from the sense desires, (ii) attachment arising from the visual sense, (iii) attachments arising from 'belief in rites', (iv) attachment arising from 'belief in soul-theory'.

Attachment is the cause of existence (*bhava*). How many are the existences? They are of three kinds:—sensual existence (*kāma-bhava*), corporeal existence (*rūpa*) and incorporeal existence (*arūpa*). Such are the existences.

Existence is the cause of birth (*jāti*). How many are the births? When in particular classes of beings there is birth of particular beings, there is becoming and production,* there is becoming of the *skandhas*, there is acquisition of *dharma*, *āyatana* and *skandha* and there is becoming of the faculty of life it is birth (*jāti*).

* [This is more or less a free translation of the Sanskrit text.—N. P. C.]

* Literally all arising from righteous conduct and religious observances.

* [Note the four words *saṃjñā*, *saṃskāra*, *saṃvṛtti*, and *pralīyana* in the Sanskrit text, cf. with this the inscription 'Bhagavato śrīrātri' the descent of Bhagavat, on the 'Bharat pillar, Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p. 228, No. 98—N. P. C.]

Birth is the cause of old age and death (*jarā-maraṇa*). Of what nature is the old age? It is the baldness and decay, shrinking of the skin, gradual (*physical*) diminution and ruin, hunchbackedness, crookedness, spread of black spots on the body, quick respiration, body stooping on the front, leaning on sticks, mental trouble, mental debility, loss and diminution, decay of the sense of organs and their dissolution, rotting of the *saskādhara*, and demolition of the body organs. Such is old age. What is death? It is the falling off of particular beings in their respective groups. Death is complete dissolution and cessation from existence, it is the abandonment of life and (*vital*) fire, complete extinction of the faculty of life, dissolution of the *sandhāra*. Death is the arresting of the product of time. The latter is death and the former is old age both stridged together is called *jarā-maraṇa*.

Such is the meaning of the derivatives of the chain of dependant production.*

No. 34.—ANNIGERI INSCRIPTION OF KIRTIVARMAN (II.); THE SIXTH YEAR.

By N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A., Ootacamund.

The stone inscription forming the subject of this paper was copied by me during the field season of the year 1928-29 at Annigeri (or more correctly Appigere) a village in the Navalgund Taluka of Dharwar District, Bombay Presidency and a Railway station on the Hubli-Guntakal section of the M. & S. M. Railway. Though at present a small village, Annigeri appears to have been an important town from early Chālukya times down to the Muhammadan period. In the 9th century it was the chief town of the Belvola three-hundred district administered by Dāvaṅga-yya, an officer of the Bāhadrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha I.² Under the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi and the Hoysalas it continued to be known as the *rāṣṭhāṇī-paṭṭaṇa* or the capital town.³ Several other inscriptions of successive periods prove the importance of the place down to the time of Sultan Muhammad Shāh of Bijāpur in Śaka 1567.⁴ In Sanskrit records the place is called Anyatā-jāka, obviously a Sanskritised form of the Kanarese name Annigeri. The present inscription which is the earliest record at the place is engraved on three faces of a small pillar set up in front of the Banāśankari temple. As it refers to the construction of a *chēdiya* (Skt. *chaitya*) it may be surmised that this pillar does not belong to the Banāśankari temple.

The record is fairly well preserved except for the first two lines on its first face. But the king's name can be read in l. 1 as Kirtivarman and the rest, being the usual preamble can be supplied from other inscriptions. The alphabet is Kanarese of the 8th century A.D., written in a neat upright hand. Among initial vowels, the record contains *ā* in *āraṇya* (l. 5), *i* in *iḍa* (l. 10) and *o* in *ond* (l. 4). Medial *ī* is distinguished from *i* by a small loop in the circle denoting the *i* sign (cf. *geyā-ī* in line 8 with *chēdiya* in line 5). Medial *u* is a hook on the right in *ku* (cf. *Kuppa* in line 11) while it is a U-shaped stroke at the bottom in other letters (cf. *śubhagēri* in l. 7). The length in *ū* is marked by the addition of a downward curve to the *u* sign as in *ūḍa* of *gūṃṃṃṃṃ* (l. 8). The *e* sign is marked as in older inscriptions by a stroke to the left added to the *taḷakatta* as in *ne* of *āraṇya* (l. 5). Among consonants the inscription has four of the test letters *ḷa*, *j*, *ḷa* and *ḷa* (*ḷa* alone being absent) all of which present early forms. *ḷa*

* (The concluding portion of the Sanskrit text is not evidently found in the Chinese translation.—N. P. G.)

² Above, Vol. VI, p. 100 and Vol. VII, p. 204.

³ See, for instance, Bombay-Karnatak collection for 1928-29, Nos. 187 and 189.

⁴ Same collection No. 202.

is distinguished from *d* both when it occurs singly and when it forms a ligature with *g* (cf. *ḍi* of *-māḍiḍaḍa*, l. 9 and *ḍū* of *gūmaḍū*, l. 8.) The Dravidian *r* is found three, in *ra* of *āraṇyā* (l. 5) and *īra* (l. 10) and in *ri* of *nīriṣṭā* (l. 12); and final *n* is found in *nāma* (l. 14). The language of the record is archaic Kanarese. Attention may be drawn to the accusative suffix *ā* (e.g., *chēḍiyamān-*, l. 9) and the genitive suffix *ā* (*āraṇyā*, l. 5) and the form of the verb *māḍiḍaḍa* (l. 9). The orthography is free from any faults except for the use of long *ā* for the short in *gūmaḍū*. There is no distinction between short and long *r* and *n*.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a *chēḍiya*, i.e., (*chēḍya* or Jain temple) by **Kaliyamma** who was holding the office of the headman of **Jēbulagēri** and the erection in front of it of a sculpture by a certain **Kopḍūlara-Kuppa** whose other name was **Kirtti-varmma-Gōṣāi**. The latter is clearly the name of his master (*prabbandhana*) as stated in the last line. The writer was one **Diśāpāla**.

The record is dated in the **sixth year** of king **Kirtti-varmma-Satyāśraya**. The title **Satyāśraya** affords enough proof to show that the king belonged to the early Chālukya dynasty of Bādāmi and as the epigraph is on palaeographic grounds assigned to the 8th century A.D. Kirtti-varmma of our record must be the second king of that name. Since his initial year has been fixed by the late Dr. Fleet as 746-47 the date of our record would be **751-52 A.D.** Only two stone inscriptions and two copper-plates of this king have so far been published. Of them the Pattadakal pillar inscription¹ and the copper plates are throughout in Sanskrit and the damaged Āḍūr inscription² is partly in Sanskrit and partly in Kanarese. The present inscription is thus the first complete Kanarese record of this king.

Attention may be drawn to the rare Kanarese expression **ond-uttaram** (increasing by one) occurring in this inscription. So far as I know this word is found only in two other Bāḥ-ṭrakūṣa records, viz., the Nīlagundi inscription³ of Amoghavaraha I and the Veṅkaṭāpur⁴ inscription of Kṛishṇa II. Fleet, while editing the former inscription has remarked that this expression denoted an elliptical system of reckoning the regnal year of a king in which there was 'an omission of some kind or the other whether intentional or accidental'. This supposed omission was in his opinion the word *aruntaneya* (i.e., sixtieth); for "with a cycle of sixty years actually in use an elliptical method of designating years in excess of the number of sixty in such a case as this one is perfectly intelligible and admissible," but it was difficult to recognise anything rational in an elliptical expression being used for the years eleven, twenty-first, thirty-first, etc. According to Fleet, the full expression as it ought to be was, therefore, *ond-uttaram aruntaneya tavarahā* meaning 'the sixtieth year (increased by one) or the sixty-first year of the reign of the king to whom it belonged. The learned scholar's conclusion was apparently influenced by the fact that the only record containing the expression known to him was an undated record of a king who reigned for over 60 years. But the present inscription and the Veṅkaṭāpur record referred to above belong to kings whose reigns did not last so long and can be referred respectively to the 6th year of Kirtti-varman (II) and to Śaka 828 (which was the 29th regnal year of Kṛishṇa II). The explanation offered by Fleet is thus entirely out of place and *ond-uttaram* must therefore be interpreted in some other way. The context in which it occurs in the three records would show that it is an exact counterpart of the widely used expression *uttar-uttaram*, viz., in

¹ Above, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff.

² *Id.*, Vol. XI, p. 69.

³ Above, Vol. VII, p. 212.

⁴ No. 82 of the Bombay-Karnatak collection for 1926-27. The name of the king is wrongly given as Amoghavaraha for Akshavaraha (Kṛishṇa II).

conjunction with the word *śippa* or *śippābhivṛddhi*.¹ *and-uttaram* can therefore be understood as an idiomatic expression synonymous of *antar-dātum*, denoting 'progressively'.

Jābulagōri mentioned in the inscription appears to be a part of the town of Ayyigere.

TEXT.

First Face.

- 1 *Avani* [0°] *Kirtti*[va]rma-*(Satyā)śraya*
- 2 *śi-piṭhu*[vi-rallabhu] *mahārāja*.
- 3 *dhirāja* *paramādevara* *bhātārata*
- 4 *rājya* *and-uttaram*-*abhivṛddhi* *he*.
- 5 *in āraṇyā* *varaṇa* *prava*.

Second Face.

- 6 *rddamānam*-*āge* *Jā*.
- 7 *bulagōrige* *Kali*.
- 8 *yamma* *gāmuṇḍū*[vi]-*geyda*
- 9 *chēḍiyamān*-*māḍḍiḍon*
- 10 *idaja* *munde* *Koḍi*.

Third Face.

- 11 *anara*-*Kappa* *Kirtti*varma-
- 12 *gūḍāya* *nirīḍā*
- 13 *kirtana* ⑥ *Dīśpālāya* ⑥
- 14 *khītan* ⑥ *Prahma*nāma ⑥

No. 35.—TWO STONE INSCRIPTIONS OF KRISHNA II; SAKA 805.

By N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A., GOTAQAMUND.

These two inscriptions¹ were copied by me in the year 1926-27 in the villages of Sorajūr and Sirumija both in the Gadag Taluka of the Dharwar District, Bombay Presidency. Sorajūr (ancient Sarajavura), where a battle was fought between the Hoysala king Ballāja II and the Yādava king Bhīllama has already been fully described by the late Dr. Fleet on p. 176, Vol. XIII of this journal. Sirumija which is three miles north of Sorajūr does not seem to have enjoyed any importance. The inscription at Sorajūr, which I shall call A, is incised on a slab set up in front of the Veṅkaṭēśa temple and is in an excellent state of preservation. The Sirumija record, which is called B in the sequel, is on a hero-stone near the village school and is damaged to some extent, particularly in lines 3 and 4.

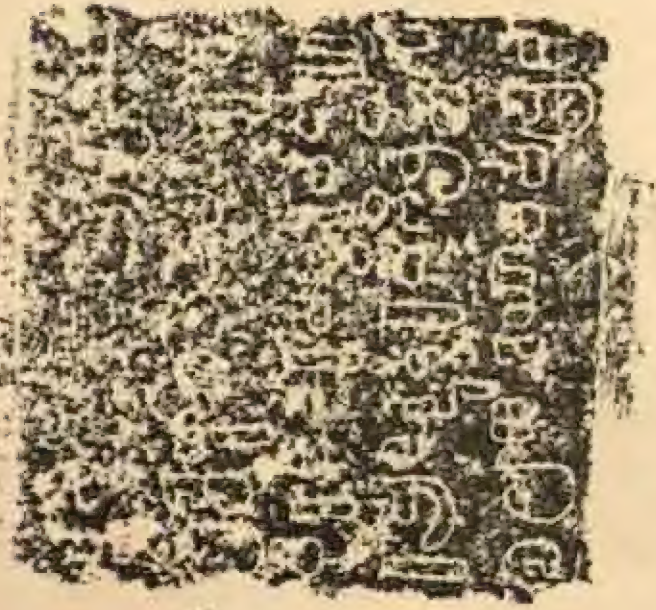
The alphabet is *Kanarese* quite regular for the period to which the records refer themselves. Attention may be drawn to the following features which present themselves in this transitional period when the script underwent some radical changes—the earlier form of initial *i* consisting

¹ This will become clear by a comparison of the three records using *and-uttaram* with some inscriptions where *antar-dātum* occurs:—(1) Ayyigere Inscription: (*rājya* *and-uttaram*-*abhivṛddhi* *he*); (2) Sijagundī Inscriptions: (*and-uttaram* *rājya* *and-uttaram*-*abhivṛddhi* *he*); (3) Veṅkaṭapur Inscription: (*rājya* *abhivṛddhi*-*and-uttaram* *he*); (4) Mahāśūta pillar inscription of Mahāśūta (*Ind. As. Vol. XIX, p. 18*): (*and-uttaram* *paramādevara* *rājya* *and-uttaram*-*abhivṛddhi* *he*); (5) *Śaśi* Inscription of Amoghavarsha I (*ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 296): (*paramādevara* *rājya* *and-uttaram*-*abhivṛddhi* *he*); (6) *Śaśi* Inscription of the same king (*ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 186): (*rājya* *and-uttaram*-*abhivṛddhi* *he*); (7) *Śaśi* Inscription of the same king (*ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 186): (*rājya* *and-uttaram*-*abhivṛddhi* *he*).

No. 35 and 59 of the Bombay-Karnatak collection for 1926-27.

ANNIGERI INSCRIPTION OF KIRTIVARMAN II—6th YEAR.

FIRST FACE.



SECOND FACE.



THIRD FACE.



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SCALE: ONE-FOURTH.



of two curves with two dots below still persists (see *Indapayya* l. 4 of A); medial *v* is expressed in two different ways (i) by the addition of a downward stroke at the left of the *aiśakṣa* as in earlier records (cf. *ma* of *paramāśura* in l. 3 of A) and (ii) by a superscript mark as in *go* of *Purige* (l. 5 of A) and *de* of *Pajide* (l. 4 of B). As in older records no distinction is made between medial *e* and *ē* and *o* and *ō*. While in A, the later cursive form of *r* is used throughout, only the earlier form is found in B (cf. *ra* in *vajra* l. 1 of A with *rōja* l. 1 of B). The letter *l* is of the later cursive type with the miniature of the earlier type in the centre. Both the special Dravidian consonants *ṛ* and *ḷ* are much more developed than in records of the eighth century (e.g., *Purige* and *ślu* in l. 5 of A and *aiśakṣa* and *Pajide* in l. 1 of B). The lingual *d* cannot be distinguished from the dental *ḍ* in both the records.

The language of the inscriptions is **Kanarese prose**. Attention may be drawn to the nominal verb *aiśakṣa* (assemble) from the noun *aiśa* which is a rare formation. Another interesting and still unexplained word is *gōśāśa* occurring in l. 7 of A. Dr. Fleet has suggested¹ that it might be a corruption of the Sanskrit word *gōśāśa*. That the word is connected with Sanskrit *gō* (cow) has already been pointed out by him. In the Soratīr record (A) the occurrence of the expression *śva-aiśakṣiddhi* (prosperity of the addressee) immediately after the mention of the gift of *gōśāśa* confirms this view. But Fleet's suggestion that the word may mean a cow-shed is not correct for, it is not possible to derive *gōśāśa* from *gōśāśa*; it is more probable that the word is an abbreviation or Kanarese rendering of *gō-sāśa*. This is strengthened by the fact that a certain Kāṣṭhika Kōṭayama who is described as a *gōśāśa* in one of the inscriptions of Bejjā² in the Mysore State is described in another record³ of the same place as *gōśāśa-śāśa* (i.e., who was the manager or the keeper of *gōśāśa*). The mention first of a gift of *gō-sāśa* and then of a *gōśāśa* is not found in the Chinchli inscription⁴ as supposed by Fleet. In other epigraphs from the Bombay-Karnatak we have similar references to the gifts of *gō-sāśa*.⁵

As regards orthography, B is free from any errors except the use of *a* for *ā* in *aiśa* (l. 2), but A is full of mistakes. Unnecessary lengthening of letters such as *Paramāśura* for *Paramāśura* (l. 2) and *Indapayya* for *Indapayya* (l. 4) is very common in the record. *R* is used for the vowel *ri* in *pridurī* (l. 1) and *viddhi* (l. 2).

The inscription A records the gift of a *gōśāśa* by a certain Chidaṇṇa made in the presence of the Pīṭy (*mahā-jana*) of Saratavura who had assembled together when Indapayya was governing the *aiśa* district). As we are told that Saratavura was situated in the Purigere-nāḍu the district which Indapayya was administering was evidently Purigere. From other inscriptions we know that this was a three-hundred villages or a district comprising 300 villages. Indapayya who was in charge of this district is introduced to us here for the first time. It is a hero-stone recording the death of a certain Eṇṇama in a cattle-raid at Nivudi and the setting up of the stone by Gurevamma, the younger brother of Pajide-gāṇḍa.

Both the epigraphs refer themselves to the reign of Akālavarsha and are dated in the Saka year 805 and A gives, in addition, Sōbhakṛit as the corresponding cyclic year. Thus the English equivalent of the date is A.D. 883-84. Akālavarsha of the records whose proper name Kannara-bhātāra is also given in A is no other than the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛishna II, the successor of Amoghavarsha I for whom the latest date known so far is A.D. 877-78. The earliest

¹ Above, Vol. VI, p. 233.

² *Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1923, p. 182, No. 79.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 181, No. 78.

⁴ Above, Vol. VI, p. 235, l. n. 2.

⁵ See, for instance, No. 148 of the Bombay-Karnatak collection for 1926-27 and No. 11 of the same collection for 1923-24.

date hitherto available for Kṛishṇa II was A.D. 888.¹ The present records thus furnish the earliest date for this monarch leaving only a gap of six years after the last known year of Amoghavarsha.

Of the places mentioned Saratavura is the modern Sataur where inscription A was found. Nivudi has probably to be identified with Nigadi, a village about 8 miles south-west of Dharwar.

TEXT.

A

- 1 ॐ Svasti Śrī[*] Akālavariśā(varaṣa) prithuvī(prithvī)-vāllava(vallabha)
māraśādi(mahārājādhi)rāja]
- 2 paramādevaṛi(a) śrīmat-Kannāra-bhaṭṭā]rara rājy-ābhivri(vṛi)dhi saluttum-ā-
- 3 re Śaka-nṛipa-kāi-ātita-sambā(va)tsaramgaḷ-enṭu-nūr-āyda(ayda)ne[ya*]
8X(8X)-
- 4 bhakṣiṭ ambha(ka) ambha(va)tsaraṭi pra(va*)ttise Indāpāyyam(Indapayyam)nāḍān-
ā[tt-i-
- 5 re Purigere-nāḍa Saratavuraś-ā[tyvadimbarum-ā]lu nāḍayise Māna-
- 6 āigara-āhidda(da)ṇṇa[sh*] gēś-
- 7 sam-ā[do[m]
- 8 stan-ābhivriiddhi[**]
- 9 nama[h](ॐ)

B

- 1 Srasty-Akālavariśa śrī-prithuvī(prithvī)-vallabha mahārājādhirāja paramādeva-
rāṣaṭa[ā]
- 2 [sa]kala-rājy-ābhivriiddhiḡe saluttum-āre Sa(Sa)ka-varaṣam-enṭu-nūra
- 3 aydaneya varāṣaṭi pravartānti-āre [Kadalekadhi]pāṇṇā Eṣayammāri Nivudi-
tūnaga[ā]-kā-
- 4 di suttom[I kalla Paḷide-gāvaṇḍa[na*] tamma Gureyamma nigida]

No. 36.—THE JESAR PLATES OF SILADITYA III—THE YEAR 347.

By the late Mr. R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

These plates were discovered, along with the plates of Siladitya IV of the year 387, at Jesar, a village in the Bhāvnagar State of Kāchh-wāt. They were sent for inspection to Mr. (now Dr.) D. R. Bhandarkar, then Superintendent of the Western Circle of the Archaeological Survey in 1915 and his summary of the inscription will be found in his Annual Report for the year.¹

The record is inscribed on two plates, of copper of equal size, the rims of which are slightly raised. There are two holes in each plate, through one of which is passed a long thick wire of copper. The ends of the wire are joined together by the seal of the Mastraka of Valabhi bearing the bull couchant and the ancient legend Śrī-Bhadrakṣ. The second ring is missing. The plates measure 13" × 11½" and are now preserved in the Barton Museum, Bhāvnagar. As the impressions taken in Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's time were not legible, these plates were obtained on loan

¹ Above, Vol. XIII, p. 180.

² This letter on which is much smaller than the one was omitted first and inserted later.

³ P. E. A. S. W. C., 1915-16, p. 65, para. 10.

from the Bhāvnagar State through the Honourable Agent to the Governor of Bombay in Kāthiā-wār.

There are altogether sixty-two lines of writing on these plates which are evenly distributed. The average height of letters is 4". The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose, with the exception of the three imprecatory verses in the second plate. The characters of the inscription show unmistakable influence of the south, especially in the forms of *k* and *l*. Two forms of *l* have been used side by side: (1) the northern angular form with the base line and (2) the round southern form in which the base line is no longer existent. The base line of *k* also has disappeared. The text is almost an exact copy of the usual text used in other later Valabhi grants such as the Alina Plates of Śilāditya VI¹, without any variation and does not contain any additional historical information.

Like other later Valabhi grants this record also mentions Bhaṭārka but passes over his sons. The next descendant of Bhaṭārka, mentioned in the text, is Guhaśēna, the son of Bhaṭārka's fourth son Dharapatta. Then comes Guhaśēna's son Dharasēna II, his sons Śilāditya I and Kharagraha I. The latter was succeeded by his son Dharasēna IV. The succession then devolved upon Dhruvasēna III, the son of Dārahata who was one of the younger sons of Śilāditya I. Dhruvasēna III was succeeded by his elder brother Kharagraha II. This prince was succeeded by his elder brother's (Śilāditya II's) son Śilāditya III, the donor of the present grant. The genealogical portion occupies the first forty-six lines. Unlike the text of the Jesar plates of Śilāditya IV, the text of this inscription is almost free from mistakes.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant by the king himself, of one hundred *pādāvarṇas* of land in the village of Kukkapatra in the *pathaka* of Kalāpaka in (the country) of Surāhtra to a Brāhmaṇa, with two names Śaggala and Prakāśa, who was a Dīkṣita, an inhabitant of Valabhi and an immigrant from Pushyāśāmbapura. He was the son of Śāmbudatta, belonged to the Kaṇhika-gotra and was a follower of the Yajurēda. The land granted consisted of three pieces of which the first was the largest measuring seventy-three *pādāvarṇas*. The piece lay towards the western boundary of the village and its boundaries were:—On the east the Brāhmaṇa field of the Upādhyāya or preceptor, on the south the three royal wells, on the west a field named or belonging to Bhilaiyaka and on the north the Vāṇasatīkā river. A new word *prachchikā* which is also met with in other Valabhi plates² occurs in connection with the above mentioned three wells, and apparently denoted 'a field irrigated by a well'.

The boundaries of the second piece, known as Bappula which consisted of twelve *pādāvarṇas* of land and which was situated on the south western (boundary of the village), were:—On the east the field of the Brāhmaṇa ghaṇḍhaka, on the south the field of the Brāhmaṇa Tatta, on the west the field of the Brāhmaṇa chajja, and on the north the rivulet (Śāreṇī). The third piece was called Lasaṇikā. It was situated on the eastern boundary (of the village) and consisted of fifteen *pādāvarṇas* measures of land. Its boundaries were:—On the east the boundary of the village of Kappasāmaka, to the south the *prachchikā* of the well called Śirādayaka, on the west the *prachchikā* of the well called Dhōraka, and on the north the river Vāṇasatīkā. The grant also contained the well called Dhōraka extending over twenty-five *pādāvarṇas*. The boundaries of this well were:—To the east the piece of land called Lasaṇikā, to the south the *prachchikā* of the well called Śirādayaka, to the west the *prachchikā* of the well called the Pippala and on the east the crest (śikhara) of the village (i.e., the mound on which the village was situated). The Dātaka of the grant was the prince (Rājaputra) Dhruvasēna. It was written by the chief scribe (Dvairapati) Anahila son of the chief scribe, the Sandhi-

¹ G. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 173 ff.

² Cf. the unpublished Jesar plates of Śilāditya IV and J. R. B. N. A. S. (N.S.), Vol. I, p. 74, l. 49, and above, p. 184.

represented the illustrious Skandabhaṭṭa. The date of the grant is the (Gupta) year 347, the fifteenth day of the dark half of Vaiśākha corresponding to 666-67 A.D. The donor Śūdditya III is the brother's son of his predecessor Kharagraha II. With the exception of Valabhi and Sorāṣṭra, which are represented by modern Wāḷā and Sorath in Kāśmīr, I am unable to identify any other locality mentioned in the inscription. The inscription is edited from the original plates.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Om¹ Svasti[²] Vijaya-akundhāvāra[³] Puṇḍhikapaka-vāśakā[⁴] prāśabha-praput-
āmitrāgādā Mastrakāśmā⁵.....

Second Plate.

47 muṣṭagana-abhimukhānā-āyudhā dvishatāḥ Paramaśūbhā-
varāḥ tri-Śūdditya-kulāḥ sarvān-eva samājāpayaaty-actā vas-sāhavyāḥ
48 yathā mayā mātā-pitṛāḥ puṣy-āpyānāya Puṣyāśmābhagura-vinirgata-tach-
chāturvaidya-sāmānya-śū-Valabhi-vāśakya-Kaśmīka-sagōtra-ādhyatya-sahrahmachārī-
49 Brāhmaṇa-Sāmbadatta-putra-Brāhmaṇa-Sagga[⁶]-Prakāśa-dvīnāma-Dikṣitāya Sorāṣṭreṣu
Kaśhāpaka-puthakā Kukkapaśra-grāmā bhū-pādāvarita-sata-parimāṇā
50 tri-khaṇḍ-āvāṣṭhitāḥ kahōtraḥ yatra prathama-khaṇḍaḥ apara-simā tri-saptati-
bhū-pādāvarita-parimāṇāḥ yasya-āghōṣantāḥ pūrvataḥ upādhyāya-brāhma-
dāya-kahōtraḥ dakṣhiṇataḥ
51 rājakyā-vāḷā-traya-prachchihā aparataḥ [Bhādīyaka]-kahōtraḥ uttarataḥ Vadda-
jika nadi tathā dvitīya-khaṇḍaḥ apara-dakṣhiṇa-simā Nappada-āṣṭhitāḥ
drāḍaka-bhū-pādāvarita-parimāṇāḥ
52 yasya pūrvataḥ Brāhmaṇa-Chaṣṭhaka-satka-kahōtraḥ dakṣhiṇataḥ Brāhmaṇa-
Tatta-kahōtraḥ aparataḥ Brāhmaṇa-Chayya-satka-kahōtraḥ uttarataḥ śirāḥ
tathā pūrvā-simā
53 tri(tri)tya-khaṇḍaḥ Lūsanika-samjñitāḥ pañchadāśa-bhū-pādāvarita-parimāṇāḥ yasya
pūrvataḥ Kappasāṇaka-grāma-simā dakṣhiṇataḥ Śirāḍaḍaka-samjñita-vāpinaḥ
prachchihā
54 aparataḥ Dhōṛika-samjñita-vāpi-prachchihā uttarataḥ Valabjika nadi tathā
sat-simā-eva Dhōṛika-samjñitā pañcha-viṇśati-bhū-pādāvarita-parimāṇā vāpi
55 yasya pūrvataḥ Lūsanika-samjñita-kahōtra-khaṇḍaḥ dakṣhiṇataḥ Śirāḍaḍaka-
samjñita-vāpinaḥ prachchihā aparataḥ Pippala-vāḷā prachchihā uttarataḥ
56 grāma-dikṣita evam-āṇa-āghōṣam-vāṇāḍham vāpi-kahōtraḥ sōtrāṇāḥ āparikaram
sa-bhūta-vāta-pratyāyāḥ sa-dhānya-hiranyā-dāyāḥ sa-dakṣhiṇāḥ āpadya-
māna-vi-
57 śhīlāḥ sarva-rājakyānām-ahama-prakāśya[⁷]pāṭīyāḥ pūrvā-pratta-dāva-brāhma-
dāya-āṣṭhitāḥ bhūmi-chakṣhita-nyāyānāṇāṇāḥ-ārāk-āṇāva-bhūmi-satka-pūrvata-
soma-kāśmāḥ pa-

¹ Expressed by a symbol.

² The portion of the text (lines 1 to 47) omitted here is in common with other grants of Śūdditya III, cf. for example, Lumsdell plates, above, Vol. IV, pp. 76 ff.

³ The inscription of other vāḷā may either be taken as a corruption of Sanskrit vāḷā, in which case vāḷā and Dandaka may be two separate wells; or more likely a preserver of the modern Gujarati passive term vāḷā—Bd.]

- 58 tra-pautr-ānvaya-bhūgram-udak-ānagagga¹ dharmma-dāyā nīpāhata² yatō-sya-
 śchitayā brahmadāya-śchitayā bhūjatal³ kṛishatal³ karshayatal³ pratidāatō
 vā nā kaitchid-vyasaśhā
- 59 varttitavyam-āgāmi-bhadra-nripātibhir-apy-asmat-vandajaitra-nyair-vvā anityāny-
 āśvāryāgyasathirah mānashyāh sāmānyāh-cha bhūmi-dāna-phalam-avagach-
 chātibhir-ayam-asmat-dāyō-nunantavyayā paripālayitavya-
- 60 i-ch-ēty-uktah-cha [*] Bahubhir-vvasudhā bhuktā rājahl[?] Sagar-ādibhi-
 [h[*]] yasya yasya yadā bhūmī-tasya tasya tadā phalam⁴ Yān-lha
 dāritrya-bhayān-narēndrān-dhānāni dharm-āyatant-kṛitāni [*] nirbhukta-
 māya-pratimāni tāni kō nā-
- 61 ma śāhū-pūnat-śādhā⁵ || Śhaśh[?] varshā-sahaśhāni avarggō tishthati
 bhūmīdāh⁶ [?] śechh[?] ch-ānunantō cha tūny-śva narakō vasaśh⁷ [?]
 Dūtākō-tra Rājaputra-Dhruvasānā⁸ ||
- 62 Likhitam-īlam Sandhivigrah-ādīkṛita-Divirapatī-Śrī-Skandabhāta-putra-Divirapati-
 Śrīmad-Anahīl[?] || Saka 100 40 7 Vallūka-vā 15 Sva-bastō mama ||

No. 37.—SAKTIPUR COPPER-PLATE OF LAKSHMANASENA.

By DEBENDRA CHANDRA GOKULY, M.A., Ph.D., BENARES.

The subjoined inscription belongs to the reign of Lakshmanasena, the fourth king of the Sena dynasty, who held sway over Bengal during the latter part of the 12th and the early part of the 13th century A.D. The other grants of this king, already known to us, are the Anulla copper-plate, the Govindapur copper-plate, the Tarapadighi copper-plate, and the Madhainagar copper-plate, all of which have been included by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, in his book entitled "Inscriptions of Bengal", Vol. III. The same book also refers to a short inscription of Lakshmanasena's reign, engraved on the pedestal of an image of Chandi, in the city of Dacca.

The new copper-plate was lying in the house of late Mr. Siva Chandra Chatterjee, in the village of Saktipur, in the Sadar-Subdivision of the Murshidābād District, Bengal, where it is said to have been worshipped for a long time by a widow, now dead. It is now lying in the Museum of the Bangiya Sahitya-Parishat who obtained it through Mr. Sathari Chatterjee. The inscription was first edited by Mr. Ramash Basu in the Bengali magazine conducted by the Sahitya-parishat (Vol. XXXVII, pp. 216 ff.). Mr. Basu's paper embodies the transcript of the inscription with some introductory notes. As there are some gross errors in his reading, I re-edit this inscription with the kind permission of the authorities of the Bangiya Sahitya-Parishat.*

This is a single plate inscribed on both sides, and measures 1' 6½" long and 1' 2" broad. A seal representing an effigy of Śaḍḍiva is attached on the top of it with nails. The plate contains altogether 58 lines, 29 on each side. The letters are quite distinct and hardly offer any difficulty in reading. There is some vacant space in line 26 after *yathā*, and in line 55 after *śāh-śādhā*, each of which can provide a letter. There is also some vacant space in line 54 after *vargg*, which can accommodate two letters. The first three letters of the word *minayena* in line 46 are indistinct.

¹ Read *śāhāyāsa*.

² Read *saḍḍi*.

³ I acknowledge my gratitude to Mr. N. K. Bhattachāḷī, M.A., and Mr. R. G. Bose, M.A., for the help they have rendered me in writing this article.

The characters are proto-Bengali of the type found in Lakshmapasēna's grants. *Ṣ*, *t*, *n*, *m*, *y*, *r* and *ś* have already assumed the forms of the modern Bengali characters. The forms of some individual letters call for special remarks. *V* is not always uniformly written (cf. ll. 7 and 9). Sometimes *p* and *y* (ll. 5 and 7), *v* and *r* (ll. 7 and 9), and *r* and *c* (ll. 4 and 11) are indistinguishable. The forms of the letters in this inscription and that on the Amulia plate are not always identical. Special attention is drawn to the conjunct letters *śḍ*, and *śā*.

The language is Sanskrit. The inscription is written both in verse and in prose. Lines from 1 to 17 and from 50 to 58 are in verse, with the exception of *śaśamed, etc.*, at the commencement, the date at the end and the lines 17 to 50 which are in prose. As regards orthography, the letter *v* denotes both *v* and *b*. The word *śubhā* is written as *śubha* (l. 3) as in the Amulia plate. *Tripurāśaṭka* is written as *Tripurāśaṭka* (ll. 57-58). The consonant following the superscript *r* is doubled, as for example, *svargya*, **r-svargyā* (ll. 51, 52, 54), *etc.* The words *buddhā* and *dattā* are respectively written as *buddhā* (l. 56) and *dattā* (l. 12).

The inscription records a grant of Lakshmapasēna, the son of Vallālasēna, grand-son of Vijayasēna, and the great-grand-son of Hēmantasēna. The Deopara inscription¹ of Vijayasēna tells us that Sāmantasēna was the father of Hēmantasēna. Hēmantasēna was the first king of the family. The same inscription² mentions Hēmantasēna's wife as Mahārājī (the great queen). The Hatnāpūr inscription³ of the same king designates Hēmantasēna as Mahārājādhirāja. Nothing is known from our inscription regarding the military achievements of Lakshmapasēna. But the Madhainagar copper-plate⁴ of the king records that when he was a crown-prince, he seized the fortune of the King of Gauṇa, defeated the Kings of Kaliṅga, and Kāśī and subdued Kāmarūpa.

The object of the inscription is to record that King Lakshmapasēna, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, granted to a Brāhman named Kuvēra 89 *śaṭkas* of land, comprising a part of Nīnāpātaka, and the whole of the five *pāṭakas* of Rāghavahatya, Vārahakṣa, Vallihitā, Vijahārapura, and Dāmaravajā, all situated in the Kumārpara-chaturaka, in the Madhugirimāṇḍala, attached to Kumālinagara, in the Dakṣiṇāvāhī of Uttara-Rāgha, in the Kankagrāmabhukti. The lands comprising Vārahakṣa, Vallihitā, Rāghavahatya, and part of Nīnāpātaka were contiguous, and were bounded in the east by the extensive lands of Mālikupādā along with Aparājoll; in the south by Bhāgaḍikhaṇḍakabēra, in the west by the cow-track of Achchhamā and in the north by the Mōra river. The two *pāṭakas* of Vijahārapura and Dāmaravajā which were off from the above lands, were again contiguous. They were bounded on the east by Chāke-lyājoll; on the south by Vipravādhājoll, on the west by Lāṅgalājoll, and on the north by the cow-track of Parājāga. The income of all the lands granted was five hundred (*Kopardaka-parāṇas*).⁵ The inscription tells us that the above grant was made in exchange of Kāśtrapātaka, which yielded five hundred (*Kopardaka-parāṇas*), and which had been given by King Vallālasēna to the Gayā⁶ Brāhman Haridāsa on a previous occasion. It appears from this that on the aforesaid day of the solar eclipse the king, through mistake, gave Kuvēra the Kāśtrapātaka. But shortly after, when it was brought to his notice that the latter had already been given by his father to Haridāsa, he annexed to Government (*śāśāhāraṇa*) the above-mentioned six *pāṭakas*, which were of equal value with the previous grant and made them over to Kuvēra in exchange of the Kāśtrapātaka.

¹ Above, Vol. I, pp. 305 ff. and *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 50.

² *Ibid.*, p. 52.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 62, l. 23.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁵ Though not specified, this unit of money may be supplied from other inscriptions of the period.

⁶ [The priests at Gayā are still known by the name of Gayā or Gayāval Brāhman—Ed.]

The inscription furnishes us with the names of some hitherto unknown territorial divisions in Bengal. In the early times, modern Bengal was divided under four geographical units, viz., Varāndrī, Rājha, Vāṅga, and Samatāṭa. Varāndrī represented North Bengal or the modern Rājshāhī Division and Rājha comprised South-west Bengal. Rājha or Rājdhā was further divided into Northern and Southern Rājha. The former was bounded by the Ajaya in the south, the Bhāgīrathī in the east and the north, and the Santal Parganae in the west. This comprised the whole of the present Birbhūm District, and part of the Murshidābād District.

The highest administrative unit was a *bhūkti*, which was divided between *maṇḍala*s and *vishaya*s. The exact relation between a *maṇḍala* and a *vishaya* cannot be fixed, the evidence on the subject being of a conflicting nature; most of the inscriptions from Bengal, however, refer to *maṇḍala* as a subdivision of *vishaya*. The divisions of a *maṇḍala* were *khaṇḍalas*¹ and *vīthi*.² The Nālandā³ plate of Dēvapāla states that Kumudāsūtra-*vīthi* was within the Gayā-*vishaya*. The Nāhati plate⁴ of Vallāhasēna refers to a *vīthi* which was within the jurisdiction of a *maṇḍala*. This suggests that *vīthi* was a division of a *maṇḍala* and a subdivision of a *vishaya*. The relation between *maṇḍala* and *vīthi* is not known. The division of *vīthi* seems to have been a *khāṇḍā*. The Khalimpur plate⁵ of Dharmapāla mentions a *khāṇḍā* named Vēsanika. The Govindapur plate⁶ of Lakshmaṇasēna refers to a *khāṇḍā*. Between *khāṇḍā* and *chaturaka* was a unit called *vṛtta*. *Vṛtta* was divided into *chaturaka*,⁷ *chaturaka* into *grāma*⁸ and *grāma* into *pāṭaka*.⁹

From the records of the early Sēna kings, we know of only two *bhūktis* in Bengal, viz., Paṇḍravarādhana and Vardhamāna. During the period of the Guptas and the Pālas the Paṇḍravarādhana-*bhūkti* comprised only the Rājshāhī Division,¹⁰ but during the Sēna period it included a number of other territories within its jurisdiction such as Vāṅga (approximately the Dacca Division), and the Presidency Division¹¹ east of the Bhāgīrathī. The Vardhamāna-*bhūkti* originally comprised parts of the District of Murshidābād west of the Bhāgīrathī and the whole of the Districts of Birbhūm, Burdwan, Bankura, Hughli, and Howrah.¹² The Nāhati plate of Vallāhasēna,¹³ issued in the 11th year of the king's reign (circa 1171 A.D.), states that Uttara-Rājha formed a *maṇḍala* within the Vardhamāna-*bhūkti*. But the present grant of Lakshmaṇasēna, issued in the 6th year (circa 1183 A.D.) of his reign, refers to Uttara-Rājdhā as situated within the Kaṅkagrāma-*bhūkti*. This suggests that some territorial re-arrangements must have been effected during the intervening period, probably early during Lakshmaṇasēna's reign. The Kaṅkagrāma-*bhūkti* which is known for the first time from this inscription, must have been of recent formation and it is probable that the conquests of Lakshmaṇasēna in the direction of Bihār must have made this an administrative necessity. It seems to have taken over the Northern Rājha tract from Vardhamāna-*bhūkti*, although we know from the Govindapur grant, that the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

² The *Chāmpurāṇa* describes Māhurī as a *vīthi* (Chapt. LXVI, V. 72).

³ Above, Vol. XVII, p. 221.

⁴ *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 74, l. 28.

⁵ Above, Vol. IV, p. 253.

⁶ *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 80, l. 24.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 112, l. 40; p. 146, ll. 45-48.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 170-171.

⁹ *Gauda Lakṣmīnāṭh*, p. 135, V.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. XV, p. 140; *Ibid.*, p. 253.

¹¹ *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 137.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 97.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 71 ff.

later *Maṭṭi* was in existence in the 2nd year of Lakṣmanasena. The *Ajaya* must have been the boundary between northern and southern Rājha must then have been the boundary between the two *Maṭṭis*. The *Kaṅkagrāma-Maṭṭi* appears to have extended into the Santal parganas and Bhāgālpur on the north-west of Uttara-Rājha. On the north-east it could have extended very little beyond the river Ganges.

[The place *Kaṅkagrāma* from which the *Maṭṭi* took its name can be identified with Kāṅkajol (24° 48' N. Lat. 87° 45' E. Long.) just beyond the northern limits of the Murshidābād and Birbhum Districts of Bengal. Cunningham¹ calls it 'an old town, which was once the headquarters of an extensive province, including the whole of the present district of Rājshah and a large tract of country which is now on the east of the Ganges, but which in former days was on its west bank.' Its situation 'on a jutting point of the old high bank of the Ganges' must have given it a strategic importance. According to Cunningham, 'the province in which it is situated was called Rājha by the Hindus'. But as northern Rājha formed part of the southern subdivision (*adāl*) of the *Kaṅkagrāma* territory (*Maṭṭi*), the latter appears to have overlapped Rājha. Besides the antiquities noticed by Cunningham, there are other important antiquities at Kumāra in the neighbourhood of Kāṅkajol, which indicate that the place was of considerable importance in the pre-Mohammedan period. There can therefore be little doubt about the proposed identification.]

The name of the ancient *Madhugiri-vanajala* may be recognised in the present *Mahnāgāhā*, an isolated hill, in Santal Parganas rising to a height of 1,657 feet above sea level and situated about 23 miles to the south-west of Kāṅkajol and 30 miles north-west of Kumhira.—Ed.]

Of the other localities mentioned in the inscription, *Kumbhinagara* may be identified with the modern Kumhira, in the Rāmpurhā P. S. of the Birbhum District. The river *Mōra* is the modern Mor (also known as *Mayārahāhā*) which flows through the Birbhum District. *Kumārapura* still retains its ancient name and is situated in P. S. Maureswar about 3½ miles north of the Mor. *Vārahakōṣā* is the modern Barkunda in P. S. Suri, about ¼ a mile north of the Mor and 1½ mile from the Sainthia railway station of the E. I. R. Loop line. The words *kōṣā* and *vanajā* are changeable according to the usage in the Birbhum District. The modern village of Baharpur in the Labpur P. S. of Birbhum District probably represents the ancient *Vijahārapura*. Mr. N. K. Bhattacharya identifies *Nimā* and *Vālinhitā* with the modern villages of Nima and Baluti in P. S. Maureswar, on the north bank of the Mor, 4 miles north-east from Sainthia and 5½ miles west of Kumārpur. He also identifies *Achchhamā* with the modern village of Amua in P. S. Suri, ¼ a mile north of Sainthia and *Parajāpa* with that of Palijana, a village on both sides of the Mor, in P. S. Labpur and P. S. Maureswar, about 5 miles north-west of Baharpur. The villages of Barkunda, Nima and Baluti are now on the north bank of the Mor when the inscription tells us that they were to the south of this river. This shows that the Mor, which is a restless river constantly shifting its sandy bed, has since changed its course. The dried-up bed of the modern *Kāṣā* river, passing north of Nima and Baluti, was most probably the ancient course of the Mor during the *Sāna* period. [*Bārkōṣā* would be a better equivalent of *Vārahakōṣā* and a well-known ancient locality exists under this name close to Panchthupi in the Kaudī Subdivision of Murshidābād. In the vicinity are also to be found Nima and Baluti, and the river Mor drains off at some distance to the south.—Ed.]

The Saktipur inscription refers to the land measurement of *drôpa*.¹ From the other records of the Sena kings we know that several *drôpas* make one *pillaka*. *Drôpa* was again divided into *âdhaka* or *âdhacôpa*, *âdhaka* into *unmâsa*, and *unmâsa* into *kôla* or *kôlinika*.² *Drôpa* is still used as a land measure in Bengal. All these measurements were governed by a linear standard known as "*nala*". The standard of the measurement of *nala* was not uniform all over Bengal, and differed according to the custom and practice of a particular locality. The present grant makes mention of *Vrishabhatañkara-nala*. *Vrishabhatañkara* being an appellation of Vijayasena,³ the *nala* used in this inscription might have been introduced by and named after him. The Barrochpur grant of Vijayasena refers to *Samutattya-nala*.⁴ The Govindapur copper-plate⁵ of Lakshmanasena which records the grant of a village in the *Vardhamâna-bhukti*, refers to a standard of *nala* consisting of 56 cubits, prevalent in that region.

The donee Kubêra was the son of Ananta, grand-son of Prithvîdhara and great-grand-son of Anurâdha. From an early dynastic calendar used by the *ghatakas* (match-makers),⁶ we gather that there were in the time of Lakshmanasena three brothers⁷ named Dôvala, Vâmana and Kuvêra, sons of Dharmârbha, grand-sons of Pithô and great-grand-sons of Anurâdha. If Pithô is a contraction of Prithvîdhara⁸ (as is very likely) and Ananta is taken to be another name of Dharmârbha, the Kubêra of the present record may be identical with the youngest of the three brothers. The other two, Dôvala and Vâmana are said to have received honor as "Kulin" (High class Brâhmanas) from Lakshmanasena but Kuvêra is said to have forfeited this privilege, owing to his marriage with the daughter of Hârva Gânguli, a degraded "Kulin" who had accepted the gift of a golden cow from *Valhâlusena*.⁹ The line of "Kulinism" does not however seem to have prevented the Brâhman from receiving gifts at the hands of the king.

The date of the inscription was read by Mr. Banu as Sam 3, the 3rd day of Śrāvapa. Mr. Bhatnagar (with whom I concur) corrects it as Sam 6, the 7th day of Śrāvapa.¹⁰

[The supposition that the king first granted by mistake some land already in the enjoyment, of another donee, on the occasion of the solar eclipse, and subsequently exchanged it for another seems to be corroborated by the fact that except in 1163 A.D. (which is too early for Lakshmanasena) there was no solar eclipse on the 7th day of (solar) Śrāvapa, throughout the latter half of the twelfth century A.D. In 1183 A.D. the seventh day of Śrāvapa fell on Sunday the 3rd July, while a solar eclipse occurred on Monday the 23rd May. The intervening period of about six weeks can be explained by the supposition that the mistake took some time to be detected, reported to the authorities concerned and rectified. In 1185 A.D. a solar eclipse occurred about two months before the 7th day of Śrāvapa and in 1180 A.D. over three weeks after the date. The year 1183 is thus the most plausible equivalent of the present date, which corroborates the conclusion

¹ *Drôpa* is the same as *drôpôpa* of the Gupta period plates in Bengal, cf. above, Vol. XX, p. 61. The *pillaka* of the Sena period was however a larger unit than the *drôpôpa* of earlier plates, as the former equalled at least 10 *drôpas*, while the latter was made up of 8 *drôpôpas*.—Ed.]

² *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 78, 80, 104.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 136, l. 32.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 98, 97, but *drôpa* *senapatañkara* *drôpachôkô* *âdhaka* *parvâtî* *nallina*.

⁶ *English History* *History*, by N. N. Banu, *Brahmanacharya*, p. 140.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

⁸ Cf. Pithô's for Prithvîdhara.—Ed.]

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 162. I am indebted to Mr. Subodh Chandra Rauterjee, M.A., of the Manuscript Department, Dacca University, for drawing my attention to this passage, contained in an early match-maker's calendar.

¹⁰ Cf. the numeral "3" in the Anula plate, l. 56, and in Sâkya-parishat copper-plate of Vâsudevasena, l. 56, and the numeral "6" in the latter l. 50.

that the date of Lakshmapasēna's accession was 1178 A.D. arrived at from the date of Śiddhara's *Sadukti-Karṇāmrta*, which is stated to be Śaka 1127 and the 27th year of Lakshmapasēna's reign.—Ed.]

The date of the grant was the *Sāṁdhyaśrādhika* Tripurārinātha. The Govindapur plate,¹ dated Sam 2, the 28th day of Bhādra, the Anulla plate,² dated Sam 3, the 9th day of Bhādra, all belonging to Lakshmapasēna state that the *Sāṁdhyaśrādhika* Nārāyaṇadatta was the executor of these grants. Apparently he was succeeded in that office by Tripurārinātha between the 3rd and 6th years of Lakshmapasēna's reign.

TEXT.

Obverse.

- 1 सिद्धम् [१*] नमो नारायणाय ॥ विद्यु[द्य]त्र भविद्युतिः फणिपतिर्वा[र्वा]-
लेन्दुरिन्द्रायुधं वारि स्मर्त्तरत्निनी मि-
- 2 तग्निरोमान्ना व[व]न्नाकावलिः [१*] ध्यानाभ्यास[म*]मीरणीपनिहित[तः] ज्योद्गुरोद्भूतये
भूयाहः स भवार्त्तितापमिदु-
- 3 रः यन्मोः कपर्दीम्बु[म्बु]दः [१*] ध्यानन्दोम्बु[म्बु]निधौ चकोरनिकरे दुर्ध-
च्छिदाखन्त[न्ति]को कञ्जारे हतमो-
- 4 हता रतिपताविकोडमेवेति धीः [१*] यस्यामी चसृतात्मनः समुदयन्वाण प्रकाया-
ज्वगल-
- 5 त्रिध्यानपरम्परापरिणतं ज्योतिस्तदास्ताम्बुदे³ [२*] सेवायनम्बुपकोटिकिरोट-
रोचिर-
- 6 मु[म्बु]जसत्पटनखद्युतिवज्जरीभिः [१*] तेजोविषज्वरसुषो दिपतामभूवन् भूमीभुज[जः]
स्फुटमधौघ-
- 7 चिन्ताधर्वमे⁴ [३*] आकौमारविकस्मरेर्हिणि दिशि प्रस्यन्दिभिर्ह्यौयशः-
प्रान्तिवैररिराजवज्जललि-
- 8 श्रुानीः⁵ समुन्मोलयन् [१*] जेमन्तः स्फुटमेव सैनजननघोत्रम्⁶ पुष्पावलीमालि-
न्नाध्यविपाकपीव-

¹ *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 103.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 172 and 91.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Metre: *Sāṁdhyaśrādhika*.

⁵ Metre: *Sāṁdhyaśrādhika*.

⁶ Metre: *Vasantaśrādhika*.

⁷ *Tripartita* in Anulla and Govindapur plates.

⁸ Read *malina-malini*.

⁹ *Kahir-ogho* in Anulla and Tarpanlight plates.

- 9 रगुल्लस्योपामभूदंगजः¹ ॥[8॥*] यदीयैरद्यापि प्रचितभुजः स्फुटं सङ्घचरैर्योगोभिः
शोभन्ते परिधि-
- 10 परिणवा इव दिगः [1*] ततः काञ्चीलीलाचतुरचतुराश्वोधिलहरीपरीतोर्वीभर्ता²
जनि विज-
- 11 यसेन[3*] स विजयी³ ॥[५॥*] प्रत्युहः कलिसम्पदामनलसो वेदायनेकाध्वगः
संपामः चितजङ्गमा-
- 12 कृतिरभूदज्ञानसेनदातः [1*] यद्येतोमयमेव शौर्यविजयी दत्तौषधं⁴ तत्तृणा-
दक्षीणा रचयाच्च-
- 13 कार वगगाः स्वस्मिन् परेषां त्रियः⁵ [६॥*] संभुक्तान्यदिगङ्गनामणगुणामोगप्रलोभादि-
शामीशैरंग-
- 14 समर्थेन घटितस्तत्तत्प्रभावस्फुटेः [1*] दोषप्रचपितारिमङ्गररसो⁶ राजन्यधर्माश्रयः
श्रीम-
- 15 ब्रह्मणसेनभूपतिरतः सौजन्यमीमाजनि⁷ ॥[७॥*] शङ्खद्व(ड)भ्रमयादिमुक्तविप्रयास्त-
न्यावनिष्ठीकृत-
- 16 स्वान्ता यान्तु कथं न नाम रिपवस्तस्य प्रयोगाज्ञयम् [1*] यैराक्षप्रतिविम्बि-
(विम्बि)तेपि निपतत्यत्रेपि⁸ चञ्चत्-
- 17 विप्यद्वैतेन यतस्ततोपि संपरो देवः परं वीज्यते⁹ ॥[८॥*] स खलु श्रीविजयपुर-
समावासितश्रीम-
- 18 जयस्कन्धावारात् - महाराजाधिराजश्रीवज्रालसेनदेवपादानुध्यात¹¹ । परमेश्वरपर-
- 19 मभट्टारकपरमवैष्णवमहाराजाधिराजश्रीमब्रह्मणसेनदेवः कुयली । समुप-
- 20 गतामिषराजराजन्यकराज्ञीराणकराजपुत्रराजामात्यमहापुरोहितम-
- 21 हाधर्माध्यक्षमहासांख्यविरादिकमहासेनापतिमहामुद्राधिकृतध¹² नारङ्ग-
- 22 व(ड)दुपरिकमहाचपटतिकमहाप्रतीहारमहाभोगिकमहापीलुपतिमहा-

¹ Metre : Śāṅkīrāṇīrīdīna.² Read *dhya-tajak* as in other inscriptions.³ Read *chatur-ambāditi*.⁴ Metre : Śikharīnī.⁵ Read *dhya-mahādham*.⁶ Metre : Śāṅkīrāṇīrīdīna.⁷ *Kalyāṇī* in the Govindapur plate.⁸ Metre : Śāṅkīrāṇīrīdīna.⁹ Mr. Basu remarks that the word *ajit* in the original is missing. But the word is clearly engraved.¹⁰ Metre : Śāṅkīrāṇīrīdīna.¹¹ *Danda* unnecessary; read *dhya-tajak*.¹² Read *dhya-tajak*.

- 23 गणस्यदौःसाधिकचौरौडरणिकनौषलहृष्यगोमहिषाजाविकादिध्यातृजगौकि-
- 24 कदण्डपाशिकदण्डनायकविष्य[य*]पत्वादीन् अन्धां च भक्तसराजपादोपजीविनोभ्यच-
प्रचारो-
- 25 ज्ञानिडाकीर्तितान् चहभहजानीयान् चेचकरांश्च ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणान् ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणोत्तरान्
यद्याहं मान-
- 26 यति बोधयति समादिशति च मतमस्तु भवताम् यत्रा श्रीमधुगिरिमण्डला-
वच्छिन्नकुम्भीनगर
- 27 प्रतिवहः कइग्रामभुक्त्यन्तःपातिदक्षिणवीथ्यामुत्तररादायां¹ कुमारपरचतुरके पूर्व
अप-
- 28 राजोलीसमेतमालिकुण्डापरिसरभुः सीमा दक्षिणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणनीयभागदीप्तिखलेभं
सीमा
- 29 पश्चिमे अच्छमागोपयः सीमा उत्तरे सोमदीसीमा इत्थं चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नः
पट्चिंग[इ]द्रोणात्मकः[*]
- Reverent.*
- 30 सम्बत्सरेण साहस्यतदयोत्पत्तिकः वारहकोणावास्त्रिहितानिमापाटकसम्ब(स्व)न्निभूद्रो-
- 31 णचतुष्टयोपेनपाटकद्वयसमेतरावच्छिन्नपाटकस्तथाचतुरके पूर्व चाकनियानो-
- 32 लीसीमा दक्षिणे विप्रवडाजोलीसीमा । पश्चिमे ब्राह्मणजोलीसीमा । उत्तरे
परजाण-
- 33 गोपयः सीमा इत्थं चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नविपज्ञागइद्रोणात्मकः सम्बत्सरेण साहस्य-
- 34 तदयोत्पत्तिको दामरवडासमेतविजहारपुरपाटक एवमेतद(इ)यविलिखित-
- 35 नामसीमं स्वसीमावच्छिन्नं देवमा(द्रो)णादिभूव(वा)त्ति[*]गोपयाद्यभू² वास्तुभु-
सक्ति³ वृषभय-
- 36 वारहजन उ(ज)ननशतिभूद्रोणात्मकं सम्बत्सरेण पञ्चशतोत्पत्तिकं राघववट्ट-
वारह-
- 37 कोणानिमावस्थितखलेचभूद्रोणचतुष्टयात्मकवास्त्रिहितापाटकदामरवडा-
- 38 पाटकसमेतविजहारपुरपाटकमेतत् पट्पाटकं मभाटविटपं सज्जलखलं सग-
- 39 त्तोपरं सगुवाकनारिकेलं मल्लदद्यापराधं परिहृतसर्वपोडं अचहभहप्रवेश-
- 40 मकिञ्चित्प्रगाष्टं वृषपुतिगोचरपर्यन्तं । पत्तिवहदेवगम्येणः प्रपोचाय
- 41 पूज्योधरदेवगम्येणः पौचाय अनन्तदेवगम्येणः पुचाय शास्त्रिण्यसगोचाय शा-

¹ (Cf. *Dakṣiṇāyana-sūtra* in the Pāṭalpur plate, above Vol. X, p. 81.—Ed.)

² Probably we have to read *gopāthādy-astha-lā-bhūti-ka*. (Cf. L. 26 of Tāpudāgiri copper-plate, *Asp. p.*
tion of Bengal III, p. 102.—Ed.)

- 42 ण्डिन्वासितदेवलप्रवराय सामवेदकौमुदमशास्त्राचरणानुष्ठायिने आचार्य्यत्रो-
 43 कुवेरदेवशर्मणे पुण्ये चरुनि विधिवदुदकपूर्वकं भगवन्तं श्रीमन्नारायणभट्टा-
 44 रकमुद्दिश्य मातापितृराजनश्च पुण्ययशोभिहृदये । श्रीवज्रालसेनदेवप्रदत्त-
 45 गद्यालगा(त्रा)क्षणहरिदामेन प्रतिगृहीतपञ्चशतोत्पत्तिकच(से)चपाटकाभिधानशास-
 46 नो(न)विनिमयिन एतद्राववह्नादिपट्टपाटकस्मालेकमुपरिलिखितप्रमाणं पञ्चशतो-
 47 तोत्पत्तियोग्यं के(से)चपाटकं कोट्योक्त्य चस्य पुनर्व्या(व्या)ख्याय श्रीकुवेराभिधानाय
 सूर्यधरे
 48 एतत्समुद्रमुखाचन्द्रार्कं त्तितिसमकालं यावद्भूमिच्छिद्रव्याधेन तास्त्रयासनोक्त्य दत्त-
 49 मस्माभिस्तद्भवतिः सर्वैरेवानुमन्तव्यम् [1*] भाविभिरपि नृपतिभिरपचरणे
 नरकपात-
 50 भयात् पालने धर्मगौरवात् पालनीयं [1*] भवन्ति चात्र धर्मानुशंसिनः
 शोकाः । भूमिं
 51 यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यच्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति [1*] उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्मणौ नियतं
 स्वर्गशामिनौ ॥[८॥*]
 52 व(र)दुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः मगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य
 [तस्य] तदा फलं(लम्)³ ॥[१०॥*] आस्मोट-
 53 यन्ति पितरो वल्गायन्ति पितामहाः[1*] भूमिदाता कुत्रे जातः स नष्टाता
 भविष्यति ॥[११॥*] पट्टिं वर्ष-
 54 मचक्ष्माणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1*] आपेता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरकं
 व्रजेत् ॥[१२॥*] स्रदत्ता
 55 परदत्ताम्ना यो हरेत् वसुधरां [1*] स विष्ठावां क्रिमिभूत्वा पिबेभिः सह-
 पचते ॥[१३॥*] इति कमल-
 56 दलासु(म्)विन्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च [1*] सकलमिदमुदा-
 हृतञ्च बुधा न हि
 57 पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥[१४॥*] श्रीमन्नारायणसेनचोणीन्द्रः सान्धिविग्रहि-
 कम् [1*] चिपुस-
 58 रिनाह(व)मकरोत् कुवेरकस्य शासने दूतम् ॥[१५॥*] स ६¹⁰ चावणदिने ७¹¹
 श्रीनिमज्जामांनि [1*]

¹ This is redundant.² Metre : Anushtup.³ Read *phalānt*.⁴ This reads 3.⁵ Metre : Anushtup.⁶ Metre : Anushtup.⁷ Metre : Paśyatiṣṭhā.⁸ This reads 2.⁹ Metre : Anushtup.¹⁰ Metre : Anushtup.¹¹ Metre : Upajit.

No. 38.—THE TIRUMUKKUDAL INSCRIPTION OF VIRARAJENDRA.

By K. V. SUBRAMANYA AYYAR, B.A., CHENNAI.

Of the collection of over twenty thousand inscriptions made by the Epigraphical Department in the Madras Presidency, the inscription edited here is unique in several respects. It is one of the biggest inscriptions known so far; it registers certain historical facts not known or noticed till now; it gives an insight into the details of the working of the official machinery and shows how the king's birth-day, the days of the natal star of persons of note, and festivals of public rejoicing were celebrated; it records provisions made for the maintenance of an educational institution and a hostel; above all, it furnishes detailed information, such as is available from no other source, regarding the upkeep of a hospital, the medicines stocked therein, the number of beds provided for in-patients, the endowment for a staff of nurses, physician, surgeon and compounder, and the provision for inferior servants such as the washerman, the potter and others that attended to the needs of the patients. In presenting the record, I have strictly confined myself to offering such remarks and suggestions as are required to elucidate the text.

The inscription is engraved on the east wall of the first *prākāra* of the Vishnu temple of Veṅkaṭśā-Perumāḷ at Tirumukkūdal in the Maṣṣuraintakam taluk of the Chingleput district. It was discovered and copied by me during the field season of 1915-16.¹ There is a notice of it in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for that year.² The village of Tirumukkūdal derives its name from its situation at the confluence of the Pālār with two of its tributaries, the Vāḡavattī and the Chayvār. The word 'tirumukkūdal' means 'the confluence of three sacred (streams)'. The temple of Veṅkaṭśā-Perumāḷ is picturesquely situated on a prominence on the bank of the combined river which at this place is naturally very broad. The spot is an ideal one for the erection of a temple, college, hostel and hospital. At the time of the record, all these were actually contained in one building with separate apartments for each section and located here as the inscription gives us to understand. Tirumukkūdal is about two miles from Palaiya-Sivaram, a small station next to Walajabad in the Conjeevaram-Chingleput section of the South Indian Railway, and has to be reached by crossing the river. On the opposite side of the river is a small hillock on which stands another Vishnu temple which is sometimes frequented by pilgrims visiting Conjeevaram and about which there is a reference in our inscription under the name Tiruvāḷkaṭamalai.

The temple of Veṅkaṭśā-Perumāḷ is an ancient one. It has been in existence from the time of the Pallava king Vijaya-Nripataṅga-vīratrasvarman of the ninth century A.D. as evidenced by a record of the 24th year of his reign found on a slab supporting a beam in the inner enclosure.³ According to this inscription, the god is called Vishnu-Bhaṭāra. It was known by the name of Tirumukkūdal-Āṭṭār and Mahā-Vishnu during Chōḷa times,⁴ while a later epigraph calls it by the name Veṅkaṭśēvara-svāmin.⁵

The inscription under publication consists of 55 lines of writing and is engraved in two sections. In the first section the lines are very long and run to a distance of 55 feet. The entire space covered by the inscription is 540 square feet. The record is written in the Tamil language and alphabet, and the characters belong to the latter half of the eleventh century A.D. A few Grantha letters are used mostly in words of Sanskrit origin. The inscription is fairly well preserved, though in some places a few letters are badly damaged. One or two small inscribed slabs have fallen off

¹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1916, para. 4 on page 2.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 118f.

³ No. 179 of the Madras epigraphical collection for 1915.

⁴ Nos. 169 and 183 of the same collection.

⁵ No. 187 of the same collection.

gift. Of these, items (1) and (3) amounted to 147 *kaśāṇḍu* and 9 *mañjāṇḍi*. The income on this, at the rate of 16 *kalam* of paddy by the *śajalāsari* measure, per *kaśāṇḍu*, amounted to 2356 *kalam*, 1 *padakku*, 3 *nāli*, 1 *śajaku* and 3 *śevu*¹. This when converted into *arumaiśiduvu* measure gave an excess of 884 *kalam*, 2 *śūpi*, 3 *nāli* and 1 *śajaku* after providing for *kāśāṇḍu*, *śajalāsu-kāśi* and *kerpāṇḍu-śāli*, calculated at the rate of 1 *kalam*, 1 *śūpi* and 1 *nāli* of *arumaiśiduvu* for each *śajalāsari kalam*. Thus, the paddy income in favour of the temple on these two items alone came to 3243 *kalam*, 2 *śūpi*, 1 *padakku*, 6 *nāli*, 1 *śajaku* and 3 *śevu*. The third item (No. 2) amounted to 216½ *kāśu* and 2 *ma*. It was made up of 26½ *kāśu* obtained by converting 11 *kaśāṇḍu* of gold derived from the taxes or fees 9½ *kaśāṇḍu* (=1 *kaśāṇḍu*), *kumara-kachchāṇḍu* (=1 *kaśāṇḍu*), *maṇi-pāṇḍu* (=3½ *kaśāṇḍu*) and *śiṅṅai-pāṇḍu* (=5½ *kaśāṇḍu*) together with the incomes of 28½ *kāśu* and 4 *ma* from *śaṅṅamandam*, 25½ *kāśu* and 3 *ma* from *maṇḍaikkāṇḍu*, 3 *kāśu* from *maṇḍal-śāṇḍu*, 1½ *kāśu* from *vaṇṇaikkāṇḍu*, ½ *kāśu* from *karippaṇḍu*, 1½ *kāśu* from *śiṅṅaṇḍu* and 118 *kāśu* from *vāṇḍikkāṇḍu*.

Then are detailed the items of expenditure to be defrayed from this income of 3243 and odd *kalam* of paddy and 216½ *kāśu* and 2 *ma* of money. The table appended hereto² will indicate how the incomes of paddy and money were expended annually in the temple and the institutions attached thereto. It may be stated here that the provision made in this inscription is (1) for meeting the various expenses connected with the temple, (2) for the maintenance of a Vēdic school with a hostel and (3) for the upkeep of a hospital. As regards the first, the record provides for offerings to be made to the god Ālvār, three times daily—morning, noon and night,—for offerings to be made to the deity Śrī-Rāghavachakravartin, i.e., Rāma at noon (nearly 601 *kalam*); for sandal-paste and its ingredients *kappāṇḍu* and *śuvāṇḍu* and for lamps (68½ *kāśu*); for special offerings to be made on the occasion of the festivals in the months of Aṣṭvīdī, Māsi, Kārttigai as well as for the hunting festival and Jayantīyashanti (the birth-day of Kṛṣṇa) (25 *kalam*, 1 *kurugi* and 5½ *nāli*); for a grand offering to be made on the occasion of the king's birth-day anniversary falling on the asterism Jyēṣṭha in the month Āvaṇi (6 *kalam*, 5 *kurugi* and 2 *nāli*); for purchasing cloth to cover the images of gods and for offerings to be made on the birth-day asterism (Pūrṇimā in the month of Kārttigai) of the Vaiśya Mādayaṇ Dāmayāṇ, who built the Jananāthamayaṇḍu in the temple (6 *kalam*, 5 *kurugi* and 2 *nāli*); for the expenses to be met on the occasion of taking the deity Veṅṇaikkāṇḍiśvār, i.e., Kṛṣṇa in procession on the day of Tiruvēṇḍu in the month of Pūrṇimā of every year (5 *kalam*); for meeting the expenses of feeding Śrī-Vaiṣṇava on various festive occasions (88 *kalam*, 11 *kurugi* and 4 *nāli*); for payments to be made to an astrologer for announcing festivals, the songster for reciting the *tiruvēṇḍu* hymns, the cultivators that looked after the flower-garden of Viṇēṇḍu, the Vaikhāṇasa-dēvakanyas (priests worshipping the deity according to the Vaikhāṇasa mode), accountant, potter and washerman attached to the temple (382 *kalam* and 6 *kurugi*); for repairs to be executed annually in the *tiruvēṇḍu* and *maṇḍal*, i.e., the inner enclosure (49 *kalam*) and for purchasing cloth for various servants (13½ *kāśu*).

Then follow provisions made for the maintenance of a Vēdic college in this temple. One teacher taught the Rīg-Vēda and received annually 60 *kalam* of paddy and 4 *kāśu*; another taught the Yajur-Vēda and was paid a similar fee. A Bhāṭṭa expounded Vyākaraṇa and Rūpavāṭā:³ he got annually 120 *kalam* of paddy and 10 *kāśu*, i.e., a little more than the combined honorarium paid to the two Vēdic teachers. The hostel attached to the college fed daily 60 persons consisting of 10 Brahmins who studied the Rīg-Vēda, 10 Brahmins who studied the Yajur-Vēda, 20 Brahmins and students who studied the Vyākaraṇa and the Rūpavāṭā and 10 Mahā-pādcharitras, 3

¹ The following are the relative capacities of the measures mentioned here:—1 *kalam* = 12 *śevu* or 1 *śajaku* or 6 *padakku*; 1 *kurugi* = 8 *nāli*; 1 *nāli* = 2 *śevu*; 1 *śevu* = 2 *śajaku*; 1 *śajaku* = 2 *padakku* and 1 *śajaku* = 5 *śevu*.

² See p. 229 & below.

³ On *Rūpavāṭā*, see my remarks, above Vol. XVIII, p. 66.

Śiva-Brāhmaṇya, 5 Vaiṣṇava and 2 of another class the name of which is lost in the inscription. The feeding expenses, inclusive of the cost of mats and oil for lamps and for bathing on 51 Saturdays of the year, and wages of cooks and maid-servants who served the students and the teachers, came to 1642 *kalam* and 6 *kuṟuvai* of paddy and 37½ *kāṣu*. From the fact that the hostel fed not only the students studying the R̥g-Vēda, the Yajur-Vēda, the Vāṅkaraṇa and the R̥gāpavāṭira but also a certain number of Mahā-Pāñchāśātra,¹ Śiva-Brāhmaṇya and Vaiṣṇava, it may be inferred that the *āgamas* and *tantras*—such as the Pāñchāśātra, Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava—were also taught.

The word *Śiva-Brāhmaṇa*² occurs very frequently in South Indian inscriptions and it has been generally taken to mean those belonging to the Śaiva religion; but our inscription seems to indicate that it has the special significance of one studying the 'Śaiv-Āgama' referring as it does to a class of students of the school. It is interesting to find that the students in the hostel were provided with mats to lie on and lights for night study and were given oil for bath once a week throughout the year. The appointment of the maid-servants was meant for keeping the premises clean. As the education imparted was mostly religious in character, it is but natural that the temple was the principal centre of education, as we know from this and other inscriptions. One of the epigraphs of Uttaramallūr belonging to the reign of the Chōla king Rājendra-Chōla I (A.D. 1013 to 1043) registers a gift of land as *Pavāṭiya-kidavvapuram* and stipulates that the men who enjoyed the income from it should live in the village and teach the Vēda.³ Another inscription of the same time⁴ registers a similar gift of land as *Tattiriga-kidavvapuram*, i.e., for teaching the students of the *Tattiriga-Sākhā*. In the temple at Tiruvorriyūr near Madras, there was built a pavilion known as the *Vāṅkaraṇa-dāna-maṇḍapa* wherein was expounded Pāṇini's Grammar. Besides the provision made for the study of the Vēdas, Grammar and the Āgamas (*Vēda-vṛtti*, *adhyayana-vṛtti* and *Dhātta-vṛtti*), there are numerous inscriptions in the Madras Epigraphical collection which refer to gifts made for the maintenance of persons expounding the Mahābhārata, Sāmavedhānta, Prabhākara and the Mīmāṃsā (Apūrvas). By far the biggest college established for the study of the Vēdas and grammar and known to us from inscriptions, existed in the 11th century A.D. at a place called Eṇṇāyiram in the South Arcot District, which contained as many as 370 students studying the various subjects.

The last item of expenditure was for the maintenance of a hospital wherein were treated students living in the hostel, and temple servants that were sick. This hospital was provided with 15 beds, and was in charge of a physician who was paid annually 50 *kalam* of paddy and 8 *kāṣu* in addition to a grant of land, for prescribing medicines to the patients lying in the hospital of Virarājag, the servants attached to the institutions and the teachers and students of the Vēdic college. Besides the physician, there was one surgeon who received 30 *kalam* of paddy, two persons for fetching medicinal herbs who were paid 60 *kalam* of paddy and 2 *kāṣu*—these persons also supplied fire-wood and attended to the preparation of medicines,—two nurses who received 50 *kalam* of paddy and 1 *kāṣu*, and attended on the patients and administered medicines, and a

¹ The Pāñchāśātra was so called because it had five Saṁhitās, viz., Pāraṁśivara, Sātvata, Vāhvalakṣa, Khagīyara and Śrī-Panākṣara. According to the *Varāha-Purāṇa* the persons eligible to study Pāñchāśātra are the first three classes and it was one of the four means of realising God, the other three being *Vēda*, *śākhā* and *gajika*.

² *Śivaśāstra* and *parāśara* terms employed even now to denote persons conducting worship in Śiva temples.

³ *South Ind. Inscriptions*, Vol. VI, No. 312. *Kidai* in Tamil means a teacher and *puraiyaru*, a term that is not explained in dictionaries, is connected phonetically with *Bakṛīkai*. As such, the provision made must be for teaching the R̥g-Vēda.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 316.

and then to be used after keeping it for ten days. This medicine is said to cure dropsy, fistula, hemorrhoids, *krimi* (worms), skin disease, disease of urinary organs, different forms of leanness, wind and hicough.

Pañchāka-taila (No. 8) may be identical with *Taiṣa-pañchāka* described in Charaka under *guimas*. The five ingredients of this medicine are gingely oil, liquor, cow's urine, vinegar and *yavāgraja*. By the last is perhaps meant the liquid strained from green barley shoots reduced to ashes mixed with four times the quantity of water. This medicine is said to be capable of curing tubercules.

Bilvādi-ghrita (No. 12) is dealt with in the chapter on *Grāhasthi-chikitsā-prakaraṇa* of *Yogarāja-nūka*. The drugs that enter into the medicine are (1) *bilva* (*aeple marmelos*), (2) *agni* (*plumbago zeylanica*), (3) *charya* (*paper chaba*), (4) *śrīdraka* (*ginger*), (5) *śrīnga-bēra* (a variety of double ginger), (6) *ghṛa* and (7) *chhāga-dugdha* (goat's milk). The first five are subject to the process of *lūāṭha* and *kūṭha* and mixed with (6) and (7) and cooked. This medicine cures dropsy, distaste and *grāhasthi*.

Verses 70 to 75 of chapter XX of Charaka and verses 15 to 20 of chapter XVI of *Aśhāṅga-hridaya* deal with *Maṇḍūkara-vaṭika* (No. 13). The drugs that compose the medicine are *triphalā*, *triṣṭhāṇa musta*, *vādāṅga*, *charya*, *chitraka*, *dāru*, *śwag*, *māhishaka*, *granthika* and *dēva-dāru*. Two *palas* each of these substances are powdered and cooked in eight times the quantity of cow's urine and then the fine powder of *maṇḍūkara* equal to double the quantity of the other *chūrṇas* are added and pills made of the size of *ulumbāra* (*scus glomerata*) and taken with butter-milk. This medicine cures anaemia, skin disease, dropsy, phlegm, piles or hemorrhoids, jaundice, spleen and diseases connected with urinary organs and spleen.

According to one authority, the ingredients that compose *Vimalā* (No. 15) are *śaṭkha*, *prīṇaṅga*, *nēpālī*, the *trikatu* and the *triphalas*. Another gives the ingredients as *madhuka*, *maricha*, *pippali*, *lōdhra*, *tara-rajani* and the *triphalas*. This medicine is said to remove from the eyes *timira*, *patala*, *lōcha* and *kandū*.

The preparation of the *varti* known as *Sindhri* (No. 16) is described in the *Sakavayoga* under *nētraśyāyaprakaraṇa*. A large number of drugs such as the three acids, the three fruits, *plumbago zeylanica*, *almus integrifolia*, *emelia niles*, white lotus, liquorice, rock salt, camphor, conch, *achorus calamus*, *guirika*, the two kinds of sandal, *lāksha*, *lōdhra*, copper sulphate, *pīṭa-rōhinī*, enter into the composition of this medicine. It is said to be capable of curing all kinds of eye diseases such as *lōcha*, *pūṣṭya*, *patala*, *vraṇa*, *dāha*, *rāga*, *tanḍu*, *timira*, *kukkima*, and *adhimāna*.

The preparation of *Kalyāṇaka-lavaga* (No. 19) is given in verses 29 and 30 of the chapter on *Arśa-rōga* in the *Vṛindamūdhava*. The ingredients are the *Bhallātaka* group, the three fruits, *danti* and *chitraka*, i.e., *plumbago zeylanica*, in equal parts with twice the quantity of *Satodhava* salt.

The historical importance of the present record lies in the valuable information it gives regarding the king's exploits in the island of Ceylon, besides the facts known from other inscriptions¹. The historical introduction of Virarājendra's inscriptions begins in three different ways. In two sets of records it commences with the words *aru vaṭar*, etc., and furnishes complete information regarding his military exploits, while one set of inscriptions begins with the words *vīraṇāṭṭupai* in which these heroic deeds are referred to in brief. A few records of the former type supply us with a list of appointments made and honours conferred by the king on his relations. In some places the smaller historical introductions supplement the information given in the longer ones. A study of all the records of Virarājendra so far known would

¹ S. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 32 ff. and 103 ff. where Dr. Hultzsch has exhaustively dealt with the historical facts of Virarājendra's reign.

show that he was crowned king immediately after his victorious return from the battle field of Kādal-Saṅgama. Since the three campaigns against the Western Chālukyas in the regions of Gaṅgavāḍi, Vōṅgi and Kūḍal-Saṅgama find mention even in a second year record of the king, they have to be placed before A.D. 1062 which was the year of his accession to throne as calculated by Professor Kielhorn.¹ It is therefore fairly certain that in the very year his elder brother Parakāśarivarma Rājendradēva died which gave the occasion for Virarājendra to proceed straight from the last campaign to the capital and have his coronation ceremony celebrated along with his queen Ulagamuluduḷaiyāl as stated in his epigraphs. It is plain that the series of campaigns against the Western Chālukyas must have begun by Rājendradēva and completed by Virarājendra after the former's death. King Virarājendra started his career, it may be noted, by making his position secure by conferring honours on his relations.² Virarājendra's dealings with Pottappi, an unnamed Kōcala king, as well as the younger brother of Jananātha³ and Virakāśari,⁴ the son of the Pāṇḍya king Śrivalleḷḷa are mentioned in a record of his fourth year,⁵ and as such might have taken place in about A.D. 1065. About the same time the Chōla king being invited to fight a combat by Āṇayamalla through a war messenger, advanced against him and defeated him a second time in the very field appointed by himself. Then taking a vow that he would not return before he recovered possession of the Vōṅgi country, he directed his arms to that quarter, accomplished his object and thus fulfilled his elder brother's desire,⁶ and then had his appointment of victory performed.⁷ The Vōṅgi country was first invaded by Rājendradēva (1013 A.D.) and was again overrun by Rājendra-Chōla I, but it appears that his successors Rājadhiraḷa I and Rājendradēva did not assert their right over it. This neglect on their part to hold the reins tight in the Vōṅgi country gave room to the Eastern Chālukyas to throw off the Chōla yoke. Rājendradēva seems to have realised the necessity of bringing this tract back under the Chōlas but he died without effecting it. The Kanyākumārī inscription clearly refers to this neglected patrimony of the Chōlas, won back by Virarājendra. It says:—

म्रादय्यां समुपेक्षितं वनपटं वंशसमाभ्यगतं कालं वैरिमहेश्वरैरतिवर्षेणोन्मूलितमपि ।
जित्वा गङ्गपरंपरामतिवचां जित्वा च भोताम्वङ्गुलिमावधमर्चितपतिः जेनेव तं सौम्यात् ।
Before 1067 A.D., the Chōla sovereign burnt the city of Kānapili, set up a pillar of victory at a place called Karaḍikal (which must be different from another pillar set up on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra as reported in our inscription), gained victories at Bezvada, got back Kunne-kunchei (Kānyakubja), took the head of the Pāṇḍya, levied tribute from the Chēra, defeated Vijayabāhu and brought Ceylon under subjection. Proceeding again to the north, he defeated a number of chiefs who were fighting under the banner of the Chālukyas, set up a third pillar of victory at Sōttakkal, gained victories at Chakkarakōṭṭam and Kāvi and destroyed the Kalinga country.⁸

¹ See for instance *South-Ind. Inscri.*, Vol. V, No. 972.

² *South-Ind. Inscri.*, Vol. III, p. 31 and also No. 976 of S. I. I., Vol. V.

³ Jananātha has been taken to be the king of Dhārā for which there is no warrant.

⁴ By considering Virakāśari as the son of Śrivalleḷḷa, I differ from Dr. Hultzsch. The achievements noted in this paragraph were accomplished by the end of Rājendradēva's reign. (See No. 29 of S. I. I., Vol. III.)

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 29.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 336.

⁷ These additional facts are recorded in No. 82 of the Madras epigraphical collection for 1892. (See also No. 50 of *South-Ind. Inscri.*, Vol. III, and Nos. 98 of 1899 and 122 of 1902.)

⁸ That this king himself was engaged in subduing the countries of the Uṭṭaraputṭa is recorded in an inscription of Rājadhiraḷa I found at Epāyṭṭam (*Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1918*, p. 145).

⁹ *Trutacore Archaeological Series*, Vol. III, p. 148, v. 77.

¹⁰ These achievements are noticed in inscriptions of the 6th year of the king's reign. See for instance the present record and No. 89 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1898.

Regarding the location of Virarājendra's pillars of victory in the Chālukya country, Karadikal is referred to in a Namārese inscription¹ from Uchehadgudrug in the Bellary district as Karadikal-nāṣu of which the village of Nandavādige is said to be the face. Nandavādige and Karadikal may, therefore, be identified with Nandavādige and Karadī, two villages in the Hungund Taluka of the Bijapur district on the border of the Nizam's Dominions situated to the south of the Krishna river. They are only at a distance within 5 miles of each other.

As noted above, the most important historical facts gathered from our inscription relate to the war with Ceylon. It is stated that 'Virarājendra despatched a number of vessels to Ceylon, commenced a war in that island which was protected by the sea, routed the Siṅghalese army; and as there arose a great tumult, when it was reported that Kurukulattarayan and other tendataries fell in the field, king Vijayabāhu ran away and the Chōḷa king got possession of his queen and crown along with his family treasures and gems and made Laṅkā his own.' This event, which, as we have pointed out above, happened in A.D. 1066, is of importance for the synchronism it affords to the Singhalese chronicle *Mahāvamsa*, where the causes that led to the war and further details connected with it are narrated at great length. According to the chronicle, the name Vijayabāhu was assumed by Kitti² when he became sub-king. Almost in the first year of his reign he was defeated by a Chōḷa sovereign and forced to take refuge in a fortress on the hills.³ He is then said to have obtained help from the ruler of the Ramañña country and to have dwelt at Tamalagāma. About the fifth year of his reign the Singhalese scornfully set at naught the authority of the Chōḷas and vexed the Chōḷa officers of revenue. And when the Chōḷa king heard of it, he was greatly provoked and sent a large army under his general against Ceylon. The general landed at Mahātitttha, slaughtered the people of the various parts of the country and brought them under subjection. Vijayabāhu now built a fortress at Pulatthapabbata, fought with and killed the Chōḷa general and proceeded to Pulatthi with a large army. When the Chōḷa king was informed of these tidings, he desired to take Vijayabāhu captive, went to the sea-port himself and sent a larger army than before to the island. The lord of Laṅkā, hearing this, sent his general who encountered them at Anurādhapura and fought a great battle. But many of Vijayabāhu's men fell in the field and the people went over to the Chōḷa side. Thereupon Vijayabāhu left the city of Pulatthi and fled away to Villikāhana. When he was told that the governor of the Chōḷas pursued him even there, he went away to Vataḡiri, built a fortress at its foot, made war for three months and drove back the Tamils.⁴

Of the two wars noted above as having been waged by Vijayabāhu with the Chōḷas, it is fairly certain that the latter is the one alluded to in the extract given from our inscription of Virarājendra as having been fought with him in about A.D. 1066. Of the other war which took place 11 years previously, we have also epigraphical confirmation in Tamil records. It is the one recorded as having been waged by Parākṣarīvarman Rājendradēva, the predecessor of Virarājendra, in A.D. 1056. Rājendradēva's inscriptions state that he despatched a war-like army into the southern region, seized on the battle-field the two sons of Mūṣābharaṇa and captured Laṅkā. Thus our inscription enables us to say that Vijayabāhu's accession took place in about A.D. 1055, that he fought with Rājendradēva in that very year and that in A.D. 1066 he had to meet Virarājendra's forces. From the Singhalese account we learn the cause of the war and the different places which witnessed the scene of action. Except these two wars, Vijayabāhu had no further encounter with the Chōḷas till late in his reign, i.e., in the 30th year corresponding to A.D. 1086 when Kulōttuṅga was the Chōḷa ruler.

¹ A. I. L., Vol. VI, p. 107.

² He is said to be the eldest son of Magalana. It is stated that the latter was well versed in the ways of the world and was known to all men as "the great lord". He greatly loved the order of priesthood and was the habitation of many lasting virtues.

³ Wijesinha's translation, Ch. LVIII, pp. 97 f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

From this inscription it is further learnt that while most of the articles of daily use were obtained by exchange of paddy, there were some which could be had only for cash. A few articles were sold both for grain and money. Among the articles that were obtained exclusively for money may be mentioned sandal-paste, *kappūram*, *kunkumam*, honey and turmeric. The purchasing power of one *lāṣu* was 8 *palams* of sandal, 576 *palams* of sugar, 1 *kaṣṭhū* of *kunkumam*, 2 *nāḷi* of honey or 200 *palams* of turmeric. The price of cloth varied according to the size. Oil and sugar were obtained both for money and paddy. The price of oil was 20 *nāḷi* per *kāṣu*; 10 *palams* of sugar were obtained in exchange for 16 *nāḷi* of paddy; and 1 *lāṣu* fetched 576 *palams*.

Cereals and vegetables were generally obtained by exchanging paddy. It is seen that milk, curds and salt had the same value and could be had by giving twice the quantity of paddy. Ghee, pepper and cumin were highly prized and they required 32 times their measure of paddy. Un-husked green pulse exchanged with twice the quantity of paddy, while clean pounded pulse required 4 times the quantity of paddy. To get a certain measure of rice, 2½ times the quantity of paddy is provided for. This seems to include wages for husking and cleaning.

Betel-leaves, areca-nuts, plantain fruits and coconuts were sold by number. A bundle of 80 betel-leaves formed a *kaṭṭu* or *poṭṭu* and its price was 2 *nāḷi* of paddy. A *nāḷi* of paddy had the purchasing power of 5 areca-nuts or 2 plantain fruits; and 1 *kuṇṇu* of paddy was exchanged for 3 coconuts.

The geographical names that occur in this inscription are easy of identification. Gaṅgapāṭi (l. 1) is the Western Gaṅga territory comprising 96,000 villages with its capital at Talakkōḍ or Talakkōṭṭu. Vengai-nāḍu (l. 1) is the East coast littoral ruled over by the Eastern Chōḷukya kings. Tuṅgapattirai (l. 1), on whose bank a pillar of victory was set up, is the Tuṅgabhadra. Kōḷal Saṅgama (l. 1) or Kōḷal (l. 4), where more than one battle was fought between the Chōḷas and the Chōḷukyas, is a place at the confluence of the rivers Kṛishṇā and the Pañcha-Gaṅgā.¹ Kōsalai (l. 2) is the ancient territorial division of Kōsala. Gaṅgaimānagar (l. 4), Gaṅgāpuri (l. 7) or Gaṅgaikōṇḍachōḷapuram (l. 19) is identical with the last-mentioned place in the Uḍaiyārpālayam Taluk of the Trichinopoly District. It was founded by Rājendra-Chōḷa I (A.D. 1010-1015) and made the capital of the Chōḷa dominions. The temple here is of the model of the great Pagoda at Tanjore built by Rājārāja I (A.D. 985-1013). Irattapāṭi (l. 5) or Rattapāṭi, 7½ lakhs, is the country of the Rattas. Karandai (l. 5) has been identified with Iṭchal-Karañji, in the neighbourhood of Kōḷal-Saṅgama.² Kuntala (l. 5) is certainly the Western Chōḷukya territory.³ Viṇaiyavāṇai (l. 6) is undoubtedly the modern Bezvada. The seven Kaliṅgas (l. 6) form the territorial division on the East coast, north of Vēṅgi, ruled by the Eastern Gaṅgas. Iṇam (l. 7) or Iṇṇai is Ceylon. Chakkarakkōṭṭam (l. 9) has been identified with Chakkakōṭṭa in the Bastar State. I am not able to trace Sōnaiyanagar (l. 9) and Kāvi (l. 10). Imaiṇam (l. 10) is another name for the Hinaiyayas and Sētu (l. 10) is the southernmost point of India near Rāmdevaram. Madurāntaka-chaturvēdimāṇḍalam is no other than Madhurāntakam, a station in the S. I. Railway and the Headquarters of a Taluk in the Chingleput District. Tirumukkūḷal, though 10 miles away from it, was included in it in ancient times perhaps for administrative purposes. Jayaṅḍachōḷa-maṇḍalam is the name given to the ancient Pallava territory of Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam during the days of Rājārāja I, who bore the designation of Jayaṅḍachōḷa-Chōḷa. Kaṭattūr-kōṭṭam is one of the 24 districts of it. The village of Vayalikkēvēvūr (l. 11) and Ālpākkam (l. 43) are very near Tirumukkūḷal. Minarkuḍi in Idaiyāḷa-nāḍu, a sub-division of Vijayarājendra-vaṇaṇḍu is Sōla-maṇḍalam (l. 52). Ayaṇḍampākkam in Āṇuḍi-nāḍu, a sub-division of Puḷar-kōṭṭam in Jayaṅḍachōḷa-maṇḍalam (l. 53 l.), Rājasundari-chaturvēdimāṇḍalam is another sub-division of the same province, are other geographical names that occur in this epigraph.

¹ Above, XII, p. 298.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

Details of Expenses.

No.	Item.	Rate.				Total expenses for the year.				
		Kal	ku	na	ul	Kal	ku	na	ul	so
Daily expenses.										
1	Siguhālai-candi	0	5	5	3	171	6	6	0	0
2	Akkāradalai	0	9	3	0	283	1	4	0	0
3	Night, Pāl-pōṇṇam	0	3	1	0	93	9	0	0	0
4	For Śrī-Rāghavachakravartin	0	1	6	0	52	0	0	0	0
Special occasions and festivals.										
5	Aippai festival	.....	.....	.....	.....	7	0	0	0	0
6	Māli festival	.....	.....	.....	.....	7	0	0	0	0
7	Hunting festival	.....	.....	.....	.....	7	1	0	0	0
8	Jayantiyahtami	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	0	0	0	0
9	Kārttiṅai-Kārttiṅai	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	11	7	0	0
10	King's Birthday	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	5	2	0	0
11	Birth-day of Vaiṣṇa Mādevan Dāmayan	.....	.....	.....	.....	9	5	2	0	0
12	Purattai-Tiruvōṇṇam	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	0	0	0	0
13	Feeding Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas on Amāvāsyā days	.....	.....	.....	.....	19	4	4	0	0
14	Do. during Procession to Tiruvēṅṇamalai	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	8	3	0	0
15	Do. during Procession from Tiruvēṅṇamalai	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	8	3	0	0
16	Do. during Purattai-Tiruvōṇṇam	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	8	3	0	0
17	Do. during Aippai festival	.....	.....	.....	.....	17	4	5	0	0
18	Do. during Mārgai festival	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	8	3	0	0
19	Do. during Māli-Makham	.....	.....	.....	.....	17	4	5	0	0
						134	41	5	2	0
Services.										
20	Tiru	0	0	6	0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
21	Tiruvāymoḷi Songster	0	3	0	0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
22	Gardener	0	4	0	0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
23	Special Tiru	0	1	0	0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
24	Vaiṣṇava Dēvānam	0	1	0	0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
25	Accountant	0	1	0	0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
26	Potter	0	1	0	0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
27	Washerman	0	1	0	0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
28	Tirumukkūḍai Pērayan	0	0	4	0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
						382	6	0	0	0
29	Repairs	.....	.....	.....	.....	80	0	0	0	0
School.										
30	Rig-Vēda teacher	0	2	0	0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
31	Yajur-Vēda teacher	0	2	0	0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
32	Vyākaraṇa teacher	0	4	0	0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
						240	0	0	0	0
33	Hostel Expenses of 60 Students	3	10	6	0	1,402	5	0	0	0
34	Hospital	1	0	1	0	393	7	4	0	0
35	Waterman	0	1	0	0	15	0	0	0	0
36	Dāmaṣṭham and cardamom	.....	.....	.....	.....	20	10	0	0	0
37	Dakṣiṇā, betel-leaves, etc.	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	4	2	2	3
						2,243	8	6	1	3

Details of Expenses—contd.

No.	Item.	Rate.	Total expenses for the year.			
			kal	ku	ma	ol
<i>Money Expenses.</i>						
38	Sugar for Akkarakkal	30 <i>lāṭu</i>				
39	Sandal-paste and its ingredients	46 "				
40	Oil	22½ "				
41	Kārttikeya	1 "				
42	King's Birthday	7½ "				
43	Dāmayan's Birthday	6½ "				
44	Tiru	1 "				
45	Songster	4 "				
46	Dāvakaṇṇi	4 "				
47	Accountant	4 "				
48	Prasāya	1 "				
49	High-Veda teacher	4 "				
50	Yajur-Veda teacher	4 "				
51	Vyākaraṇa Maṭṭa	10 "				
52	Cook	8 "				
53	Mail-servant	2 "				
54	Male	2 "				
55	Oil (for students)	9½ "				
<i>Hospital.</i>						
56	Physician	8 <i>lāṭu</i>				
57	Food and herbs	3 "				
58	Nurses	1 "				
59	Medicines	40 "				
60	Oil (hospital)	2½ "				
61	Mādayan Dāmayan	1 " 7 <i>ma</i>				
An item of 1 <i>lāṭu</i> is lost in the original. With this, 216½ <i>lāṭu</i> and two <i>ma</i> are made up.						

Note.—The quantity of sugar required daily for akkarakkal is 3½ *polam*. Hence the requirement for a year of 365 days comes to 11,920 *polam*. Since 1 *lāṭu* fetched 576 *polam* of sugar, the amount of money required for sugar is 20 *lāṭu*.

The requirement of sandal-paste for a year at 1 *polam* per day is 180 *polam*. This at the rate of 8 *polam* per *lāṭu* amounted to 22½ *lāṭu*. The requirement of ingredients for the same item is 14½ *lāṭu*; and this at the rate of 1 *lāṭu* per *lāṭu* comes to 22½ *lāṭu*. Another ingredient for this item is *beale* cane which cost 1 *lāṭu*. Thus the total for this item amounts to 46 *lāṭu*.

TEXT.

1 [Svasti Śaṭ] [*] [Tiru-vaṭar-tira]-puyath-aru-nila-valaiyan-taṭ maṭi-ppūṇ-ena-ttā[āgi]-appan-
maṭi-kkoṭṭa-vaṭ-koṭai-āṭal¹ kuvalaiyatt-uvūgalai-ppēṭṭe tēy[um] pēṭi mēṭṭ-
uṭay-arai-kaṭal-araiṭṭa taṭṭ-a[di-ōṭa]²-oṭuṭa uṭai-pilatt-uṭai-Kali-oṭuṭa maṭi
ēydu virai-malar-tēriyāṭ Viṭṭalaṭ-ṭaṭṭu vari-ōṭai-taṭa-kkai³ nā-sāmantatai-
k[Kaṭ]gaṭṭi-[k*]kaṭṭiṭṭai-nū[ta]⁴ Tuṭ[ga*]pattirai pēṭa-ttutatti[āṭ]g-avar
Vēṭ[ga]ṭi[nan]jōṭṭinaṭ⁵ nūṭṭuṭ-avan vīṭṭa tātṭ-aru[peru]-vāṭ-taṭṭu [keṭa-t]kūṭṭi
[mā-ṭa]ṭṭe-nūṭṭaṭ Sāmāṭṭaṭṭaṭ-choṭṭe-avan āṭṭa[ti]ṭṭaṭ-aruttu [ma]ṭṭ-avan-
aru[ma]ṭṭ-āṭṭa Irugayy-āṭṭi Nāṭṭaṭ-ēṭṭu[n]-t[ō]ṭṭaṭ-āṭ-choṭṭaṭi māṭṭaṭṭu
[mūṭṭu vēr-ā]ṭṭi pagatt-ēṭṭi mūṭṭuṭ vīṭṭaṭ [ā]ṭṭaṭ-ṭaṭ-ṭaṭ-āṭṭaṭ-
ppū-ppūṭ⁶-Kūṭṭaṭ-āṭṭaṭ-Ahavamāṭṭan makkaṭ-āṭṭa Viṭṭalaṭ Śāṭṭaṭ

¹ Read *ai*.² Read *ai*.³ There is some correction here in the original. Read *ai*.⁴ Read *ai*.

paḷai-kkaḍal-ēvi vaḷa-tiṣai-ch Chakkarakōṭṭattu mikk-uḍaṭṭ-eḷunda Chaḷukkiyan-
ḷaiyai¹-kkana(i-eri) nūri-ch Chōṇaiyaṅgar aḷai-ch Chōṇaiyaṅgar Eṇṇaiyaṅgar vāma-
vāḷ-āḍittapannan-pām-ivar kuḷai-talal-kkuḷāṭṭoḍu-kunippa-ttaṇṇai . . . āḍ-
aḷcha pa² Maḷiyum Śaḷaiyan nūm vaḷ-
chira-ppāṇṇ-pūḷ-Maṇumanu³ (Vai)ḷumban-ḷāṇaḍaṇṇ-Dēviko⁴
 nūṇaḍam-eṭṭum paḷudiyum oṭṭaṇṇa-ttōḷudiyum *riḷaḷa-ppariṣandi-
ppaḷudiyum vaḷaiyai-koḷḷaiyil kū patta-u.

10 *ḷaḷind-ēḷu nāḍaḷ-dēvi Kāvīyil vāḷi-maṇ-ṇaḍuḷa Kāḷiyappa-
iyun-taṇṇaiyū viḷchada mudal tūṇṇaiyavadi-
kuḷun-tōḷaiyar-iṭṭamum mā-kkaḷatt-aḷappaḷa-ppidittu ti kurra lamayaṅ
maḷkkaḷai-ōḍukki eḷai kuḷandu nḷaiy-iṭṭu-kkaḷaḷ-ppilī-irudag-kiḷanda vaḷa-
tiṣai-ḷaiyattoḍu-kiḷanda Sāṭu varambāḷa-chēṇṇōḷ ḷelutai⁵
 vāḷa-nḷiḷai viḷakki mīḷ-nyar vira-ttaḷi-kkoḍi tiyāḷa-kkoḷiyoḍum-
ēṇṇavar varuḷ-eṇṇu nūṇa-kkōṭṭoḷḷi-urimaiyin-eydi araiṣu vīṭṭ-irundu mā-varu-Manu
peṇ viḷakkiya kōv-irāḷakēsarivanmar-āṇa *mūḷaiyār āṇi-Vīrarājēndradē-
varkku yāḍu aḷḷāḷadu Cāṇḷaḷkonḍaḷapurattu-ch Chōḷakēraḷan-tirumāḷaiyil
Rājendrakōḷa-Māvalivāṇarāṇi eḷundarūḷi-irundu Jayaṇḷgonḍaḷo.

11 ḷa-maḷḷalattu-kkaḷattū-kkōṭṭattu-ttaḷi-yāḷe arī-Madurāntaka-chaturvēdimaṇ-
galattu-tTirumukkūḷal Mahāvishṇukkaḷ dēvaḍāṇamāḷi⁶ varuṇṇa Kāḷiyār-
kkōṭṭattu-ōṭṭōḷu-Paruvōrnāṭṭu Vayalaikkāv-ōṇagaḷ⁷ āḷaikk-ōṭṭu-varuṇṇa
ponn-eḷupatt-aḷ-kkaḷaiyū i-chēḷaḷaikk-ēḷēḷāḷbōḷamāy varuṇṇaḷaiyāḷi Irattai-
pāḷiy-ōḷ-araḷi-ḷakkamun-kōḷu āḷavamaḷḷaiy-irumāḷi ven-kōḷu Ulagu⁸ *iyak-
kōḷ-aruḷiṇaḍēvaḷ-ēyūḷ-irāḷāḷadu mudal tavirṇu vēḷṇan vaḷaiyil mudal-eḷuttu
i-ppon-eḷupatt-aḷ-kkaḷaiyū ivv-ārāl vandav-ārkkkaḷaiyū-kumarakkaḷchēḷaḷamun
vaṇṇarappāḷaiyū mīṇḷaiyū mīṇḷaiyū-taṭṭarappāḷaiyū-ullaiyāḷi kḷiḷai-ppāḷamun
vāḷikkāḷam-tiḷaḷ-māramun muttavarāṇamun taṇṇipudavaḷiyum vaḷaṇḷaiy-ēḷaḷai-
maḷaiyū-ḷaḷabandam⁹ mīṇḷaiyū māḷaikkūḷiyum viraḷaiyū¹⁰-ullaiyāḷi pāṭṭa-

12 āḷaḷ-ēḷuḷa-tTirumukkūḷal Mahāvishṇukkaḷaiyū¹¹ vāḷuḷaiyū¹² nīṇḷaḷaḷaḷ-iruppa-
ḷaḷa yāḍu-āḷḷāḷadu dēvaḷāḷa mudal dēvaḷāḷa iṇaiy-ḷiḷāḷa variyil-ide-
ttiruvāṇḷind-aruḷiṇaḷ-ēḷu Tiroḷaḷodiravōḷai Kshatri¹³ *yāḷḷiḷhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇṇai-
pPaṇaiyār-ēḷṭu Nārvāyil¹⁴ Nārvāyil-ūḷaiyāḷ Tāḷi Tiruppanaḷḷōḷaiyāḷ-āḷa
Vāṇavan Vallavaraiyan-eḷuttigāḷun-Tirumantravōḷai-āḷayagam Pāḷaiyāḷarum Rāja-
rāja-Brahmaṇḷāyāḷarum Vīrarājēnta¹⁵-Gāḷaiyāḷarum-oppināḷum paḷunda kēḷi
variyl-iṭṭu-kkoḷgav-ēḷu Villavarāḷarum-Kāḷiḷgattaraiyāḷarum Viḷaiyil Rājēnta¹⁶.
vāḷirāḷarachēḷōḷarum Pāḷaiyāḷarum ivvōḷgāḷ-ēḷiṇṇaiyāḷ-ūḷaḷ-ēḷuḷ-
adigāḷaiyāḷ Vīrarājēnta¹⁷-Brahmaḷhiraḷarum-Chōḷa-Brahmaṇḷāyāḷarum-Chembiyāḷ
Sittirāḷarum Atiḷayāḷōḷa-Māḷvāḷavēḷāḷarum-Jayaḷgonḍaḷōḷa-Viḷupparaiyāḷarum Uṭta-
maḷōḷa-pPaḷavaraiyāḷarum Viḷaiyil-

¹ Read āḷai.

² Here is an unwritten space which cannot be filled up.

³ Between the second *ma* and *ma* there is some unaccountable space in the original.

⁴ Here also there is some vacant space.

⁵ The dot may be replaced by the letter *pa*.

⁶ The unwritten space at the beginning of this line cannot be filled up.

⁷ Space for about 3 letters are left blank.

⁸ For *ma* read *u*.

⁹ Read *vēṇṇaḷ*.

¹⁰ Read *āḷai*.

¹¹ Read *Kshatriya*.

¹² This word is written below the line.

¹³ Read *āḷai*.

mün-päätäm pon mu-kka[aj]e-kälut-kiirä-ppäätäm pon ain-ka[aj]e-mukkilum
äge=ppon padip-oru-ka[aj]e[ai]l mädai padin-eppäy-ela-mävinär-kälü muppain
lärmäiyun-dasavandan-kälü irubatt-ettaröye uäl-mävuj[m*] mäjajikkeli kälü irubatt-
ainje mu-

18 kkaŋō mōŋŋu-māwum mudalā-selawu kapakkūpaŋi kāsū māwum vaŋŋakka-kkālŋku-
kkāso on-araiyū-tari-ppudavai-ār-kāso mukkalūŋm muŋŋiŋamattāŋ-kāso
mukkalūŋ-tiŋgalinēttāŋ-kāso on-araiyūm vāŋ-kkāsakku-kkāso pūŋŋ-orubatt-
ettum āga-kkāsū irapūŋŋ-orubatt-ār-araiyō irapū-māwukku i-tāwarku vēdun-
nimandaŋ-ehayŋapadi [1*] āŋvārku-ehchirukālai-ehchandiy-onrakku-pparuppu-ppōu-
gattakku arāŋ karuŋikku aiŋj-irapō-āŋki pōŋu-ppadakku pō-nāŋiyum paruppu pō-
nāŋikku-ppayaru karuŋikku pōŋu-ppadakkum pūŋŋakka-kkayir-amud-onrakku
pōŋu pāŋiy-ariyūm pōŋi-kkayir-amud-onrakku pōŋu pāŋiy-ariyūm-kayir-amud-onrakku
pōŋu pō-nāŋiyūm-geyy-amud-āŋakkakku pōŋ pāŋiyūm app-āŋakkakku pōŋ-āŋakkum
āŋakkayir-amudū vepūkkayir-āŋŋakku pōŋ pāŋiyūm-ve-

[illegible]

2) gel¹ nāliyy-urium porikkaiy-amuduktum pōnagattukkam-neyy-ālakkuḷai gel nā-
nāliyyum adaikkāy-amudu veruṅkāy-aṭṭukku gel nāliyyum verrinai-irubadukku pel-
urium āga iravai-āndiḷḷu gel mu-kkaraṇiyā (eḷu)²-nāliyyuṇ-[(*)]ḷi(Sri)-Rāgavaecha-
kravaṇi³-jēḷḷu uḇchhiyampōdai āndi oruḷḷu ariāi nā-nāḷḷu gel kuṇṇiy-
ḷu-nāliyyum-neyy-amudūḷ-kaṇiyamudum adaikkāy-amudum oḷḷiṇṇavaiyirukku
pōḷḷu nā-nāliyyum-āga gel kuṇṇiy-aru-nāliyyum Ālvārku-ehandaṇaṭṭakappukku-
ehandaṇan-nāḷ-oruḷḷu ari-ppaḷam-āga nāḷ munṇṇṇ-aruḇadukku-ehandaṇam
nūṇ-eghaḷam-paḷatukku kō-oruḷḷu-ehandaṇam (ḷiṇṇ-ppaḷam-āga-kkōṇ-irubatt-
iraṇḷ-aruṇium mēppaḷḷḷu-kkaṇpāra-ppottaraṇu nāḷ-oruḷḷu nāḷ-māy-āga nāḷ
munṇṇṇ-aruḇadukku-kkaṇpāram paḷḷḷ-aru-kaḷaḷḷi-āga kōṇ-iru-
pūṇam-ari-kkaḷaḷḷi-āga kōṇ-iru-

[illegible]

This word is engraved below the line.

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¹The sign of π is in the previous line.

* *Staphylococcus* is what is required.

- 22 ka nel nāliyum miḷagu-kariy-ōṇṇukku nel nāliyum miḷag-iru-śeyiḍ-araikkā nel-iru-nāliyum
-neyy-āḷakkukku nel nā-nāliyum-tayir nāḷikku nel-iru-nāliyum upp-uḷakkukku
nell-urium aḷaikkāy-amudu veruṅkāy-nāḷiḷukku nel nāliyum verṇilaiy-irubadukku
nell-urium-āga-ppōd-ōṇṇukku nel eḷu-kurūṇiy-āga-ttiruvilāy-eḷundaruḷu-nāḷ eḷi
eḷundaruḷu^[1] in pōdu paṇṇirāṇḍukku nel-eḷu-kalan^[2] ^[1] munnāy Māsi-ttiruṇāḷ-eḷun-
daruḷu^[3] in pōdu paṇṇirāṇḍukku nēppaḍiy-āḷi nel-eḷu-kalanum ^[1] i-ttiruṇāḷ-
irapḷilum Viraḷ^[4] in tiru-nandavanattir-tiruvēṇṇaiy-eḷundaruḷu^[5] nāḷ-ōṇṇukku
ppērū-tiruv-amud-ariśi kalattukku nel-iru-kalan^[6] tūṇi-ppadakkum parupp-amud-
iru-nāḷikku-ppayaga nā-nāḷikku nel kurūṇiyum porikkāy-amud-ōṇṇukku nel kurūṇiy-
um paḷakku-kkāy-amud-ōṇṇukku nel kurūṇiyum miḷagu-kariy-amud-ōṇṇukku nel kuru-
- 23 ōiyum miḷag-āḷakkukku nel nā-nāliyum upp-iru-nāḷikku nel nā-nāliyum ney nāḷikku
nel tūṇiyum tayir kurūṇikku nel padakkum aḷaikkāy-amudu veruṅkāy^[7]
nāṇḍukku nel kurūṇiyum verṇilai-pparr-irāṇḍukku nel nā-nāliyum āra^[8] nāḷ-
ōṇṇukku nel mu-kalan^[9] tūṇi-ppadakkum nā-nāliy-āga-ttiruvēṇṇaiy-eḷundaruḷu-nāḷ
irāṇḍukku nel-eḷu-kalan^[10] kurūṇiyum ^[1] Jayantyaśipamū-nāḷ Vēṇṇai-kkūttāyāṇḍukku
peru-tiruv-amudukku ariśi tūṇi-ppadakkukku nel kalan^[11] mu-kkurūṇiyum parupp-
iru-nāḷikku-ppayaga nā-nāḷikku nel kurūṇiyum porikkāy-amud-ōṇṇukku nel
nā-nāliyum paḷakku-kkāy-amud-ōṇṇukku nel nā-nāliyum miḷagu-kariy-amudukku
nel nā-nāliyum ^[12] miḷag-iru-śeyiḍ-araikkā nel-iru-nāliyum upp-urikku nel nāliyum
-tayir-amudu nā-nāḷikku nel kurūṇiyum ney-amud-āḷakkukku nel kurūṇiyum
aḷaikkāy-amudu veruṅkāy-irubadukku nel nā-nāliyum verṇilai-pparr-ō-
- 24 űukku nell-iru-nāliyum āga-ppērū-tiruv-amudukku nel kalan^[13] űu-tūṇi aiñ-nāliyum ^[1]
arṇai-nāḷi-amudu-śeyiḍ-aruḷa appattuk-ariśi kurūṇiy-iru-nāḷikku nel mu-kkurūṇi
ōru-nāliyum^[14] paruppu nāḷikku-ppayag-iru-nāḷikku nel nā-nāliyum-neyy-urikku
nel padakkum āṇṇakaraiy-irubadū-palattukku nel tūṇiyum miḷag-āḷakkukku
nel nā-nāliyum-ēḷiragam-iru-śeyiḍ-araikkā nel-iru-nāliyum upp-āḷakkukku nel-
urium-tūḷkāy-āṇṇukku nel padakkum^[15] aḷaikkāy-amudu veruṅkāy-irubadukku nel
nā-nāliyum verṇilai-pparr-ōṇṇukku nel-iru-nāliyum āga appav-amudu^[16] nel kalan^[17]
kurūṇi űu-nāliy-urium ^[1] i-ttiruvilāy-eḷundaruḷu^[18] amudu-ēḷundaruḷu vāḷappai^[19]
muppar-irāṇḍukku nel padakkum-tayir-amudu nā-nāḷikku nel kurūṇiyum āga
Jayantyaśipamū^[20] nel mu-kalan^[21] aru-nāliy-urium^[22] ^[1] Kārttigai-kKārttigai-
nāḷ peru-tiruv-amuduk-ariśi kalattukku nell-iru-kalan^[23] tūṇi-ppadaku-pparupp-
iru-nāḷikku-ppayaga nā-nā-
- 25 ḷikku nel kurūṇiyum porikkāy-amud-ōṇṇukku nel kurūṇiyum paḷakku-kkāy-amud-
ōṇṇukku nel kurūṇiyum miḷagu-kariy-amud-ōṇṇukku nel kurūṇiyum paḷi-kariy-
amudukku-tayir kurūṇikku nel padakkum-ēḷaṇṇarai padū-palattukku nel pada-
kkum vāḷappai-irubadukku nel kurūṇiy-iru-nāliyum miḷag-āḷakkukku nel
nā-nāliyum upp nāliy-urikku nel mu-nāliyum-neyy-amudu nāḷikku nel tūṇiyum-
tayir-amudu kurūṇikku nel padakkum aḷaikkāy-amudu veruṅkāy-irubadukku
nel kurūṇiy-iru-nāliyum verṇilai-pparr-irāṇḍukku nel nā-nāliyum āga nel mu-
kkalan^[24] űu-tūṇi mu-kkurūṇiy-eḷu-nāliyum ^[1] i-nāḷi viḷiyum-aḷavum-tiruvuṇḍāḷ-
iṇaiyirum-tiruchchurumāḷiḷilum űurium viḷakk-iru-nāṇṇukku viḷakk-ōṇṇukku-
kūṇai-āḷakkāga eṇṇaiy-irubati-ni-nāḷikku-kkāḷ-ōṇṇu-kāḷum ^[1] Uḷaiyār-ēri-Viraḷ-
jēttuḷēvar^[25] āṇṇai-tirunāḷ āṇṇai-ttiāga^[26] tiruv-āyūḷeyatūḷ āḷvāḷṇu-tirumaṇḷa-

¹ Read āṇṇai.² Read űurium.¹ This portion is badly damaged.² Read "nāḷi".

26 nattukku-tirumalaiy-atta-ppayagu nālikku¹ nelli-iru-nāliyum-tirumalai-kki]-atta nel padakkun-kalanāy nāy-atta-ehhāja pāl-aru-palattukku nel kuruṇiyum aḍikkil-aiya nel tūpi-ppa]lakkun-tiruchchuppattuk-ariy-iru-nālikku nel pā-nāliyun-ney nā-pālikku nel kalanāy tūṇiyun-tayir [nā]-pālikku nel kuruṇiyum pāl nā-pālikku nel kuruṇiyum [r²] arai-nā] perun-ticay-amadukku ariai kalattukku nelli iru-kalanā tūpi-ppadakkum paruppa nā-pālikku-ppayagu [kura³]oikku nel padakkum pūjukku-kkaṇiy-amad-onrukku nel kuruṇiyum pori-kkaṇiy-amad-onrukku nel kuruṇiyum miḷagu-kay-amad-onrukku nel kuruṇiyum miḷag-ā]lakkukku nel pā-nāliyum uppu nālikku nelli-iru-nāliyum pū]i-kay-amadukku-ttayir kuruṇikku nel padakkum ney nālikku nel tūṇiyum aḍikkāy-amadu ve]i]uākkāy mu-ppadakku nel kuruṇiy-iru-nāliyum veṇṇilai-kkaṇu māṇarukku nelli-aṇ-nā]iy⁴]m pū]i-kayikku-ehhakarai padin-palattukku nel pa-

27 dakkum vā]appalan-viruhadukku nel kuruṇiy-iru-nāliyum āga nelli-aṇ-kalanā aiā-kuruṇiy-iru-nāliyum [i⁵] i-tirunā]laku-ttirumalaiy-atta-ppā]lignai-ā]ja-ppuḍavaiy-onru-kalattin-mā]aḍi-ppuḍavaiy-onrum tirumanā]japam⁶-paṇṇum-āchāri]ya]nukku u]lukkavum eitar]iya]nnum-ida-ppuḍavaiy-iraṇḍum-āga-ppuḍavai nā]lukk-ek]ā-ōnrum-tirumanā]japam⁶-ā]iy-aru]a-tiē nā-nā]lukk-ek]ā-ōnrum kaja]kum]ān mā]a]a]lambadin-palattukku-ek]ā]ā kālum anapana-dravya]ga] kol]a-ek]ā-ōnrum-tiru-mā]japam⁶-ā]dinā]i kitta pari]attam-onrukku-ek]ā-ōnrum anapana-paṇṇuvikkum āchāri]yagukku daka]hi]ai k]ā-ōnrum arai-nā]i]r²-tiruvō]lakk-ā-eh]v]ikka vana] Śrī-Vai]shnavarkku-tiru]ā]y]mo]i vi]ṇapam-ehayvā]kku-ku]lukkum pari]attav-uru-ppattukku-taniy-onru k]ā]ā kāl-āga-ek]ā-ōnrum-iraṇḍ-aru]iyum [i⁵] i-tirunā]i]r²] kol]an-tiruvukku-ppari]attattukku-ek]ā-ōnrum [i⁵] itanma]m-tiruchchup]pamā]lignai]yū]-Jananā]dan-mā]ḍapamā]n-ehayv-

28 y]ta Vai]ṇyan Mā]davan Dā]mayan pira]nda Kā]rtigai-tti]ga]-pPārādatti-nā]-tirumanā]-jagattukku⁷ perun-tiruv-amadukku-nelli-aṇ-kalanāy aiā-kuruṇiy-iru-nāliyum i]ppa]laku-tirumanā]jagattukku⁷ vō]ḍavana kol]avum pari]attam peruvā]rkku-ppari-ṭatt-ku]lukkavum mē]ppa]iy-āga-ek]ā-ōnrum-kālum [i⁵] Purattā]di-tiruvō]patti-nā] Ve]ṇṇa]ik]kittā]i]vā] Jananā]dan-mā]ḍapatt-e]lu]nā]r-aru]nā]l appa-amadukku-ari]ai aiā-kuruṇikku nel kalanā [nā]-pā]li]yū]-ehhakarai mu-nā]i]ru-ppalattukku nelli-iru-kalanā tūpi-ppadakkum ney mu-nā]lukk nel kalamam mi]lagukku-eh]ā]gattukku up]pukku nel mu-kkuru]ni]yū]m a]ḍa]ik]ā]y-a]mud-ehhādukku nel-ppadakkum ve]ṇṇilai-kka]tt-iraṇḍukku nel nā-pā]li]yū]m [i]l]ga nel aiyā-kalamam [i⁵] amā]vā]yayil Ā]i]vā] tirt]ham pra]śā]ntā]l tirt]ham-ā]ja-vandā]r puramā]l Jananā]dan-mā]ḍapatt-up]pū]m Śrī-Vai]shnavar iru]padi]mā]rku-ppē]rā]l ari]ai pā]li]y-ari]y-āga ari]ai mu-kkuru]ni]-

29 y-aṇ-nā]lukk nelli-iru-tū]i kuru]ni mu-nā]li]yū]m pū]jukku-kka]ṇiy-onrukku nel ai-nā]li]yū]m mi]lagu-kay-onrukku nel ai-nā]li]yū]m pū]i]tta-kay-onrukku-ppa]i]y-up]pa]ja nel-kkuru]ni]y-iru-nā]li]yū]m ilai-kkarikku nelli-iru-nā]li]yū]m mi]lag-ā]lakkukku nel nā-pā]li]yū]m up]p-iru-nā]lukk nel nā-pā]li]yū]m neyy-ā]lakkukku nel-kkuru]ni]yū]m mō]r padakkukku nel-kkuru]ni]y-iru-nā]li]yū]m-ehhakarai nā]-palattukku nel-kkuru]ni]yū]m ve]ṇṇā]kkāy nā]pādukku nel-kkuru]ni]yū]m ve]ṇṇilai-ppar-iraṇḍukku nel nā-nā]li]yū]m a]ḍuvā]n-onvā]gukku nel-kkuru]ni]yū]m āga amā]vā]yayai pa]nni]raṇḍukku nel-ppattō]nbadin-kalanā tū]i nā-pā]li]yū]m-Tiruvō]l]a]mā]lai-(t) tirt]ham-ā]ja-pparu]nā]k]kittā]mā]y vā]ndu Jananā]dan-mā]ḍapatt-up]pū]m Śrī-Vai]shnavar pū]r]uvā]rkku-ppē]rā]l ari]ai nā]li]y-

¹ Read 'Janam'.² Read 'nā]i]l'.³ Read 'ira]mā]japam'.

- eny-āga aru kalasē tūpi-ppadakkam-nālikku nel mu-kkalanāy-aru-tūpi-ppa-
 dakkam-nālikku payaṣa kurupukku nel-ppadakkam paṭṭoku-kkariy-aruṭṭu
 30 nel mu-kkaraṇiyum nāḷagu-kariy-aruṭṭu nel mu-kkaraṇiyum paṭṭoku-kariy-aruṭṭu
 ppūṭy-aruṭṭu nel-tūpiyum ilai-kkariy-aruṭṭu nel-kkaraṇiyum nāḷagu mōla-
 kṛakku nel mu-kkaraṇiyum uppi-kkaraṇikku nel-ppadakkam neyy-iru-nālikku
 nāl-aru-tūpiyum mōr kalattakku nel tūpi-ppadakkam paṭṭu-karikkū mōṭakku
 nel tūpi-ppadakkam iṭṭarai iṭṭarai-iru-palattakku nel tūpiyū vepuṭṭi-
 iru-nāṭṭakku nel mō-kurupiyum vepuṭṭi-ppaṭṭakku nel-ppadakkam aṇṇa-
 iruṭṭakku nel tūpiyū suppiṭṭakku nel mō-nāḷiyum viṇa-āṇṇa-aruṭṭu
 nel-ppadakkam ilai-kkariy-āṇṇa-aruṭṭu nel-ppadakkam āga nel vā-
 kalasē-aru-tūpi mu-nāḷiyum [1*] iṭṭarai tīrtham-āḷi mōḷa vandā Śrī-Vaishṇavar
 nāṭṭavarkku mōṭṭi-āḷi nel-ey-kalasē-aru-tūpi mu-nāḷiyum [1*] Puraṭṭi-
 tīrtham-āḷi tīrtham-āḷa vanda Śrī-Vaishṇavar nāṭṭavarkku mōṭṭi-āḷi
 nel-ey-kalasē-aru-tūpi mu-nāḷiyum Aṭṭaṭṭi-tīrtham-āḷi tīrtham-āḷi
 āḷi nāl onṇi-ayum Śrī-Vai-
 31 āḷaṇṇa-aru-tūpi-āḷi-āga nāl-āḷi-ayum Śrī-Vaishṇavar nāṭṭavarkku
 āḷaṇṇa-ay-ayum Śrī-Vaishṇavar-nāḷaṇṇa āga āḷi-
 kalasē tūpiy-aru-nāḷiyum [1*] Māga-tīrtham-āḷi mōḷa vandā Śrī-Vaishṇavar
 nāṭṭavarkku mōṭṭi-āḷi nel-ey-kalasē-aru-tūpi mu-nāḷiyum [1*] Mā-
 32 ā-Māga-tīrtham-āḷi i-māgaṭṭi-ayum Śrī-Vaishṇavar-iru-nāṭṭavarkku
 mōṭṭi-āḷi nel paṭṭi-ey-kalasē tūpiy-aru-nāḷiyum [1*] tīrtham-āḷi
 vepuṭṭi nāl-aruṭṭu nel-āga-nāḷiyum kās-aruṭṭu Tīrtham-āḷi vepuṭṭi-
 chēy-āṇṇa-aruṭṭu-ppaṭṭi nāl-āḷi nāṭṭavarkku nel mu-kkaraṇiyum
 paṭṭu-kkariy-aruṭṭu-
 33 ga-kkās nālum Vīraṭṭi-aru-tīrtham-āḷi-ayum nāṭṭavarkku-ppaṭṭi
 āga nāl-aruṭṭu nel tūpi tīrtham-āḷi
 nāṭṭavarkku-tīrtham-āḷi-ayum nāṭṭavarkku-ppaṭṭi nāl-āḷi tīrtham-āḷi
 nāl-aruṭṭu nel kurup tīrtham-āḷi
 34 nālum Vīraṭṭi-aru-tīrtham-āḷi-ayum nāṭṭavarkku-ppaṭṭi nāl-āḷi tīrtham-āḷi
 nāl-aruṭṭu nel kurup tīrtham-āḷi
 35 nālum Vīraṭṭi-aru-tīrtham-āḷi-ayum nāṭṭavarkku-ppaṭṭi nāl-āḷi tīrtham-āḷi
 nāl-aruṭṭu nel kurup tīrtham-āḷi
 36 nāl-aruṭṭu nel nāḷiyum-kās-aruṭṭu nāl-āḷi-ayum nāṭṭavarkku-ppaṭṭi nāl-āḷi tīrtham-āḷi

¹ The letters in brackets have been filled up by inferring to the stem. They are obstructed by a pillar and have not come out in the impression.

* The position of the wall before this, represented by dots, is replaced by an unprinted slash.

● 凡属本行（社）的存款，一律按存款种类和期限，分别适用本行（社）规定的利率。

² The pattern before this is obtained by a similar

9 The letters have postmarked off.

1947

- [illegible]

* The bottom in brackets have been read to suit.

* Then letter he was supplied by examining the original stone.

3. Four myxobolids described here have been found in situ.

* Here and in the following an inscribed slab is replaced by a plain one.

* The syllables *offere* have been restored by reading on the spot.

“Herald”

* The letters above are entered below the line.

* The letters in brackets are obstructed by a pillar and have been read from stone.

* The available cut hours must be positive (naturally, too, right).

1870

at a pillar abstracts three two letters.

¹⁸ The cell-lumen in brackets are obstructed by a pillar. Restored from stone.

77. H. J. H. "H. J. H."

* The two syllables are lost in the original.

²²The cylinders *ten-kin* have been filled up from the stone, though constructed by a pillar.

śōḷa-maṇḍalattu-pPular-kōṭṭatt-Āguḍi-nāṭṭu Ayaṇḍampakkattu Iṟaiṇṭṭin
Kunara-Pūḍūr-kkattan-āga¹ Virarājēnta²-chChembiyadarayaṇ[³] Iṇḍa danmaṇ[⁴]
śeyvitta Dāmayaṇ

54 maga[n] Dāmayaṇ Gaṇḍaikoṇḍaśōḷa-āga Sēnāpatigaḷ Gaṇḍaikoṇḍaśōḷa-Danmapāḷarkku
ivar taṇbiyār Dā n-āga Sēnāpatigaḷ Virarājēnta²-Danmapāḷarkko-
māy iḍu kalla vēṭṭavittān Jayaṇḍoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalattu Pūḷal-kōṭṭattu
nāṭṭu [Śā] turvōḍimaṇḍaḷa⁵ṭṭu Brāhmaṇan Māṇḍaḷūr Namaśi-
vāyudēvaṇ magan

55 Taḷuvakkulaṇḍān-āga Abhimānamēru-Brahmaṇārāyaṇ [⁶] I-ḷharmam[⁷] śrī-Madhurān-
taka-chchatu[r]vōḍimaṇḍaḷa⁵ṭṭu Mahāśabhaiyār zakṣai [⁸] Śrī []

Abstract of Contents.⁴

Hail! Prosperity! (*With the aid of* his strong shoulders, (*wherein the goddess of* Prosperity resided, (*the king*) bore the circle of the wide earth as (*lightly as*) his jewel of gems; under the shade of (*his*) victorious white parasol (*set with*) numerous gems, (*he*) protected the living beings of the earth more (*tenderly*) than the mother who bore (*them*); (*he*) conducted (*his*) rule (*as as to cause*) other kings (*wearing*) ankle-rings to seek shelter under the shadow of his feet and (*forced*) the rent Kālī (*age*) to retire to (*its*) abysmal abode. (*He*) drove from the battle-field of Gaṇḍapāḍi the great feudatory chiefs (*sāmāntas*) whose strong hands (*carried*) tightly-bound bows, (*and forced them*) along with Vikkalan (*who wore*) a garland of fragrant flowers to enter the Tuṅgabhadra. (*He made such an*) attack (*as to cause*) the destruction of the irresistibly great and powerful army which the Vallabhan had again despatched into the fine country of Vēṇḍi; and fought¹ with Mahāḍoṇḍaṇyaka Chāmuṇḍarāja and cut off his head and severed the nose from the face of his (*i.e.*, Chāmuṇḍarāja's) incomparable² daughter called Nāḷalai (*who was*) the queen of Irugaiyan and (*who*) resembled a peacock in beauty.

Himself and his sons, who assisted him, remaining behind in close quarters, he sent forth an army, which victoriously fought against countless *sāmāntas* along with the (*two*) sons of Āhavamalla called Vikkalan and Śiṅgaṇa at Kūḷal-Saṅgama on the great waters; whither they had rushed forth enraged, resolving to advance forward and fight for a third time; and with (*his*) rut elephant, he agitated that army (*of the enemy*) which was arrayed in battle like the Northern ocean; he cut to pieces in front of his banner-troop Śiṅgaṇa of Kōṣalai who was fighting with his furious elephants and vanguard; he (*also*) cut to pieces Kēṣavaṇḍaṇyaka and Keṭṭaraiṇḍan, Māraṇa of great strength, the powerful Pottaraiṇḍan and Rōchchayan, Poṅkōḍai and Mūvēṇḍi who were fighting (*fiercely*), and many (*other*) unknown *sāmāntas* who offered (*him*) battle. Then Muduvaṇa, who was the commander,³ fled; Vikkalan fled with his hair dishevelled; Śiṅgaṇa fled leaving off the field-work; all the other chiefs of the elder brother⁴ dismounted from the male elephants on which they were fighting the great battle and fled; and Āhavamalla, who was thus put to shame,⁵ ran before them (*all*). He then separated his swift-footed and fierce elephant, put on a garland of victory and seized the (*enemies'*) wives, their family treasures,

¹ The letters *thuv-āga* are obstructed by a pillar.

² Read *śāṭra*.

³ The letters in brackets are obstructed by a pillar and have been restored by reading from the stone.

⁴ Prof. Hultsch has translated the introductory portion on pp. 30ff. of the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III.

⁵ The word *teruvana* is a compound of *teru* and *vana*.

⁶ May be taken to mean also 'the only daughter.'

⁷ The word may be rendered also 'who was the father of his wife'.

⁸ *ḷaṇḍal* may also mean 'the king'.

⁹ The word *seppai* means also 'who was in close quarters'.

conches, parasols, trumpets (*māra*), big drums, canopies (*mūḥaśumbhara*), white fly-whisks (*chāṭurāṣi*), the lion banner, the ornamental arch (*maḥara-thrūṣa*), a herd of camels, the metal throne, the female elephant called Pushpaka, a herd of war-elephants together with a collection of prancing horses; (*he then*) ascended the powerful lion-throne of great splendour, being bowed to by all the world, and along with his beautiful queen **Ulagamaṇḍuḍaṣṭyaṭ**, put on the victorious crown set with gems.

He cut off in battle field the beautiful heads, wearing flower-garlands, of the king of **Pottapi** whose horse was unsteady under the bridle (*kusai*), and of the **Kāraṣa** (*king*) wearing ankle-rings and (*powerful in* *circum* of his) elephants¹ as well as of the younger brother of **Janaṇātha** adorned with wreaths²; (*and he also*) trampled under the feet of a single rut elephant **Vira-kēsari** who wore a crown (*set with*) lustrous gems and who was the young son of the Pāṇḍya king **Srīvallabha** wearing gold ankle-rings.³

He put forth his elephant (*force*) in the field and uprooted with his hands the family of the Chēras along with their infants, and caused them to run and plunge into the Western ocean. At Vāri, he tied up the **Raṭṭāṣa**, who had numberless elephants, along with the elephants belonging to their ladies who covered (*these*)⁴; and received also a herd of elephants which they paid as tribute together with female elephants and trappings.

In a hot battle pitched on the bank of a river of whirling water⁵ he cut off the heads of the following **Paṇḍyanāyakas**:—**Vīḷiyannan**⁶ of great valour, **Vaḷḷippanan**⁷, who possessed a rattling elephant, **Aḷḷayan** (*who wore a cool*) garland, **Sattiyannan** of brilliant valour, **Paṭṭiyannan** (*the minister of*) peace and war, **Vinnayan**, who wore a honey-dribbling garland, **Vaḷḷāṇan** of great wisdom, the **Gaṇḍa** (*king*) of dreadful lineage, the **Nūḷumba** (*king*) and the king of the **Kāḷavas** as well as the **Vaidumba** (*king*) who owned highly furious and rattling elephants.

After he had reached the great city (*called after*) the great river **Gaṇḍā**, the **Chāḷukya** (*king*) who came from the race of the moon, felt the sting and thought 'it is better to die than live with such disgrace' and choosing as battle-field the very **Kūḍal**, where his sons and himself had been made to retreat, wrote, so that all might know, a letter embodying (*his*) vow—"those who do not come to **Kūḍal** through fear are no kings but are disgraceful liars in war," handed it over with an oral message to the **Gaṇḍa** chief **Kettan** renowned among the liars of **Rattappāṭi** and asked him to take it; and when he came, bowed at the feet of, and delivered the message to (*the*) **Chāḷa** (*king*), his (*i.e.*, the latter's) mind, face and glorious two arms began to glow doubly on account of the increasing joy and he advanced forth and entered the field, and not finding the approach of the king of the **Vallabhas** at **Karāṇḍai**, stayed there delightfully for one month more after the appointed day, and then he found him run away until his legs became sore and hid himself in the western ocean, and each of the three (*chiefs*) **Dēvanāthan**, **Siddhi** and **Kēṣi** turned their backs.

(*The Chāḷa king*) subdued the powerful activity of **Rattappāṭi** 7½ lakhs, bared (*even* for hands) to sing and set crackling fire on it; and set up a pillar of victory (*vinayabhadra-tūpa*) on the bank of the **Tūṇḡabhadra** so that the world⁸ praised him and the fierce and angry tiger (*the crest of his race*) mounted on it and sported joyfully.

¹ *Vannai* is the reading in No. 20 of *S. J. I.*, Vol. III, and it has been taken as a proper name. The reading *vāṇṇa* is better since the Chēras are noted for their elephant forces—cf. *polyāṇa-kā-kāṇḍan*.

² Instead of *Diāra*, it is preferable to read 'the.'

³ See note 6 on page 27 of the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III.

⁴ *Rattach* has rendered the passage thus:—"bind up the steeds the *Rattas*, whose elephants were numberless, along with the elephants of the *Karaiyan* which he had seized."

⁵ This rendering somewhat differs from that given in the *S. J. I.*, Vol. III, p. 68.

⁶ *Malliyannan* and *Mūṇṇippanan* are the readings in No. 20 of the same *Vidāna*.

⁷ *Kāṇḍan* means 'four kinds of lands, i.e., *ḍṛavāḍi*, *maḍai*, *pāṇi* and *kaḍai*—grassy, forest, sandy and coral tracts and hence 'the world'.

He made the liar, who had advanced against him on a previous occasion, a Vallabha and fastened on him a *kayārikā*. He caused to be depicted beautifully on a board how the Kuntala king and (his) sons ran five times to the full knowledge of the world mounted on an elephant which had a cord (*round its neck*) and a hole-bearing hand.

Vowing not to return until he fulfilled the word that he formerly uttered, viz.—that he would destroy the state of the Chālukyan (*lordship*), and their stables wherein was locked up the flower of his home troops (†) and recover the Vēṅgi country which the Chālukya had taken,—he sent (*the following*) word to be announced "Hear this and if you have (*any*) power, come and protect yourself".

When the array of his army which was advancing towards the (*enemies'*) boundary had reached the great river close to the beautiful city of Vijayavādai (i.e., Bezvāda), he (*the Chōla*) drove into the forest the great battalion which had at its head Jananādaya and Tippiaraiyan; caused his elephants (*pūḍakāṣa*) to drink the water of the Gōḍāvari; crossed the seven Kaliāgas, and led his swelling elephant forces (*tānai-tāvaḍi*) as far as the snow-covered Mahēndra (*mountain*) on whose right side was carved the tiger mark and bestowed (*that country*) on Vijayāditya of broad arms wearing weapons of war who sought shelter at his feet (*which were adorned with*) flowery anklets.

Returning fast, he graciously entered (*the city of*) Gaṅgāpuri leaving off the Kali and bringing the goddess of victory which had attached (*itself*) to him. There, he assumed the *damaniya* as the lord of the earth (*under the titles*) Rājādhirāja and Rājārāja. The kings of the earth bowing at his feet, he sat on a pedestal set with choicest gems: exhibited in order the immense wealth, which he had brought from the fine country of Vēṅgi, removed the *āṣi* and *viṅgaḍa*¹ and fulfilled his vow.

(*Putting forth*) a number of ships (*laden with*) excessively large forces on the ever swelling and highly protected sea, and without attempting to ford it, he (*the Chōla king*) began to wage a war in Ilam (i.e., Ceylon) which cast a gloom on that army of the Singhalese wherein Kurukulat-taraiya who wore a golden anklet and another feudatory whose anger in war was that of thunder, fell down and were slain. A great tumult then arose and spread through the land which was not able to bear (*the charge of the Chōlas*) with the result that Vijayabāhu, the king (*of the island*) took to flight without knowing even the directions and (*the Chōla king*) took his queen captive, conquered carried away immeasurably large family gems along with fine crowns and made Laṅkā with its impregnable walls his own.

Crossing back the southern region, (*the Chōla king*) obstructed at Kōṇḍai where the Chālukyan king again sent against him double the number of elephants which he had put forth on a former occasion. Among those that were seen (*there*) were the intelligent Nāgaiyan, Mārāyan, Manmagadāyan, Kōṇḍayan, Āchchidaran and others. These ran away showing their backs and making such an uproar (*in their flight*) that resembled the noise of thunder during heavy rains. Kō, oṭṭumadāyan and others lost their elephants and ran along with the commanders of infantry (*pada-sīmanta*). The Chōla king caught hold of prancing horses and young elephants as well as a galaxy of women that were seen (*in the field*) and received as before a *parai*. Tuṇṇamārāyan, Kōṣavan, who were subdued by his forces the sound and (*he*) planted a pillar of victory at Puli-Sōṭṭukkal, where, getting up a hill and mounted on a vehicle (*pāṇai*) drawn by seven horses, the chief known (*by the name*) Sōṭṭiyavaraiyan, -daṇḍanāyaka fought. He sent

¹ The word *viṅgaḍa* is phonetically connected with the skr. *viṅgaḍa* 'fetters or shackles'; and thus may be construed to convey the idea of 'armour.'

Mūvendavēḷār, (32) Maḍikondāḷḷa-Mūvendavēḷār, (33) Valavarāḍiṭṭa-Mūvendavēḷār, (34) Gaḍgaikondāḷḷa-Pallavaraiyar, (35) Naḍuvirukkum Uruppuṭṭār-Yaṭṭa-Bhūtṭa, (36) Sāvaya-Sivajjāḍi-Bhūtṭa, (37) Kaṇippuṭṭu-Sōjadōva-Bhūtṭa and (38) Kaṇippuṭṭu-Anantagāṇḍya-Bhūtṭa.

Then the following persons being present viz., *Paravaritṭaikkalattu-konḍaṭṭu*, Kuvalai-yadivākara-Mūvendavēḷār, Arindaman-Paravararambaināṭṭa-Mūvendavēḷār, Ilājarāja-Segomāḍu-kilavan, Virakkoṭṭa-Mūvendavēḷār, Aḷaggaḷḷa-Viḷupparaiyan, *Paravaritṭaikkalattu* Saḷukki-kulakīla-Mūvendavēḷār, Vāḷavan-Viḷupparaiyan, Valavarāja-Mūvendavēḷār, Avaniṇṇāyaga-Mūvendavēḷār, Śiṅgaḷṇataka-Mūvendavēḷār, *Varippottayam* Pāḷaiyār-kilavan, *Maḍaveḷi* Jayatṭondāḷḷa-Damaṇṇuṭṭu-Viḷupparaiyan, Adamaṇḍalamudaiyār, Atirāḷendra-Pallavaraiyan, Kūṇḍalkiḷān, *Terippu* Inḡaikkudaiyār, Māttūrudaiyār, Valavarāḍiṭṭa-Mūvendavēḷār, *Taruvāṭṭa* Sōjadivākara-Mūvendavēḷār, Pulikēḷān, *Paḷavēḷayam* Paḷḷalamudaiyār, ōmbiyar-Miḷalaiyēḷār, Araiyamaṇ, *Varipēḷi* Avaniṇṇa-Mūvendavēḷār, Arindaman-Viḷupparaiyan, *Varippottayam-konḍaṭṭu* Saḷgattināḍalamudaiyār, Vāḷavan-Viḷupparaiyan, *Paḷḷān* Śiṅga-pākkīḷān, Maṇarpākkīḷān, *Kēḷi-eṇṇiḷḷuṭṭa* *Paravaritṭaikkalattu* Saḷukki-kulakīla-Mūvendavēḷār, Śiṅgaḷṇataka-Mūvendavēḷār, *Maḍaveḷi* Sōjamāṇḍā-Mūvendavēḷār, *Pāḷḷān* *varippottayam-konḍaṭṭu* Saḷgattināḍalamudaiyār, *Varipēḷiṭṭān* *Paravaritṭaikkalattu* *ṇaḷḷa* Sōlamāḷikka-Mūvendavēḷār of Sōjamāṇḍalam, *Paḷḷān-eṇṇiḷḷu* Virāḷḷa-Nemmaṇṇāṭṭu-Mūvendavēḷār,—all these being present, in the fifth year and three hundred and forty-eighth day (of the king's reign), it was entered in the accounts, that for the 76 *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold, the above-mentioned *ṇṇṇam* accruing from the village, the 72 *kaḷaṇṇu* and 9 *māḷiṇṇi* of gold previously granted as *dōvāṇu* to this god, making a total of 147 *kaḷaṇṇu* and 9 *māḷiṇṇi*, the income in paddy by the *ṇṇṇam* measure at 16 *kaḷam* per *kaḷaṇṇu* was 2352 *kaḷam*, 1 *paḍakkā*, 3 *nāḷi*, 1 *ṇṇṇu* and 3 *ṇṇṇu*. This when converted into *aramoḷḷiṇṇu* measure, at the rate of 1 *kaḷam*, 1 *ṇṇṇu*, and 4 *nāḷi* of *aramoḷḷiṇṇu* for a *kaḷam* of *ṇṇṇam*, became, inclusive of *kōḷḷāṇi*, *kōḷḷāṇṇu* and *ṇṇṇam*, 884 *kaḷam*, 2 *ṇṇṇu*, 3 *nāḷi*, and 1 *ṇṇṇu* of paddy in excess, thus making a total of 3243 *kaḷam*, 2 *ṇṇṇu*, 1 *paḍakkā*, 6 *nāḷi*, 1 *ṇṇṇu* and 3 *ṇṇṇu* of *aramoḷḷiṇṇu*.

The taxes accruing from this village, viz., 1 *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold by *ṇṇṇam*, 1 *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold by *ṇṇṇam*, 3 *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold by *ṇṇṇam*, 5 *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold by *ṇṇṇam*, in all 11 *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold, equivalent to 18 *māḷai* and 7 *nāḷi*, or 36 *ḷḷu*, together with 28 *ḷḷu* and 4 *nāḷi* by *ḷḷam*, 25 *ḷḷu* and 3 *nāḷi* by *māḷaikkāḷi*, 3 *ḷḷu* by the account of *ḷḷam*, 14 *ḷḷu* by *ṇṇṇam*, 1 *ḷḷu* by *māḷam*, 1 *ḷḷu* by *ṇṇṇam*, 118 *ḷḷu* by *ḷḷam*, made a total of 216 *ḷḷu* and 2 *nāḷi*.

Here are detailed the following expenses to be met in the temple from the above said income of paddy and *ḷḷu*.

For one *ṇṇṇam*-*ṇṇṇu* offering to the *ḷḷam* :—

(L. 18). One *paḍakkā* and four *nāḷi* of paddy for one *ḷḷam* of rice, 1 *paḍakkā* of paddy for 4 *nāḷi* of *ṇṇṇam* (broken green pulse) or 1 *ḷḷam* of *ṇṇṇam*, 1 *nāḷi* and 1 *ṇṇṇu* of paddy for 1 *ṇṇṇam* (boiled curry), 1 *nāḷi* and 1 *ṇṇṇu* of paddy for 1 *ṇṇṇam* (fried curry), 4 *nāḷi* of paddy for 1 *ṇṇṇu* of curd, 1 *nāḷi* of paddy for 1 *ṇṇṇu* of ghee, 1 *ṇṇṇu* of paddy for 1 *ṇṇṇu* of milk, 1 *nāḷi* of paddy for 5 *ṇṇṇu*-nuts and 1 *ṇṇṇu* of paddy for 20 betel-leaves, thus making a total of 5 *ḷḷam*, 5 *nāḷi* and 3 *ṇṇṇu* of paddy for one *ṇṇṇu*.

For the *ḷḷam*-*ṇṇṇu* offering at the Virāḷḷān :—

(L. 19). 1 *ḷḷam* and 2 *nāḷi* of paddy for 1 *nāḷi* of rice, 1 *paḍakkā* of paddy for 1 *nāḷi* of *ṇṇṇam* or 1 *ḷḷam* of *ṇṇṇam*, 1 *ḷḷam* and 4 *nāḷi* of paddy for 5 *nāḷi* of milk, 1 *ḷḷu* of paddy for 1 *nāḷi* of ghee, 4 *nāḷi* of paddy for 8 plantain fruits, 1 *nāḷi* of paddy for 5 *ṇṇṇu*-nuts and 1 *ṇṇṇu* of paddy for 20 betel-leaves, thus making a total of 2 *ḷḷam*, 1 *ḷḷam*, 3 *nāḷi* and 1 *ṇṇṇu* of paddy for the *ḷḷam*-*ṇṇṇu* offering. The sugar required for this for a year of 300 days, at 72 *ṇṇṇu* per day is 11,520 *ṇṇṇu*, which at the rate of 576 *ṇṇṇu* of sugar for 1 *ḷḷu* cost 20 *ḷḷu*.

For the offering of *Pālpōṣaṅgam* at night :—

(L. 19f.) 1 *kurugai* and 2 *nāli* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of rice, 1 *kurugai* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of milk, 1 *nāli* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *āḷakku* of ghee for *pōṇugam* and *porikkari*, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 5 areca-nuts and 1 *uri* of paddy for 20 betel-leaves, thus making a total of 5 *kurugai* and 1 *nāli* of paddy for the night offering.

(L. 20). For the offering at noon to Śrī-Rāghavachakravartī :—

1 *kurugai* and 2 *nāli* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of rice, and 4 *nāli* of paddy for ghee, curry and areca-nuts, thus making a total of 1 *kurugai* and 6 *nāli* of paddy.

For sandal-paste to the Ālvār :—

180 *palam* of sandal are required for a year of 360 days at $\frac{1}{2}$ a *palam* per day and this quantity at 8 *palam* of sandal for 1 *kāṭu*, costs 22½ *kāṭu*. 11½ *kāḷaḍḍu* of *karpūram* are required for a year of 360 days at 5 *nāli* per day and this costs 22½ *kāṭu* at $\frac{1}{2}$ a *kāḷaḍḍu* of *karpūram* for 1 *kāṭu*. And 1 *kāṭu* is required for *kūṭūmam*.

(L. 21.) For lamps :—

1 *uri* of oil for 2 perpetual lamps to the Ālvār, 1 *uḷakku* and 1 *āḷakku* of oil for 3 lamps to burn in the inner circuit of the temple till dawn ; 1 *uḷakku* and 2½ *ṣeṇḍu* of oil for 10 twilight lamps, at 1½ *ṣeṇḍu* of oil for 1 lamp, thus making a total of 1 *nāli*, 1 *uḷakku* and 2½ *ṣeṇḍu* of oil per day. The oil required for a year of 360 days is 452 *nāli* and 1 *uri*¹, which, at 20 *nāli* per *kāṭu*, cost 22½ *kāṭu*.

(L. 21.) For Aippaṣi festival to Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷar :—

5 *kurugai* of paddy for 1 *paḍakku* of rice, 2 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *uri* of *paruppu*, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *puḷakku-kari*, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 2 *nāli* of paddy for 2½ *ṣeṇḍu* of pepper, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *āḷakku* of ghee, 2 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of curd, 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *uḷakku* of salt, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 5 areca-nuts and 1 *uri* of paddy for 20 betel-leaves, making a total of 7 *kurugai*. Thus, for the 12 occasions of the seven days of the festival the paddy required is 7 *kalam*.

(LL. 22-23). For the Mīṇai festival at the same rate as above is 7 *kalam* of paddy.

For offerings during the hunting festival in the garden of Viraśōḷar :—

2 *kalam*, 1 *tūṇi* and 1 *paḍakku* of paddy for 1 *kalam* of rice, 1 *kurugai* of paddy for 2 *nāli* of *paruppu*, 1 *kurugai* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 1 *kurugai* of paddy for 1 *puḷakku-kari*, 1 *kurugai* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *āḷakku* of pepper, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 2 *nāli* of salt, 1 *tūṇi* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of ghee, 1 *paḍakku* of paddy for 1 *kurugai* of curd, 1 *kurugai* of paddy for 10 areca-nuts, and 4 *nāli* of paddy for 2 *peru* of betel-leaves, thus making a total of 3 *kalam*, 1 *tūṇi*, 1 *paḍakku* and 4 *nāli* of paddy for an occasion. Hence for the 2 hunting festivals, the paddy required for offering is 7 *kalam* and 1 *kurugai*.

(LL. 23-24). For offerings during *Jeyantyaṣṭamā* to Veṇṇaiḷkūṭṭālvār, i.e., Kṛishṇa.

1 *kalam* and 3 *kurugai* of paddy for 5 *kurugai* of rice, 1 *kurugai* of paddy for 2 *nāli* of *paruppu*, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *puḷakku-kari*, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 2 *nāli* of paddy for 2½ *ṣeṇḍu* of pepper, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *uri* of salt, 1 *kurugai* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of curd, 1 *kurugai* of paddy for 1 *uḷakku* of ghee, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 20 areca-nuts, and 2 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *peru* of betel leaves, thus making a total of 1 *kalam*, 2 *tūṇi*, and 5 *nāli* of paddy. For *appa-asaṇḍu* to be offered on the same occasion 3 *kurugai* and 1 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *kurugai* and 2 *nāli* of rice, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of *paruppu*, 1 *paḍakku* of paddy for 1 *uri* of ghee, 1 *tūṇi* of paddy for 20 *palam* of sugar, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *āḷakku* of pepper, 2 *nāli*

¹ By calculation, the requirement for the year is only 427 *nāli* and 1 *uri*. It is not understood how the description gives an excess of 25 *nāli*.

of paddy for 2½ *tanjū* of cumin, 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *ufakku* of salt, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 6 areca-nuts, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 20 areca-nuts and 2 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *peru* of betel-leaves, thus making a total of 1 *kalam*, 1 *kurupi*, 1 *nāli* and 1 *uri* of paddy. For offering to be made when the deity is taken on procession in the street, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 32 plantain fruits and 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of curd. In all, the provision made for the *Jayantiyaśṭami* was 3 *kalam*, 6 *nāli* and 1 *uri* of paddy.

(Ll. 24-25). For offerings to be made on the day of Kārttigai in the month of Kārttigai:—

2 *kalam*, 1 *tūpi* and 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kalam* of rice, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 2 *nāli* of *peruppu*, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 1 *porikkar*, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 1 *puṭakku-kari*, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kurupi* of curd required for 1 *puṭiṅgar*, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 10 *palam* of sugar, 1 *kurupi* and 2 *nāli* of paddy for 20 plantain fruits, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *āṭakku* of pepper, 3 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *nāli* and 1 *uri* of salt, 1 *tūpi* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of ghee, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kurupi* of curd, 1 *kurupi* and 2 *nāli* of paddy for 50 areca-nuts, and 4 *nāli* of paddy for 2 *peru* of betel-leaves, thus making a total of 3 *kalam*, 2 *tūpi*, 3 *kurupi* and 7 *nāli* of paddy. 1½ *kāṣu* was provided for obtaining 25 *nāli* of oil for burning 200 lamps in the central shrine and in the inner circuit, at the rate of 1 *āṭakku* for a lamp.

(Ll. 25-26). Expenses to be met on the birth-day asterism *Ayḍya* (*Āḍṣha*) in the month *Avani*, of king Virarājendra, are as follows:—

2 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of green pulse required for sprouting at the *tirumaṣṇanam*, 1 *padakku* of paddy to be placed below the sprouts, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 1 *palam* of thread to wrap round 108 *kalasas* (pots), 1 *tūpi* and 1 *padakku* of paddy to be placed under the *kalasas*, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 2 *nāli* of rice required for powder, 1 *kalam* and 1 *tūpi* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of ghee, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of curd, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of milk, 2 *kalam*, 1 *tūpi* and 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kalam* of rice required for an offering to be made on that day, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of *peruppu*, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 1 *puṭakku-kari*, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 1 *porikkar*, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *āṭakku* of pepper, 2 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of salt, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kurupi* of curd required for 1 *puṭiṅgar*, 1 *tūpi* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of ghee, 1 *kurupi* and 2 *nāli* of paddy for 30 areca-nuts, 6 *nāli* of paddy for 3 *peru* of betel-leaves, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 10 *palam* of sugar required for *puṭiṅgar* and 1 *kurupi* and 2 *nāli* of paddy for 20 plantain fruits, thus making a total of 6 *kalam*, 5 *kurupi* and 2 *nāli* of paddy.

(L. 27). For this festival are required one *puṭam* (cloth) for covering the *pāṭṭi* kept for sprouting, one *puṭam* for being placed above the *kalam*, two *puṭam*—consisting of one loin cloth and one upper cloth—for the *āchārya* who performs the bathing ceremony of the god, thus making in all four cloths which cost one *kāṣu*. A provision of half a *kāṣu* for 4 *nāli* of honey, quarter *kāṣu* for 50 *palam* of turmeric, half a *kāṣu* for purchasing *śvapana-dravyas*, one *kāṣu* for one *pariṭattam* to be used after bathing, one *kāṣu* for the *śakṣiṇī* of the *āchārya* performing the bathing ceremony of the god, two and a half *kāṣu* for purchasing 10 *pariṭattam* at the rate of quarter *kāṣu* for one *pariṭattam*, to be presented to the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas that served in the *Tirumōḷakam* and those who recited the *Tirumōḷam* hymns on the occasion, half a *kāṣu* for one *pariṭattam* to be presented to the astrologer (*īru*) who announced the festivals, thus making a total of seven and a quarter *kāṣu*.

(L. 28). For the bathing of the god and for the great offering to be made on the day of *Pārṇava* in the month of Kārttigai which was the birth-day of the *Vaiṣya* Māḍavan Dāmyan,

who built the inner enclosure of the temple and the Jananātha-mandapa, a provision of 6 *kāṣa*, 5 *karuṣa* and 2 *śāli* of paddy was made together with 6½ *kāṣa* for purchasing the necessary things for the *tīrthāṅgas* and for presenting cloths to those that should get them.

(L. 28). For Paraṭṭāi-Tiruvāṇam when Vaypaikkūṭṭāṭṭār is taken in procession to the Jananātha-mandapa :—

1 *kāṣa* and 4 *śāli* of paddy for 5 *karuṣa* of rice, 2 *kāṣa*, 1 *tūṇi* and, 1 *paṇakku* of paddy for 300 *palam* of sugar, 1 *kāṣa* of paddy for 3 *śāli* of ghee, 3 *karuṣa* of paddy for pepper, *kāṭṭa* and salt, 1 *paṇakku* of paddy for 80 *araca-nata* and 4 *śāli* of paddy for 2 *kaṭṭa* of betel-leaves thus making a total of 5 *kāṣa* of paddy.

For feeding Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas in the Jananātha-mandapa on *maṇḍēṇḍi* days when the god presented *tīrtha* :—

(Ll. 29-29). 3 *tūṇi*, 1 *karuṣa* and 3 *śāli* of paddy for 3 *karuṣa* and 6 *śāli* of rice, for 20 persons at 1 *śāli* and 1 *uri* each, 5 *śāli* of paddy for 1 *paṇakku-kari*, 5 *śāli* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 1 *karuṣa* and 1 *śāli* of paddy for 1 *paṇakku-kari* inclusive of tamarind, 3 *śāli* of paddy for 1 *ṭai-kari* (leaves), 4 *śāli* of paddy for 1 *ṭaṭṭa* of pepper, 4 *śāli* of paddy for 2 *śāli* of salt, 1 *karuṣa* of paddy for 1 *ṭaṭṭa* of ghee, 1 *karuṣa* and 2 *śāli* of paddy for 1 *paṇakku* of butter-milk, 1 *karuṣa* of paddy for 4 *palam* of sugar, 1 *karuṣa* of paddy for 40 *araca-nata*, 4 *śāli* of paddy for 2 *purra* of betel-leaves, 1 *karuṣa* of paddy for 1 cook, thus making a total of 1 *kāṣa*, 7 *karuṣa* and 3 *śāli* of paddy for each *maṇḍēṇḍi*. For 12 *maṇḍēṇḍi*, the provision made was 12 *kāṣa*, 1 *tūṇi* and 4 *śāli* of paddy.

(Ll. 29-30). For feeding 100 Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas in the Jananātha-mandapa on the occasion of the *tīrthas* at Tiruvāṇḍamalai :—

3 *kāṣa*, 2 *tūṇi*, 1 *paṇakku* and 7 *śāli* of paddy for 1 *kāṣa*, 1 *tūṇi*, 1 *paṇakku* and 6 *śāli* of rice at 1 *śāli* and 1 *uri* each, 1 *paṇakku* of paddy for 1 *karuṣa* of green pulse, 3 *karuṣa* of paddy for 1 *paṇakku-kari*, 3 *karuṣa* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 1 *tūṇi* of paddy for 1 *paṇakku-kari* inclusive of tamarind, 1 *karuṣa* of paddy for 1 *ṭai-kari*, 3 *karuṣa* of paddy for 3 *ṭaṭṭa* of pepper, 1 *paṇakku* of paddy for 1 *karuṣa* of salt, 2 *tūṇi* of paddy for 3 *śāli* of ghee, 1 *tūṇi* and 1 *paṇakku* of paddy for 1 *kāṣa* of butter-milk, 1 *tūṇi* and 1 *paṇakku* of paddy for butter-milk to the *paṇḍi*, 1 *tūṇi* of paddy for 23 *palam* of sugar, 5 *karuṣa* of paddy for 200 *araca-nata*, 1 *paṇakku* of paddy for 8 *purra* of betel-leaves, 1 *tūṇi* of paddy for 2 cooks, 4 *śāli* of paddy for lime, 1 *paṇakku* of paddy for one that supplied fire-wood, and 1 *paṇakku* of paddy for one that supplied *ṭai-kari* thus making a total of 3 *kāṣa*, 2 *tūṇi* and 3 *śāli*.

When the party returned from Tiruvāṇḍamalai after *tīrthas*, 100 Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas had to be fed at a cost of 6 *kāṣa*, 3 *tūṇi* and 3 *śāli* of paddy.

(Ll. 30-32). For feeding Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas that came on the occasion of Puraṭṭāi-Tiruvāṇam a provision of 8 *kāṣa*, 3 *tūṇi* and 3 *śāli*, calculated at the above rate, was made.

17 *kāṣa*, 1 *tūṇi* and 6 *śāli* of paddy were provided for feeding 150 Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas on the 6 days of the *Aṭṭaṭṭi* festival, at 25 persons for each day and for feeding 50 Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas on the day of the *tīrthas*. A quantity of 8 *kāṣa*, 2 *tūṇi* and 3 *śāli* of paddy for the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas that came to hear the *Tiruvāṇḍamalai* hymns on the days of the *ṭāṭṭa* and *ṭāṭṭa* in the month of *Mārgaṣīrṣi* and 17 *kāṣa*, 1 *tūṇi* and 6 *śāli*, calculated at the above rate, for feeding 200 Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas in the mandapa on the occasion of *Māṭṭi-Māṭṭi*, were also provided.

¹My item of expenditure amounting to 5 *śāli* is omitted.

(Ll. 32 to 43). 8 *nāli* of paddy and 1 *kāṣu* per day for 1 *tiru*, 3 *kurupi* of paddy and 4 *kāṣu* per day, at 1 *kurupi* and 4 *nāli* and 2 *kāṣu* each, for 2 persons who recited the *Tiruvāymozhi* hymns, 1 *tūpi* of paddy for 4 persons who cultivated the flower-garden of Virarājān at 1 *kurupi* each per day, 1 *kurupi* and . . . of paddy per day to 1 *tiru* who brought the calendar and announced the sacred festivals and bathing days, 1 *kurupi* of paddy and 4 *kāṣu* per day to 1 *Vaiṣṇava-dēvakanni* who demanded from the appointed persons their dues and had the expenses met, 1 *kurupi* of paddy and 4 *kāṣu* to 1 accountant who entered the accounts, 1 *kurupi* of paddy per day to 1 porter who supplied the necessary pots to the temple kitchen, *Jananātha-maṇḍapa*, the teachers and students, to the hospital as well as the *kalāṣa* to the *Ālvār*, 4 *nāli* of paddy per day to one washerman who washed the *pariṣṭhāna* of the gods and the cloths of the Vedic teachers and students as well as of the persons in the hospital, 4 *nāli* of paddy and 1 *kāṣu* per day to *Tirumukkūdal-Pēraiyan* who kept watch in the *Jananātha-maṇḍapa* and the hospital, 40 *kalāṣa* of paddy for the repairs to be executed in the *śrūṅgavarāṇḍīgiri*, i.e., the inner enclosure of the temple, 1 *paṭakku* of paddy per day to one who taught the *Rig-Vēda* in the *Jananātha-maṇḍapa*, 1 *paṭakku* of paddy per day to one who taught the *Yajur-Vēda*, and 8 *kāṣu* to these two at 4 *kāṣu* each, 1 *tūpi* of paddy and 10 *kāṣu* per day to one *Bhagga* who expounded the *Vyākaraṇa* and the *Rūpavātāra*, 2 *kalāṣa*, 1 *tūpi* and 1 *nāli* of paddy per day for feeding 60 persons in all—consisting of 10 persons who studied the *Rig-Vēda*, 10 Brahmins who studied the *Yajur-Vēda*, 20 Brahmins and *Chāṭṭras* who heard the expounding of the *Vyākaraṇa* and *Rūpavātāra*, 10 *Mahāpāṇcharātra*, 3 *Siva-Brahmanas*, 5 *Vaiṣṇavas* and 2 . . . at the rate of 1½ *nāli* of rice to each person amounting in the aggregate to 11 *kurupi*, and 3 *nāli* of rice per day, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of *peppara*, 6 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *paṭakku-kāṇi*, 8 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ṭai-kāṇi*, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 1 *poṭṭu-kāṇi* including tamarind, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ṣakku* and 1 *ṭalaku* of pepper, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of salt, 1 *tūpi* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of ghee, 3 *kurupi* of paddy for 1 *tūpi* and 1 *paṭakku* of butter-milk, 1 *kurupi* and 4 *nāli* of paddy for 60 areca-nuts, and 4 *nāli* of paddy for 2 *peppu* of betel-leaves, 3 *kurupi* of paddy per day and 6 *kāṣu* to 3 assistant cooks, at 1 *kurupi* of paddy and 2 *kāṣu* each, who brought rice from *Vavalakkāvūr* and supplied daily fuel, leaves and water, 1 *kurupi* of paddy and 2 *kāṣu* per day to 2 maid-servants—at 4 *nāli* of paddy and 1 *kāṣu* each—who attended on the *Chāṭṭras* and *biḍai* that were laid in the *maṇḍapa*, 2 *kāṣu* for purchasing 75 mats for the *Chāṭṭras*, *biḍai* and the *ṭalaku* (i.e., the sick), to lie on, 9½ *kāṣu* for purchasing 100 *nāli* of oil, at the rate of 20 *nāli* of oil per *kāṣu*, to meet the requirement of 100 *nāli* of oil to the *Chāṭṭras* and *biḍai* for their oil baths during the 51 Saturdays of the year at 2 *nāli* of oil per Saturday and 90 *nāli* of oil for lamps to students at 1 *ṣakku* of oil per night and 40 *kalāṣa* of paddy for the repairs to be executed to the *Jananātha-maṇḍapa*, were provided.

(Ll. 43-45). The expenses for the hospital of Virarājān are —

1 *kurupi*, 5 *nāli* and 1 *ṣu* of paddy for 1 *kurupi* and 7 *nāli* of rice for feeding 15 in-patients at the rate of 1 *nāli* each, 3 *kurupi* of paddy and 6 *kāṣu* per day to *Savarman Kōṭayalarāman Aivartāṭṭana-Bhagga* of *Alappikkam*, who had obtained land to be enjoyed by himself and his descendants, for prescribing medicines to the patients lying in the hospital, to the several *śrīmanthakāṭṭras*, i.e., the persons bound to the temple for supplying daily requirements, and to the teachers and students (*śiṣyavāsi* to the temple), 1 *kurupi* of paddy per day to one who performed surgical operations, 2 *kurupi* of paddy and 2 *kāṣu* per day to 2 persons, at 1 *kurupi* and 1 *kāṣu* each, that gathered medical herbs, supplied fuel and attended to the preparation of medicines, 1 *kurupi* of paddy and 1 *kāṣu* per day to 2 nurses, at 4 *nāli* of paddy and ½ *kāṣu* each, that attended on the patients and administered medicines, 4 *nāli* of paddy per day to one barber who served the patients, teachers and students, were provided.

(L. 46.) The medicines to be stocked in the hospital of Virasūjan for the year are :—

1 measure of Brāhmayam Kaṣṭhubhūri, of exclusive of karuṇḍy (mint), 2 measures of Viśā-haritaki, 1 measure of Dehamūla-haritaki, 1 measure of Bhallātaka-haritaki, 1 measure of Gaṇḍitram, 1 tūṇi of Balikṣṛaṇḍa-taila, 1 tūṇi of Pañchāṅka-taila, 1 tūṇi of Lasmādyṣṛaṇḍa-taila, 1 tūṇi of Uttamakarpāḍi-taila, 1 padakku of
. 1 padakku of Su sa-ghrita, 1 padakku of Būyādi-ghrita, 2000 Maṇḍa-karavṛkkaṣa, 1 nāli of Dravatti, 2000 Vimala, 2000 Saṇḍri, 2000 Tāmraḍi, 1 tūṇi and 1 padakku of Vajrasaipa and 1 tūṇi and 1 padakku of Kalyāṇa-lavaṇa.

An amount of 40 kāṣṭa (is provided) for purchasing these, (procuring the) medicinal herbs, purchasing and for 1 padakku of bovine ghee required to be kept under the earth annually for Purāṇasarpi.

(L. 48.) (There had been provided) 2½ kāṣṭa for purchasing 45 nāli of oil which was required for a year of 360 days for a lamp, at 1 āṣṭa per night, to be kept burning during night in the hospital, 15 kalam of paddy for 180 days from Paṇḍuni-Uttiram to Paraiṭṭāi-Tiruvōgam at 1 kuraṇḍi of paddy per day, to one who brought water and poured it . . . to be stocked in front of Jananātha-maṇḍapa; 20 kalam, [2 tūṇi] and 1 padakku of paddy for cardamom and artemisia; 1 kalam, 1 tūṇi, 2 nāli, 3 āṣṭa and 3 keriṇḍi of paddy for the śakṣhiṇi to be paid to one Brahman that performed puṇyāḥa (i.e., purification ceremony) and for betel-leaves and areca-nuts; and 1 kāṣṭa and 7 mā for (purchasing) 2 pariṣaṅgam (cloths) to be presented on the day of Tiruvōgam in the month of Paraiṭṭāi to Māḍavan Dāmayan of Vayalaikkāvūr and his descendania.

(L. 51.) (This is the account of expenses) for the paddy income of 3243 kalam, 2 tūṇi, 1 padakku, 6 nāli, 1 āṣṭa and 3 keriṇḍi and the amount of 216½ kāṣṭa and 2 mā.

If this (amount of) kāṣṭa were not available (owing to any default), for every kāṣṭa (of default) there shall be paid gold weighing one quarter by the Daṇḍarōṇi.

(L. 52.) Thus in accordance with the *śikṣā* laid down in the sixth year (of the king), it (i.e., the inscription) was engraved so that the stipulated expenses might be met under the supervision of the *cāḥāṭṭra* and teachers. Paṇḍuṭi Tiruvaraṇḍaḍēvanār *alias* Rājēndra-Māvēndavēṇār of Miparkuḍi in Idaiyāṇa-nāḍu, (a sub-division) of Viṣayarājēndra-vaṇaṇḍu, (which was a district) of Chōḷa-maṇḍalam, the *adhikāri* (officer) who conducted the settlement of this *nāḍu*, having commanded, Iṇḍivēṇi Kumara-Pāṇḍrakkattān *alias* Virarājēndra-Śembiyadaraṇḍan of Ayaṇḍampākkam in Āṇḍi-nāḍu, (a sub-division) of Puḷar-kōṭṭam, (which was a district) of Jayaṇḍoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam, had it engraved. On behalf of Dāmayan Gaṇḍaikoṇḍaśōḷan *alias* Śēṇāpati Gaṇḍaikoṇḍaśōḷa-Daṇḍapāḷa, the son of Dāmayan who made this charity, the former's younger brother Dāma *alias* Śēṇāpati Virarājēndra-Daṇḍapāḷa, Taḷuvakku-jaiṇḍān *alias* Abhināṣanmāṭṭu Brahmaṇārāyan, the son of the Brahman Māṇḍaḷar Nannāḍivēyadēva of [-cha]turvāḍhmaṇḍalam in -nāḍu, (a sub-division) of Puḷar-kōṭṭam of Jayaṇḍoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam, had (the order) engraved on stone. This charity shall be under the protection of (the members) of the great assembly (*maḍāṇḍāḥ*) of Śrī-Madurāntaka-chaturvēdi-maṇḍalam. Prosperity.

No. 39.—KALAWAN COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 134.

BY STEN KOROW.

Kalawān is the name of a site near ancient Takshasilā where Sir John Marshall has been conducting excavations during the winter 1931-32. It is situated about three miles to the south-east of Sirkap, on one of the many flat-topped eminences jutting out on the north side of the Margalla hills.

Sir John there found remains of a monastery and a *stūpa*-chapel with Gandhāra sculptures in good style.

The *stūpa* was eight-sided and stood in the eight-sided apse of the chapel, which was originally roofed over, like the apsidal chapels at the Chir Tope and in Sirkap, but its plan differs somewhat from the ordinary apsidal temples.

Under the foundations of the *stūpa* was found a **copper-plate**, which can confidently be stated to have been deposited at the time of its erection. It proved to contain a **Kharōṣṭhī** inscription in five lines, and Sir John has, with his usual skill, succeeded in cleaning it, so that every detail is clearly visible in the excellent photographs which he was good enough to give me when I met him in London in May, 1932¹.

The inscription is of considerable importance, and Sir John therefore allowed me to publish a preliminary account in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1932, pp. 349 and ff.

The **letters** are of the same kind and type as in the Taxila silver scroll of the year 136. They consist of dots punched into the plate, and the execution is comparatively careful. There is, however, a superfluous dot in the upper right-hand corner of *sha*, the last *akṣara* of l. 2, and, on the other hand, the loop denoting ante-consonantic *r* is incomplete in *sarvati*, l. 4, only three dots having been punched in, while the wrong subscript *v* in *-vataṣpa* instead of *-satapa*, l. 5, may be due to a slip in the original draft.

The **alphabet** is Kharōṣṭhī, of the same type as in the silver scroll, cf. *inter alia* the short projection of the vertical bar of *sa*. Of individual characters we may note the rare *akṣara chha* in *Chhaṣāṣiṣa*, l. 2, the very distinct *tā* in *sahvātāraya*, l. 1, and the superscript line which we know from the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript and the Kharōṣṭhī documents from Central Asia, and which is also found above *sha* in the word *tasha*, Skr. *triśaṇā*, in the Kurrum casket inscription, while the Kanhiāra record uses a dot in the word *Krishayata*, Skr. *Krishayatas*. In the *Corpus* I have rendered this line or dot with a dash, writing *tash'a*, *Krish'ayata*, respectively. In our inscription the line occurs in the word *ak'ushachi*, Skr. *anushakābhyaṃ*. Professor Rapson has shown² that *sha* with the superscribed line stands for *śha* in Central Asian documents, and it is possible that the *y* was actually sounded. I shall therefore write *shyushachi*, but I am by no means certain that this writing is a correct rendering of the sound.

Of **numerical symbols** we find these for 1, 3, 4, 10, 20 and 100.

With regard to the **shape of individual letters**, it will be seen that the bottom of *ha* is angular in *graha*, *gaha*, l. 2; *putrahi*, l. 3; *shyushachi*, l. 4; *hota*, l. 5, but rounded in *graha*, l. 3. We may further note the upward bend of the bottom of *ta* in the compounds *tea*, l. 5, and *tā*, l. 1; cf. the *ta* of the silver scroll and the *tā* of the Patika, Pāja, and Sue Vihār inscriptions. The post-consonantic *r* is usually more or less rounded; cf. *gra*, ll. 2, 3; *tra*, ll. 1, 3; *dva*, ll. 2, 4; *dva*, ll. 2, 4; *pro*, ll. 2, 5; *tro*, l. 1. It is, however, angular in *gra*, l. 5; *bāra*, l. 3. Ante-conso-

¹ [Sir John Marshall while sending me the photographs for preparing the facsimile tells me that the copper-plate measures 8.45 by 2.65 inches and weighs 879 grams.—Ed.]

² *Kharōṣṭhī Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*, p. 321.



nasal *r* is denoted by a loop in *śāra*, l. 5, while the incomplete *śāhara* in *an(r)ya*, l. 4, is more like the old form, with a curved cross-bar instead of the loop.

The anusvara is noted in the usual way in *anvāśāṅga*, *Chandrabhī*, l. 1; *Nandīśāṅga*, l. 5; *Jīvaśāṅga*, l. 4, but omitted in *śāra*, l. 4. A redundant anusvara is found in *Dharmma*, l. 2, while l. 4 has *Dharmat*.

The **language** is the North-Western Prakrit which we know from other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions and from the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript. The phonetical system is broadly the same. The vowel *ri* is represented by *ra* in *grahantī*, Skr. *grahantī*, ll. 2, 3, but by *a* in *gahatubhavi*, Skr. *grahantūpā*, l. 2. Intervocalic *k* has disappeared in *śāra*, Skr. *śārahā*, l. 1; *śāraśāṅga*, Skr. *śāraśāṅga*, l. 4, and *prāsa*, Skr. *prāśāṅga*, l. 5, but is represented by *g* in *anvāśāṅga*, Skr. *anvāśāṅga*, l. 1. Intervocalic *g* appears as *k*, i.e., probably a voiced guttural fricative, in *śāra*, Skr. *śāra*, l. 5. Instead of *-ā-* we find *y* in *śāra*, l. 4, and, similarly, also twice *ya* for the enclitic *ā*, l. 4, but *ā*, l. 3. If *śāra* represents Skr. *śāra* this *ya* has regularly disappeared before *i*. Intervocalic *ja* becomes *ya* in *prāsa*, Skr. *prāśāṅga*; *prāsa*, Skr. *prāśāṅga*, l. 5, but remains in the name *śāra*, l. 4, which I cannot explain. In *śāra*, l. 1, *-ā-* denotes the voiced *s*, i.e., *z*. Intervocalic *i* is usually preserved, but was probably pronounced as *d*; cf. *grahantī*, Skr. *grahantī*, ll. 2, 3; *śāra*, Skr. *śāra*, l. 2; *śāra*, Skr. *śāra*, l. 3; *śāra*, Skr. *śāra*, l. 5, but *śāra*, Skr. *śāra*, l. 3. In the instrumental prefix *prā* it has been dropped, evidently in consequence of the absence of stress, in *prāśāṅga*, Skr. *prāśāṅga*, l. 2; cf. *prāśāṅga* in the Tarila gold plate; *prāśāṅga* in the Jamnagarī inscription. Intervocalic *d* disappears, probably after having become a fricative, in *anvāśāṅga*, Skr. *anvāśāṅga*, l. 4. Intervocalic *p* regularly appears as *v*, which is dropped after *u*; cf. *śāra*, Skr. *śāra*, l. 1; *grahantī*, Skr. *grahantī*, ll. 2, 3, but becomes *b* as in some other Kharoṣṭhī records in *śāra*, Skr. *śāra*, l. 2. As in the silver scroll, the dental *n* has throughout been replaced by *p*. The compound *śy* becomes *śa* in *śāra*, Skr. *śāra*, l. 4, and *y* in *śāra*, Skr. *śāra*, l. 3. The same double treatment is also found in other Kharoṣṭhī records. Similarly we have *śāra* for Skr. *śāra*, l. 5, but *śāra*, ll. 4, 5, as in the silver scroll. The transposition of *r* in *Dharmma*, Skr. *Dharma*, ll. 2, 4, is also known from other sources, but has not been met with in other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. New is also the assimilation of *śa* to the ending *śā* in *śāra*, Skr. *śāra*, l. 4.

Of **inflectional forms** I shall only mention the peculiar instrumentals *śāra*, Skr. *śāra*, l. 3, and *śāra*, Skr. *śāra*, l. 4. They seem to be coined after the pattern of masculine nouns, but we have no right to characterize them as simple mistakes. They were evidently used in the dialect, and Pischel's valuation of the stray Prakrit examples of fem. instr. plur. in *śā* should be modified.

After the date, with which I shall deal below, the inscription goes on to record that the female worshipper (*upāsikā*) **Chandrabhī** (Skr. *Chandrabhī*), the daughter of the householder (*grahantī*) **Dharmma** (Skr. *Dharma*), the wife of **Bhadraśāla** (Skr. *Bhadraśāla*) puts up relics in the 'home-*śāra*' (*grahantī*) at **Chandrabhī**.

The term *grahantī* (Skr. *grahantī*) is new, but evidently means a *śāra* standing in a *grāha*, i.e., a roofed building. For we have already seen that our *śāra* was situated within a chapel that had been roofed over.

Chandrabhī, on the other hand, must be the name of the district, or of an old village or town in the immediate vicinity of the monastery to which our *śāra* belonged. It cannot well be a synonym of *Takṣaśāla*, though the last part of the two names, *śāla*, is evidently the same. For, in the first place, the new site does not seem to belong to ancient *Takṣaśāla*. **Chandrabhī**

is designated as *raṭṭhāḥaṇṇa*, Skt. *rāṭṭhāṇṇama*, which seems to mean a country-town or market town, and can hardly denote the capital.

According to the *Bhaddāṇṇa*,¹ Takahasilā was founded by Bharata as the residence of his son Takha, but Buddhist sources show that the first part of the name was felt to be derived from the base *takā*, to chop, cut off. According to the 22nd *avaśāṇa* of the *Dīpāvaśāṇa* the town was formerly called Bhadrāsīlā, and in one of his *jāta* the Buddha was born as Chandraśrabha, king of Bhadrāsīlā, and as such cut off his own head and gave it to a needy Brahmin. In the Aramaic inscription found at Taxila the name has been translated with *nagṛasīlā*, i.e., according to the late Professor Andreas,² "carpenter's craft," as if the real form were *Takahasīlā*. *A priori* it is quite possible that *Takahasilā* means "carpenter's rock", or "chop rock"; "a detached rock". And the new name *Chhadāsīlā* seems to support the latter explanation. For its first part, *chhadā*, can very well correspond to Sanskrit *chhajā*, mass, lump, a continuous streak. The Margalla hills, on which Chhadāsīlā was situated, form a continuous range, while the Takahasilā ridge consists of several more or less detached hills. Chhadāsīlā can accordingly mean a place situated on a massy ridge, and Takahasilā a town on or below a detached hill. The name occurs as *Ch'ā-t'o-sho-lo* in v. 23 of Saichavarmā's Chinese translation of the *Mahāmāyūri* (A.D. 516), which Professor Lévi³ wants to restore as *Chhadāsīlā*.

In establishing the relic Chanderabhi was associated with her brother Sandivandhana, her sons Śama and Saṭṭa (i.e., perhaps Sanskrit *Sachita*), her daughter Dharmā, her daughters-in-law Rājā and Indrā, her grandson Jivanandin, and her teacher. We may note that Dharmā's granddaughter was called Dharmā, and that the element *andin* is found both in the name of Sandivandhana and in that of his sister's grandson Jivanandin.

The text has, in l. 4, *ayariya ya*, which can only mean 'and (with) her āchārya'. It is, however, possible that the original draft had *ayariya sarvāṇṇama parigrahe*, in the acceptance of the *Sarvāṇṇama* teachers; cf. *acharyana sarvāṇṇama parigrahaṇī* on the Kurram, and *acharyana sarvāṇṇama parigrahe* on the Kanishk casket. But also the Lion Capital has *sarvāṇṇama parigrahe*, without *ayariya*, and the text as it stands gives good sense.

The final portion of the record contains a blessing on the *raṭṭhāḥaṇṇa*, Sanskrit *rāṭṭhāṇṇama*, evidently Chhadāsīlā, and on all beings, terminating in the wish for Nirvāṇa, as in the silver scroll.

The inscription is dated *asaṇṇaṇṇa 134 ajam Saccapana maseṇa divase tertiye*—23; in the year 134 . . . on the twenty-third—23, day of the month Śrāvāṇa, i.e., it is about two years older than the silver scroll of the year 136, for the shape of the letters clearly shows that the same era is used in both records.

The crucial word in this date is the genitive *ajam* preceding the name of the month, and it is clear that this *ajam* is identical with the genitive *ajam* preceding *asaṇṇaṇṇa* in the silver scroll.

In my edition of the latter in the *Corpus*, I have discussed the various explanations given of this word, and proposed to explain it as corresponding to Sanskrit *adyasya* and as characterizing the month as the "first" *ābhāḍha* because there was, in that particular year, a second, intercalary, *ābhāḍha*. This being the only inscription of the older series of Kharoṣṭhī records containing any clue to a scientific calculation of the era, I sought the co-operation of the well-known Dutch scholar Dr. van Wijk, who was good enough to investigate the matter, whereafter I made his calculations the basis of the chronological system proposed as a working hypothesis in the introduction.

¹ VII, 101, 10 L. cf. *Bagamāṇa*, xv, 32.

² *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse*, 1931, p. 13.

³ *J. A.*, XL v. 1915, p. 39.

The chief importance of the Kalawān epigraph is that it enables us to test this explanation and other attempts at translating the crucial word.

If my explanation were right, we should have to assume that there was an intercalated Śrāvāṇa in the year 134 and an intercalated Āshāḍha in the year 136, and this double indication would make it possible to arrive at almost certain results with regard to the epoch of the era, if the system of the *Siddhāntas* had already come into being.

Dr. van Wijk has again been good enough to come to my assistance. He has pointed out that such a state of things is impossible, unless we were to assume that the year 134 were reckoned as current and 136 as elapsed, so that the interval between the two dates could be about three years. It seems to me that we have no right to make such an assumption.

In such circumstances it becomes necessary to admit that my attempt at arriving at a dating of the older series of Kharoṣṭhi records through astronomical calculations was a failure, and the meaning of the word *ayasa*, *ajasa* remains just as doubtful as when the Taxila silver scroll was discovered.

The Kalawān inscription helps us, however, to eliminate certain possibilities. Since the consonant of the base word *aya*, *aja* can be written both *y* and *j*, it cannot correspond to Sanskrit *y* or *ry*, because *-y-* remains as *y* or is dropped, and *ry* appears as *ry*, *riy*, or, occasionally, as *y* in the North-Western Prakrit.¹ We cannot, therefore, think of *ayasya*, an irregular genitive of the pronominal base in *ayam*, this, or of *āryasya*.

It is also impossible to derive the word from *ādya*, belonging to to-day (*adya*). It is conceivable that *ādya*, first, might become *āja* and further *āya*, because the connected words *ādi* and *ādika* would tend to preserve the long *ā* and prevent the regular change of *ādya* to *aja*. But no such counteracting influence would be at work in the case of *ādya* from *adya*. Even the development of *ādya*, first, to *āja*, and further to *āya*, is *a priori* very doubtful. And now that we know that there cannot be any question of a "first" Śrāvāṇa or Āshāḍha, as opposed to a "second", intercalated one, the explanation becomes extremely unlikely, the more so because no reasonable sense can be made out of such an addition.

The use of *j* side by side with *y* in *asa* and the same word seems to show that we have to do either with an old single intervocalic *j* or with a voiced *s*-sound, a *z*. In other words, *ayasa*, *ajasa* must be the genitive of *aya* (*āja*) or *asa* (*āsa*). I am unable to find any possible word *aya*, *āja* which could suit the case, and, so far as I can see, we must return to the explanation originally proposed by Sir John Marshall,² that *ayasa*, *ajasa* means "of Aśa," the double writing *aya*, *aja* being parallel to the doublets *kujala*, *kujala* of the name of the first Kadphises king.

Sir John took the word *ayasa* in the silver scroll to characterize the era used in the record as instituted by Aśa. "The absence of any titles attached to the name of Aśa," he said, "is exceptional, but will hardly occasion surprise when it is borne in mind that his era had been in use for more than a century, and that his dynasty had been supplanted by that of the Kushans." Professor Rapson³ took the same view, and added that "Aśa could scarcely have been furnished with his wonted title, 'Great King of Kings' in this inscription without prejudice to the house then actually reigning".

The late Dr. Fleet⁴ has, so far as I can see, definitely proved that the addition *ayasa* cannot be explained in this way: "From the vast mass of inscriptional material which is now available I cannot quote a single record in which the name of a real king (I mean, of course, excluding

¹ cf. *Corpus*, pp. cv, cvii.

² *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, pp. 973 E.

³ *The Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 682.

⁴ *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, pp. 907, 908.

the fictitious Vikramāditya and Śālivāhana), whether living or dead at the time of the record—or even of any official—is mentioned in such a connection without some title or another. And for this reason, if for no other, I am of opinion that the word *ayasa* does not give a proper name."

"Even if the word *ayasa* stood before the statement of the years, so that the translation would actually be '(in) the year 134 of Aya,' this record would still, on the analogy of every known early Indian record, place Aya in the year 134 of some era not founded by him."

If therefore the word *ayasa*, *ajasa* in the silver scroll and the Kalawān records means "of Aza," as I believe it does, it must be explained in a different way, and I believe that a clue can be found in another Taxila inscription.

During the excavations at Sirkap in the winter 1926-27, Sir John Marshall found a worn silver vase of duck shape, bearing a Kharoṣṭhī inscription round the neck. Photographs and impressions were sent to me after the manuscript of my edition of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions in the *Corpus* had been sent to press, and I could not do more than give a short account of the record.¹ In my reading it begins in 191, and I was not able to give a satisfactory account of the initial *śa*.

In his review of my edition² Professor Thomas proposed to read *saka* 191, because "we seem to detect before the *śa* a sign which presents a great resemblance to *sa*." Mr. Hargreaves was good enough to ask his deputy, Mr. Dikshit, to make a careful examination of the original, and he reported that no trace of any letter can be found. A plaster cast was prepared for my use, and this cast shows distinct traces of a *sa*, in the same way as the photograph reproduced on Plate XVI d of the *Corpus*, and I have no doubt that here mechanical reproductions are more reliable than our eye, and that we must actually read *saka* 191.

Professor Thomas is certainly right in maintaining that *saka* 191 is a clear reference to an era designated as a Saka institution, and if we substitute the fuller form *śāhvatārāya* 191 *sakasa*, in the year 191 of Saka, we would have an exact parallel to *śāhvatārāya* 134 *ajasa*.

Saka in the silver vase inscription is not the name of an individual ruler, but a dynastic designation, characterizing the era as connected with Saka rule, and the parallelism points to the conclusion that *ayasa*, *ajasa* should be explained in a similar way. The word has been added in order to show that the era was different from another reckoning, that connected with Saka rule, and itself introduced or adopted by another, non-Saka, dynasty.

The successors of the Sakas in Taxila were the Pahlavas, and among them the Aza kings must have been better known than the rest. The Aza coins are more numerous than all other coins found at the ancient site, and they seem to have been "struck and restruck for the best part of a hundred years," as Sir John Marshall has been good enough to tell me. To the Takahāṣṭā people, therefore, the name of Aza would naturally be well known, and become almost tantamount to a designation of the whole dynasty, especially after the Pahlavas had been ousted by the Kushāṇas. If it was found necessary to characterize the era used under Parthian rule, it would therefore be natural to do so by adding the word "of Aza", without thinking of any individual king, but only of the late dynasty: "in the year so-and-so, Aza style".

If this explanation is right, it follows that the addition *ayasa*, *ajasa*, does not characterize the era as instituted by Aza, but simply as connected with Parthian rulers. And as a matter of fact there are no indications to show that the Parthians introduced an era of their own, or any feature in the dates of records issued under Parthian rule which makes us think of the era as Parthian.

The Parthians brought Greek institutions and notions with them, and in a Parthian era we should expect to find traces of the Greek calendar. It is, however, noteworthy that in India

¹ *Corpus*, pp. 21 f.

² *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1931, p. 4.

the Macedonian month-names have only been traced in records connected with the Sakas and the Kanishka dynasty, and in no inscription of the Parthian period.

We have, on the other hand, an Indian tradition to the effect that an Indian era, the so-called Vikrama era, was instituted by an Indian king of the name or *devada* Vikramāditya, to commemorate his victory over the Sakas in Málava, and I am unable to see why it should not be accepted. The Vikrama era would, in other words, start from the overthrow of Saka rule in Central India.

This event would naturally lead to a Saka exodus, and if the Sakas subsequently invaded Mathurā, it would be natural for them in later times to start their chronology from the time when they became masters there, in which case their reckoning must coincide with the new national Indian era which was gradually established in Málava. And this era would have great chances of being adopted by the Parthian rulers, who supplanted the Sakas in the north-west, just as Vikramāditya had done in Málava.

The Taxila silver vase inscription of the year [a]jke 191 shows, it is true, that an older, Saka, era remained in use, also during the Parthian period. For Jihonika-Zeionnes, during whose reign the vase was manufactured, belongs to that period. It is even probable that he was himself a Parthian and not a Saka, if the last part of his father's name Manigula is Iranian *varda*, for Iranian *a* does not seem to become *g* in old Saka. But the Takht-i-Bāhi inscription of the year 103 shows that the other reckoning was soon introduced side by side with the old one, and, to judge from other records, such as the Panjtār and the Taxila silver-ware inscriptions, it gradually became the usual one.

It might be objected that the Parthians would, *a priori*, be more likely to adopt a Saka than an Indian era. For they were foreign invaders, of Iranian stock, just as the Sakas. And it has often been maintained that they were so closely associated with the Sakas that the two can hardly be distinguished.

I have never been able to accept that view. We know that Sakas and Parthians had constantly been at war with each other before any of them founded an Indian empire. The Sakas were hardly pressed by Mithradates I. They resorted to themselves under his successors, but were again reduced by Mithradates II. And shortly afterwards Parthian rulers replaced the Sakas in north-western India.

These Parthian rulers came to north-western India at a time when the Sakas of the Parthian kingdom had been brought to subjection. The conquest of the Saka realm in India was a consequence of the supremacy they had already acquired, and there was no occasion for commemorating it by establishing a new era. The old Saka era therefore continued to be used. But at about the same time, or probably a little later than Arsēs' accession, the new reckoning, which coincided with the national Indian Vikrama era, gradually spread northwards and westwards, also to Parthian India.

Sakas of course continued to live in India under Parthian rule. But we have no indications to show that they identified themselves with the Parthians. When later on the Kushānas entered on the stage, they took up again the Saka tradition, and they were probably themselves Sakas. Their conquest, beginning with an attack on the Parthians and culminating in the sack of Sirkap, shows that they did not look on the Parthians as their associates and kinsmen. But just because the era current under Parthian rule was not a Parthian institution, it was left alone under the new rulers.

So far as I can see, we must therefore refer the dates not only of the Takht-i-Bāhi inscription of the year 103, but also of the Panjtār record of the year 122, the Kalāwān plate of the year 134, and the Taxila scroll of the year 156 to the Vikrama era, and if we reckon with elapsed Kārtti-kaśi years, these dates would then roughly correspond to A.D. 45, 65, 77 and 79, respectively.

With regard to the reckoning used in the Jihonika inscription, it is evident that it is the same as that of the Patika plate, and it is probable that also some other records should be referred to it.

Such is the case with the Mairā wall inscription of the year 58, if it actually contains the name Mōa, i.e. Mōga; with the Mānsahrā inscription, which seems to be dated in the year 68, and which mentions a certain Lia, who may have something to do with the Kshatrapa Liāhā of the Patika plate; with the Shahdaur inscription of the rājās Damijada, whose name reminds us of that of the Western Kshatrapa Dānayaśada, and perhaps with the Pādhijay, Lōviyān Tāngai, Jamālghat, Hāshnagar, and Sīdrāh Dheri inscriptions of the years 68, 318, 350, 384 and 399, respectively.

With regard to the epoch of this old Saka era, various dates have been suggested. Sir John Marshall,¹ once thought of ca. 95 B.C., but is now inclined to go back to the middle of the second century; the late Mr. Bānārjī² suggested ca. 100 B.C., Mr. Jayaswāl³ ca. 123, and Professor Rapson⁴ ca. 150. It seems to me that the last mentioned scholar cannot have been far from being right.

The Jihonika inscription was found on a silver vase, which was much worn when it was buried at the sack of Sirkap. It may have been about twenty-five years old at that date. The Kushāna conquest of Takhsaśāhī, which led to the destruction of Sirkap, can roughly be dated ca. A.D. 65. At the time of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of the year 103, i.e. A.D. 46, the ruler was the Parthian Gondophares. And we know that other Parthian rulers intervened between him and the Kushānas. Moreover, I cannot accept Professor Rapson's⁵ criticism of my reading and interpretation of l. 5 of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription *ayāna Kapasa pyasa*, in honour of Prince Kapa, i.e. Kujūla Kadphises. On the stone I could not see traces of letters between Kapa and ay. If I am right, Kujūla's career of conquest had not begun in A.D. 46. At the time of the Panjtār inscription of the year 122, i.e., A.D. 65, on the other hand, the Kushāna power had become established, and at the date of the silver-coin inscription of the year 136, i.e. A.D. 79, the sack of Sirkap seems to have been an event of the past. If we assume that the Jihonika vase was made about A.D. 40, the epoch of the era would be 191-40, i.e. about 150 B.C.

In that case the Patika plate would be dated in the year 150-78, i.e. about 72 B.C. Patika was then evidently a young man, without any official position or title.⁶ If he were then about twenty years old and about sixty-five when he appears as Mahākshatrapa on the Lion Capital, the date of the latter would be about 25 B.C. At that time there was another Mahākshatrapa in Mathurā, viz. Rājula, who had a son, the Kshatrapa Soḍāsa. The latter may have been about twenty-five years old, and it would be reasonable to assume that he was about sixty-five at the time when he appears as Mahākshatrapa in the Anohini tablet of the Vikrama year 72,⁷ i.e. A.D. 15. Such calculations are, of course, not decisive. But they raise a certain presumption in favour of an epoch about 150 B.C.

¹ *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, p. 186.

² *J. R. O. R. S.*, xxi, p. 240.

³ *J. R. A. S.*, 1930, p. 180.

⁴ As seen by Professor Thomas, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1931, p. 6, the final sentence of the plate must be read as *ayānāyaputī Patika saja mayāna(n) Rohinidrasa ya fānā(n) anigharasa mayānānā*, the great gift-lord Patika together with the ayānāyaputī Rohinidrasa, who is overman of works in this Saṅghārāma.

There is, accordingly, no mention of the title *yasa* as proposed by Mr. Cooper, p. cviii f.

⁵ I cannot agree with Professor Rapson, *Asia Orientalis*, vi, pp. 260 ff., that the St. Andrew's cross symbol in the tablet stands for 40. It seems to me that Professor Lüders, *Asia Orientalis*, x, pp. 118 ff., has proved that it must be read as 70. The manuscript fragments where the symbol is used in that way came from North-Western India, and I do not quite understand Professor Rapson when he says that they are "somewhat distantly removed in place, if not in time, from the Mathurā inscription."

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, xxxvii, 1908, p. 67.

⁷ *The Cambridge History of India*, i, p. 570.

And it would seem to be quite intelligible if the Sakas had introduced an era of their own about that time. We know from Chinese sources that their southward march and invasion of Ki-pin coincided with the Yü-chü conquest of the Ta-hia country, which is stated to have been effected ca. 160 B. C. The Sakas must then have come into contact with the Greek and with the Parthians, whose King Mithradates I (ca. 171-138 B. C.) is stated to have extended his empire to the Indus and to have brought force to bear on the Scythians. This would naturally lead to the Sakas trying to consolidate their power and to their introducing an era of their own, in imitation of the Greek, who used the Seleucidan era. Under Mithradates' successors they were more than able to hold their own, until Mithradates II (123-88 B. C.) succeeded in establishing his suzerainty over them.

The pressure thus exercised on the Sakas seems to have led to their invasion of the Indus country.¹ In the Saka year 58, i.e. about 92 B.C., we apparently find the Saka king Moga mentioned in the Malra wall inscription, and ten years later perhaps a Saka chief Lā is mentioned, while Moga again appears in the Taxila copper-plate of the year 78, i.e. about 72 B.C. How long he remained in power, we do not know, but he seems to have had a fairly long reign.

The Saka empire, however, soon broke up. In Mālava it was, according to an Indian tradition, brought to an end by an Indian ruler, known as Vikramāditya, and in the North-West we soon find the Parthian ruler Azes, who may have risen to power about the middle of the first century B.C.

The Kushānas, who made an end to the empire founded by Azes, are known to us from Chinese sources. We there learn about their gradual rise to power. At first we hear about them as forming a principality, Kuei-shuang, near or within the Ta-hia country conquered by the Great Yü-chü.

We are told about five such principalities, each under a *hi-hou*, viz. Hiu-mi, the present Wakhan; Shuang-mi, the present Chitral; Kuei-shuang, apparently immediately to the north of Gandhāra, or Gandhāra itself; Hi-tan, the present Parvān on the Panjab, and Kao-fu, i.e. Kābul.² The *hi-hou* of Kuei-shuang, K'iu-tai-k'io (Kujūla Kadphises), attacked the four other *hi-hou* and styled himself king, the name of his kingdom being Kuei-shuang (i.e. he assumed the title "Kushāna-king"). He further invaded An-shi (i.e. the neighbouring Parthian realm) and seized Kao-fu. Moreover he triumphed over P'u-ta (unidentified)³ and Ki-pin and entirely possessed those kingdoms. He died more than eighty years old. His son Yeo-kao-chen (i.e. Wima Kadphises) became king in his stead. He again (anew) extinguished (conquered) T'ien-chu (i.e. the Indus country) and appointed a general there for the administration.

We are distinctly told that these events belong to the period Kien-wa (A. D. 25-55) and later, and that they had been related by Pan-yung at the end of the reign of the emperor Ngan (A. D. 167-125).⁴ Kujūla Kadphises cannot, therefore, have started on his career before A. D. 25, and the whole development narrated in the *Annals*, including Wima Kadphises' reconquest of T'ien-chu, had been concluded in A. D. 125.

¹ Otherwise Rajan, *The Cambridge History of India*, i. p. 368.

² Cf. Maquart, *Essai*, pp. 242 ff. According to the Hou Han-shu Kao-fu should be replaced by T'u-mi.

³ The Tang pronunciation of the name was, according to Karlgren, Nos. 700 and 926 Hsi-chü. Ten miles east of Kābul we find the small village Butighā, at the place where the two routes to Kābul from the east meet. It is mentioned by Hsiao, transl. by John Leyden and William Erskine, II. p. 136, and the name is said to mean "lost-dog," with reference to the legend that Mahmud of Ghazni here broke up the idols he brought from Hind.

That sounds like a popular etymology, and if the place is old, Butighā might be a corruption of an old Butikā. But it is more likely that P'u-ta was some part of Arachosia.

⁴ Cf. Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, II. vii, p. 183.

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KALAWAN COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 1334.

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Khmer, inscribed on a copper plate. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines across the length of the plate. The script is highly stylized and characteristic of the Angkor period.

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SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE

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The Kalawān inscription has, as we have seen, shown that the era used in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions connected with these events must be the so-called Vikrama era. We can, accordingly, state that Kuṣṭha Kadphises' attack on An-shi and conquest of Kao-fu cannot be placed before some time after A. D. 45, because then Gondophares, who was not the last Parthian king, was still ruling.¹ Less than twenty years later, in the year 122, i.e. A. D. 65, we find a *maharaja Guṣṭha*, a title which recalls the Hou Han-shu statement about Kuṣṭha Kadphises styling himself Kuṣṭha King, mentioned in the Panjtār inscription. If this ruler was, as some scholars think, Wima Kadphises, we should have to draw the inference that his father, who was more than eighty years old at his death, was no more alive, and that he had, consequently, achieved his chief result, the victory over the Parthians, when he was a septuagenarian. That is, so far as I can see, an impossibility, and the chronology which the new inscription allows us to draw up seems to clear up the disputed question about the identity of the Kuṣṭha ruler mentioned in the Panjtār and silver-scroll records. He can only be identified with Kuṣṭha Kadphises. And if he was still alive in A. D. 79, Kanishka, the successor, or one of the successors, of his son Wima Kadphises, cannot have founded the historical Śaka era.

The Kalawān inscription is also of importance for the chronology of Gandhāra art. The sculptures found in the chapel, which cannot be older than A. D. 77, are stated to be of good style, and it is not *a priori* likely that they are older than the chapel itself. We can, accordingly, in this case approximately date some specimens of good Gandhāra art. If the Lōriyān Tangai, Hashnagar and Skārāh Dhērī image inscriptions of the years 318, 384 and 399, are referred to the old Śaka era and roughly correspond to A. D. 168, 234 and 249 A. D., respectively, we should be able to survey the development of Gandhāra sculpture for more than 150 years. The Mamāna Dhērī pedestal of the Kanishka year 89 would then be only slightly older than the Hashnagar image, because it seems impossible, in view of the chronological result indicated above, to assume an earlier epoch of the Kanishka era than towards A. D. 130.

TEXT.

(L. 1). Sathvatārāya 1 100 20 10 4 ajasa śravasasa masasa divase tvevīṣe 20 1 1 1 imaya
kshūṇḍa Chandrahī namā (L. 2) Dharmasasa grahavatīsa dhīta Bhadravalasa bhavv Chhaḍa-
ṣīlāsa śarīra prastavati gahathu- (L. 3) hami sadha bhadrāya Nandivadhāṇasa grahavatīsa sadha
putrahi Śamaṇa Saiteṇa cha dhītuna cha (L. 4) Dharmas sadha akṣhaṣhi Rajas Idras ya sadha
Jivanandīna Śamaṇputreṇa ayarīṇa ya saṭṭyasti- (L. 5) vaṇa parigrahe rathapikamo puyaita
sarvasatvapaṇa puyae tivapaṇa pratīne hotu.

TRANSLATION.

In the year 134 of Aasa, on the twenty-third—23. day of the month Śrāvāṇa, at this term the female worshipper (*upāsikā*) Chandrahī, daughter of the householder (*grihapatī*) Dharmas, wife of Bhadrapāla, establishes relics in Chhaḍaṣīlā, in the chapel-*stūpa*, together with her brother, the householder Nandivardhana, with her sons Śama and Sachitta and her daughter Dharmā, with her daughters-in-law Rājā and Indira, with Jivanandīn, the son of Śama, and the teacher, in acceptance of the Sarvāstivādas, having venerated the country-town, for the veneration of all beings, may it be for the obtainment of Nirvāṇa.

¹ That does not, however, preclude that Kābul might already have been associated with the Kanishkas at an earlier stage, before the attack on the Parthians. Such a previous connection may be reflected in the Kuṣṭha-Hermias coins and in the notice in the older Han *Annals* about Kao-fu being one of the five Ta-hs principalities. But the Parthian conquest of Kābul made an end to that state of things.

the god Kārttikadēva (Skanda) and his *deva* made of gold. His prowess in destroying the demon Tāraka and his brilliant form are then extolled (vv. 9 to 12). Verse 13 describes the ascetic Gadādhara as a *śāśvata* belonging to the Śāṅghīya-gōtru and as a great-jewel of the Gauḍa country. The next verse tells us that he was born in the village Taḍā and that he was the illuminator of the Varēndri country. (Verse 15 is devoted to the praise of his learning and devotion. We learn from verse 16 that he set up the images of the Sun, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Mahādeva, Pārvaṭi and Vināyaka and that he constructed a tank, a monastery and some wells. According to the following verse, these acts of charity established his fame in heaven. Verse 19 states that he was conducting the administration of the realm of the god Kārttikēya.) Verse 22 gives the ancestry of the poet Madhusūdana who composed this *prabandhi*. In the last verse Gadādhara beseeches future *Brahmachārin*s to have the same love as himself for the god Kapardin.

The importance of this epigraph chiefly lies in its date which corresponds regularly to A.D. 967 February 17, Sunday, the *śukla* commencing at 66 of the day. The earliest correct date hitherto found for Khottiga is Saka 890, Vibhava, Jyēṣṭha Suddha 1, Thursday¹ (A. D. 968 April 30, Thursday). Our record is thus earlier than this by one year. It is also important in another way for, as Khottiga was the successor of Kṛishṇa III, it helps us to ascertain Kṛishṇa's last date.

But before proceeding to determine the date of Kṛishṇa's death, I think it is necessary to discuss the date of his accession which has not yet been properly fixed. The Karhād grant² of A.D. 939 describes at length the conquests of Kṛishṇa III which were achieved by him after he was crowned king; but the Dēṇi plates³ whose date is approximately 30th April A.D. 940 makes no mention of any of them. On the other hand the account given in them ends with his coronation. It is very likely, therefore, that Kṛishṇa came to the throne shortly before the date of the Dēṇi plates. And the earliest known regular date of this monarch is Saka 861, Vikārin, Uttarāyana-saṅkṛānti, Vyatipāta, Monday⁴ (A.D. 939 December 23, Monday). But the Isāmudra inscription⁵ of his father Baddega Amoghavarsha III is also dated in Saka 861, Vikārin, Uttarāyana-saṅkṛānti. It has to be noted, however, that this latter date does not admit of verification as neither the week day nor the nakshatra is cited. Now, only one of the following two inferences can be drawn from these dates viz., (1) that Amoghavarsha III and his son Kṛishṇa III were ruling jointly or (2) that the date which does not admit of being tested is not correct. That Kṛishṇa III became king only after his father's death is stated in unequivocal terms in the Dēṇi and the Karhād plates. And Kṛishṇa's record of 23rd December 939 gives him such titles as *Mahārājadhīrāja* which are indicative of paramount authority. It follows, therefore, that Baddega must have died before this date, which, as stated above, is the earliest available for Kṛishṇa III. Hence the first alternative viz., that Kṛishṇa and his father were joint rulers has to be rejected and the date of the Isāmudra inscription has to be regarded as incorrect. But as has been shown by Kailash⁶ long ago there are several instances where Uttarāyana-saṅkṛānti is wrongly quoted while other details are given correctly. We may not be wrong, therefore, if we leave out of account the Uttarāyana-saṅkṛānti of the Isāmudra inscription and take as correct the only other detail contained in it, viz., the cyclic year Vikārin. Then, Baddega would still be on the throne in the

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Col. 30. An inscription of this king found at Hunavalli (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, 85, 831) is dated Saka 890, Prabhava, Chaitra, Suddha purnama, Kṛishṇa, Sāṅkṛānti. But the details of the date given here do not work out correctly.

² Above, Vol. IV, pp. 281 ff.

³ Above, Vol. V, pp. 188 ff. and *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 420.

⁴ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, 85, 476.

⁵ *Idem*, Vol. XI, Col. 77.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV p. 203; see also the dates of the Madras Epigraphical Collection Nos. 114 of 1913, 115 of 1912, 118 of 1913, 475 of 1914, 476 of 1914 and 291 of 1918 calculated by the late Dewan Bahadur Govindram Pillai in his *Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. I, pt. II, pp. 35 ff.

year Vikārin which began on 23rd February A.D. 939. In all probability, therefore, Krishna succeeded his father after this date. Thus the initial year of the reign of Krishna III would fall between 23rd February and 23rd December A.D. 939.

Now let us ascertain the last date of Krishna. Our inscription tells us that Khotiga was holding the reins of government on 17th February A.D. 967, after Krishna's death. Consequently, the latter ruler must have died before this date. And the latest date that we now have for Krishna is 6th March A.D. 965.¹ Several inscriptions in the Tamil country are dated in the 28th year of his reign and thus prove that his rule lasted for not less than 28 years.² Since, as shown above, he ascended the throne after 23rd February A.D. 939 he must have occupied the throne till some time after 23rd February A.D. 966, when his 28th year began. The wording of the present record, viz., परमोक्तं गते तन्मित्राणां कथदुपे निधौ राज्ये खोद्विदेवस्य (ll. 4-5) would indicate that Krishna's death had occurred not long before the date cited in it (i.e., A.D. 967 February 17). This surmise is further strengthened by the fact that another record of Khotiga which is later by 4 years does not contain any reference to Krishna's death, because it was by that time an event which had taken place long ago.³ The passage in it which introduces the king runs as: पालयति मति प्राप्ते खोद्विदे राज्ये मेदिनी. We may, therefore, conclude that Krishna III ruled from A.D. 939 to 966-67. From what has been said above, it also becomes clear that the last year of Krishna's reign was the 28th year.⁴

Chaddādhara who installed the images mentioned above appears to have been an ascetic of great repute as can be seen from the high praise bestowed upon him in the record. As stated above, the realm of god Kārttikēya was under his administrative charge. In another inscription of Kolgalla of A. D. 964, this tract of territory is called Kārttikēya-tapōvana and we are told that he had full control over it and that he was ruling it from Kolgalla.⁵ We learn from an inscription at Kudatini⁶ that this person set up in that village an image of Śaundē. It thus appears that he was an ardent devotee of this god. We do not know when this celebrity came from Varāndrī to the Kanarese country but this much is clear that he rose to this eminence on account of his learning and other qualities. It is possible, however, that Krishna III met and brought him to the south during the second northern expedition which, as I have shown elsewhere,⁷ took place in A.D. 963-64.

All that we know about Madhusūdana, the author of this inscription, is that he was the son of Atibala and grandson of Rishi, that he was a *dvija* of the Karmāra-kula and that his ancestors emigrated from Tarkārī. As the preserved portion of the last verse of the Kudatini epigraph, referred to above, is an exact copy of the 22nd verse of our record, the former also appears to have been composed by this same Madhusūdana. I am not able to identify him with any of the poets of this name who flourished in this period.

Of the geographical names occurring in the inscription, Varāndrī "is identified with that part of Bengal which is now called Rājshāhī".⁸ As to Tarkārī, there seem to be a number of places of this name⁹ but the Tarkārī of the present inscription is, I think, the famous

¹ Bombay-Karnatak Collection No. 113 of 1929-30.

² See, for instance, Madras Epigraphical Collection Nos. 364 of 1902, 125 of 1906 and 159 of 1921.

³ Same collection No. 44 of 1904.

⁴ The date of the Kijār record which has been wrongly read as the 750th year (Madras Epigraphical Collection No. 222 of 1902) was after re-examination found to be the 26th year.

⁵ Madras Epigraphical Report, 1914, Pt. II, para. 36; No. 234 of 1913.

⁶ Madras Epigraphical Collection No. 44 of 1904.

⁷ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 259.

⁸ Above, Vol. I, page 305 l. n. 2.

⁹ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LX, pp. 16-17.

Takāri, 16 miles north-west of Gayā. Tādā, where Gadādhara was born, has perhaps to be identified with the modern village Tara lying at a distance of about 12 miles south-east of Dinajpur in Bengal. Kolagala is, doubtless, Kolagalla where the inscription was discovered.

TEXT.¹

[Metres : vv. 1 to 15, 16 to 21 and 23, *Anuṣṭubh* ; 16 and 22, *Sārdūlavikṛīṭam*.]

First Face.

- 1 स्मृति श्री [॥*] शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्स(स)[॥२॥]-
- 2 व(८)शताशीतिनवाधिकचयसंवत्स(स)रे फाल्गु-
- 3 णशुद्धपञ्चाकदिने प्रतिष्ठा कृता ॥ प-
- 4 रलोकं गते तस्मिन्वास्वा कृष्णनृपे नि[धौ] [॥*]
- 5 राज्ये खोद्विगदेवस्य धर्मसेतुः कनौ सु-
- 6 ने ॥[१*] वैलोक्यव्यक्तरूपाय विख्याताय
- 7 [यश]स्विने [॥*] स्नामिकार्तिकदेवाय सर्वज्ञा-
- 8 य नमोऽस्यः(नमः) ॥[२*] ज्ञानशक्तिधरं देवं श्रीम-
- 9 द्बुद्रात्मजं शुभं [॥*] सर्वलोकहितं शान्तं
- 10 नमामि परमेश्वरं ॥[३*] सुरसेनाधिपत्ये-
- 11 वस्त(प्या)स्य सत्वं महात्मनः [॥*] शृण्वन्तु विपु-
- 12 लां कीर्तिं सर्वपापविनाशनीं ॥[४*] हेमय-
- 13 प्या(प्या)मनोय^१ निर्गुणा^२ शौर्यं कपदिनः ।
- 14 [दि]ज्येष्ठशुद्धप्राणेः शाश्वतं धर्मकी-
- 15 र्त्तनं ॥[५*] उग्रादितं प्रयत्नेन रत्नानेकै-
- 16 र्विशीभितं [॥*] तेजसा शुभमत्यंतमिन्द्राद्यै-
- 17 र्वदितं सुरैः ॥[६*] दिव्यरूपासनं रम्यं
- 18 पूर्णैर्भुवि निर्मलं [॥*] पापघ्नं वेधसा सु-
- 19 ष्टं कामरूपि सुखावहं ॥[७*] खित्वा दंडा-
- 20 सने तस्मिं(स्मि)न्नाधिपत्यं दिवौकसां [॥*]
- 21 कृतं द्वादशनेत्रेण सोमं देवेश-
- 22 रोगभूः ॥[८*] हेमस्य नत्तिनीगर्भं यक्षु-
- 23 खो द्वादशेक्षणः [॥*] ज्ञातस्म(श्म)रवर्णे वा

^१ From linked stamps.

^२ The letter 'व' is engraved below the line.

^३ Possibly this has to be corrected into *वैभवशायिनः*.

^४ Read *वीर्यवान्*.

- 24 लो विद्याया परमेष्ठरः ॥[८*] रुद्रव(प्र)-
 25 आचवधो यस्तारकशसुराधिपः [1*]
 26 क्रीडया निहतोनेन डादयाकी[च]-
 27 तेन सः ॥[१०*] भुवि शौरिक(शब्देक) एवाय [देव. 1]-
 28 स्तेजोमया कृती । द्विजान्मयकृष्ट[ले]-

Second Page.

- 29 शं रि(क्त)कामेर्वेदपार-
 30 गाः ॥[११*] विश्वतश्च-
 31 धुरपो कुमारो^१ वि-
 32 श्वनोमुखः^२ [1*] चीम-
 33 लोत्तमनयाने च-
 34 भिषिक्तः शमे दि[ने] ॥[१२*]
 35 लोत्तमनो च शाण्डि-
 36 ल्बसुतपस्वी मदाध-
 37 रः [1*] विद्वज्जनायवो
 38 विद्वो(डा)ग्मोडवृडाम-
 39 निर्गुणो ॥[१३*] स्वर्गवास-
 40 निर्मित्तार्य तडाया[मो]-
 41 ल(ड)वेन तु [1*] स्थापितो
 42 दिव्यमन्त्रेण वरेन्द्र-
 43 शोतकारिणा ॥[१४*] क-
 44 श्मीर्येष परेभ्य एव भ-
 45 वने कं(क)न्वेव दातुं स्थि-
 46 ता विद्या यस्य समस्त-
 47 जन्तुहितकृदीपय-
 48 मेवामना [1*] भक्तियेष
 49 पतिव्रतेव वनिता स्त-
 50 आदने(न)न्वाय(चि)ता त-
 51 स्ते स्मृति मदाधरा[य]

^१ कुमारः कुमारो.

^२ This reminds one of the Vedic *कुमारः* विश्वतश्चरन् विपती सुखी विपती वाक्पुत्र विपतश्चात् । अंशद्वया भवति
 सभर्तृकं वा सुमी कुलचन् इव एकः ।


१ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 २ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥
 ३ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥
 ४ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥
 ५ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥
 ६ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६ ॥
 ७ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ७ ॥
 ८ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८ ॥
 ९ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥
 १० ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १० ॥
 ११ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ११ ॥
 १२ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १२ ॥
 १३ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १३ ॥
 १४ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १४ ॥
 १५ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १५ ॥
 १६ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १६ ॥
 १७ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १७ ॥
 १८ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १८ ॥
 १९ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १९ ॥
 २० ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २० ॥
 २१ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २१ ॥
 २२ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २२ ॥
 २३ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २३ ॥
 २४ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २४ ॥
 २५ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २५ ॥
 २६ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २६ ॥
 २७ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २७ ॥
 २८ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २८ ॥
 २९ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २९ ॥

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THIRD FACE.

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FOURTH FACE



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52 [व]सुधादेवपु(प्र)धावा-

53 [नि]गं ॥[१५*]

Third Face.

54 [इ]होपरं(रि) तवेवाकीं वेधा विष्णुर्म[हे]-

55 म्बरस्तडागमठिकावाप्यध्वार्वती

56 च विनायकः ॥[१६*] [स]ष्टे स्थापिता[ः*] कीर्ति-

57 विदिता स्वर्गवासिनां [ः*] यस्मात्प्रतिष्ठा

58 देवानां कृता धर्मेन धीमता ॥[१७*] सुर-

59 न्द्रभुवने कीर्तिं गार्थत्वसरसम्-

60 दा [ः*] जयत्वष्टौ कपर्दी च सुगां कव-

61 दनो मुनिः ॥ [१८*] राज्यं श्रीस्वामिन[ः*] स्था-

62 ने विद्वद्विप्रीपकारजं [ः*] दुर्भिक्षमञ्ज-

63 ष्कुरुते यथा वैरोचनो बलिः ॥[१९*] स्था-

64 मिमहारकष्यायं वरपामचिर-

65 नानः [ः*] श्रुतो न दत्ता पसुवा पृथ-

66 कृत्वा विमिश्रतः ॥[२०*] गृहीत्वा परिमि-

67 ता(प्रमिता) दत्ता भूमिर्या सतिलोदका [ः*] विप्रे-

68 भवन्ना न हर्तव्या सामां(मा)न्वो धर्मसा-

69 गरः ॥[२१*] योक्तमार्गकुलाह्वयद्विज-

70 वरपामस्तु(शामास्तु) तर्कारितो निष्कम्प क-

71 भतिर्भक्त्यामभवत्तन्निवृत्ति[र्ष]-

72 डितस्तत्पुत्रप्रपदितः क्षितावतिव(व)-

73 लस्तस्मादभूदय(य)भूतस्थेन श्रीम-

74 धुसुदनाय्यकविना शस्ता प्रश-

75 स्तिः कृता ॥[२२*]

Fourth Face.

76 गदाधरेण भक्तितं

77 त्रया प्रीतिष्कपर्दि-

78 नः [ः*] तथान्वेरपि क-

79 तंश्चा भविष्यन्न(व)द्वा-

80 चारिभिः ॥[२३*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 3.) Hail ! Prosperity ! On Sunday the sixth *tithi* of the bright half of the (*viśākā*) of Phālguna in the (*cyclic*) year Kāraya, when eight hundred years increased by eighty nine had elapsed since the time of the Śaka King, the installation (*ceremony*) was performed.

(Verse 1.) During the reign of Kṛottigadēva—the king named Kṛishṇa of excellent qualities having gone to heaven—(*this*) bridge of religious merit (*was created*) in the Kālī age.

(V. 2.) Adoration to the omniscient god Kārttikadēva who has a form which is manifest in the three worlds, who has obtained great fame and is glorious.

(V. 3.) I bow to that Supreme Lord who bears the (*weapon called*) Jñānasakti, who is the son of the celebrated Rudra, is the auspicious and the peaceful One and the benefactor of the whole universe.

(V. 4.) The chief of the commanders of the army of the gods—let people hear the valour of the high-souled One and his wide fame which is capable of destroying all sins.

(V. 5.) (*Let people hear*) the three *gūṇas* and the prowess of (*that god*), who possesses a *guṇḍyaśana* made of gold, viz., Kapardin, (otherwise of the ascetic with the matted hair) who holds in his hands the best of birds and the *gaḍḍ* and the meritorious act (*of*) the best of Brāhmanas Gadādhara; which is eternal.¹

(Vr. 6 and 7.) His seat of heavenly form, created with special effort, decked with many gems, extremely pure in its lustre, worshipped by Indra and other gods, which is capable of destroying sins, which was created by (*god*) Brahmā and which can assume the desired form is comfortable.

(V. 8.) Seated in that *dayāśana* was wielded the generalship of the (*army of*) the gods by the twelve eyed (*god*). Such is the issue of the lord of gods (*i.e.*, Śiva).

(V. 9.) This six faced, twelve-eyed boy, the soul of the universe, the supreme lord was born in the womb of the lotus of gold in the *śarvaṇa* grass.

(V. 10.) That Tāraka, the lord of demons, who could not be slain by Rudra, Brahmā and other (*gods*) was destroyed in sport by this (*god*) who has the twelve suns as his eyes.

(V. 11.) He is the only (*god*) on earth and in heaven who is eternal, who is full of brilliance and who has accomplished his purpose. Thus do the twice-born who are well-versed in the Vēdas praise him well by Rika and Sāmāna.

(V. 12.) This Kumāra, the eye and the face of the universe (*i.e.*, who has eyes and faces pervading the whole universe), the *Parashā* was anointed at the illustrious village Kolagala on the auspicious day.

(V. 13.) The learned and virtuous Gadādhara, the crest-jewel of the Gauja country, who is a *tīrthānī* (*ascetic*), who is a Śāṅgīya and who has practised great austerities is the refuge of learned men.

(V. 14.) By him who was born in the village of Taḍā and was the illuminator of (*the country of*) Varāndī was (*the god Kumāra*) consecrated with divine hymn with a view to attain an abode in heaven.

(V. 15.) Prosperity be ever to that Gadādhara, who is dear to Brāhmanas, whose wealth renders in his house only to be bestowed on others like an unmarried girl, whose learning is pure and beneficial to all beings like the glow of a lamp and whose devotion (*to god*) resorted to none but himself like a chaste wife.

¹ There seems to be a *ditto* here upon the words Kapardin, *deja-brickha* and *gaḍḍ-pāṇi* describing the greatness both of god Kārttikēya and of the ascetic Gadādhara.

(V. 16 and 17.) And besides (*the god named above*) the Sun, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Mahāśvara, Pārvatī and Vināyaka (*all these gods*) were installed on beautiful pedestals and a tank, a monastery and wells were constructed. Since the consecration of the gods was performed in this village by this learned man, his fame became well known to the dwellers in heaven.

(V. 18.) This sage who has the face of the moon is victorious and has matted hair (Kapardin) the heavenly nymphs ever sing his praises in the abode of Indra.

(V. 19.) This Durbhikṣhamalla (*i.e.*, the destroyer of famine) conducts in the realm of the illustrious Svāmī (Skanda) the administration, which is beneficial to the learned and the Brāhmaṇas, like Bali, the son of Viṛōchana.

(V. 20.) This excellent and ancient village is the property of the worshipful Svāmī. It is especially on this account that no land (*here*) is parcelled out and given.

(V. 21.) The land which is taken possession of, measured and granted with sesame and water to Brāhmaṇas should not be snatched away; (*this is*) the common (*rule of the*) ocean of Dharma.

(V. 22.) A family immigrated from Tarkūrī, the village of the excellent twice born Karmāra community and became pure in successive generations. In it (*was born*) the scholar Rāhi; his son was Atibala renowned in the world; by the poet Madhusūdana the son born to him, (*i.e.*, Atibala) was this excellent *prastā* composed.

(V. 23.) Just as love was entertained by Gadādhara¹ towards (*god*) Kapardin, so also should it be done by all the future *Brahmachāriṇas*.

NO. 41.—THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REDDIS.

By A. RANGASWAMI SARASWATI, B.A., AND N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A.

A

CHIMAKURTI PLATE OF VEMA.

This plate was secured on a loan from the Karnam of Chīmakurti in the Ongole Taluk of the Guntur District in the year 1920². It is a single copper plate with no rim, oblong in shape and a little broken at the bottom. It is 10½" in length and 6½" in breadth. There is a very small hole at the top of the plate to allow a string to pass through. Only one side of the plate bears the writing. At the top of the plate are engraved the figure of a *liṅga* and a bull facing it. The weight of the plate is 37 tolas.

The inscription on the plate is written in **Telugu** characters and language except the two imprecatory verses at the end which are in **Sanskrit**. The alphabet and orthography of the document bear close resemblance to those of the Tottaramūḍi plates of Kāṣṭha-Vēma³ and the Phiraṅgipuram inscription of Kōmaṭi-Vēma⁴ though these two are later in point of time. It is therefore likely that the present document is a later copy of the original, though it is nowhere stated so. There seems to be no objection, however, to take the historical facts contained

¹ The word *gītā* seems to be superfluous.

² No. 2 of App. A to the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy for the year 1919-20*.

³ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 318 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, pp. 313 ff.

is it as current, for the *birudas* of king Vēma found here, which give all the historical information, are almost similar to those found in his Amarāvati inscription¹.

The inscription records the grant of the village Rāmātīrtham situated in the Śrīśaṅga-bhūmi and the Ammananrēśole—*śola* as a *śara-śyāhāra* to Chittamūri Timmana-Bhatta who was the son of Kāmādeva-Bhāṭṭāraka and who belonged to the Kaṇḍiyya-gōtra, Yajñakūṭha and Āpastamba-śilpa. Besides this the donee was granted a fourth portion of the produce of the wet lands, betel-leaf gardens and sugar cane fields, of each of the five villages Chinnakurti, Bhīmāśevaram, Pulikopṇa, Mallavarāṇ and Kumārāpuri and a sixteenth portion of the produce of the remaining three-fourths. A fifth part of the money income (*śaṣṭya-śūlāya*) (of these villages) and the water of the Pedda-charuvu (big tank) were to be given to him. Over and above these the donee was to receive one-tenth of the produce of the other villages (in the division I) and land at the rate of 200 *kuṇḍa* measured by a pole of 16 *hāṭa* in big villages and 100 *kuṇḍa* in small villages. It is interesting to note that the present Karmān of the village Chinnakurti who is now in possession of this copper-plate claims to be a lineal descendant of the donee and is still enjoying some of the gifts registered in the plate.

The date of the document is Śālivāhana Śaka year 1257, Yava Kārtika 12, Thursday, Maṇvādī. This is the earliest record of the king being earlier by 10 years than the Madras Museum plates² of the same king. If the cyclic year Dhātva is substituted for Yava the details of the date would correspond to A.D. 1336 October 31, Thursday.

The importance of the document lies chiefly in the fact that some of the king's *birudas* mentioned in it would, if they are properly interpreted, yield new information about the history of the Raṣṭri chiefs. For instance, *Channakūṭha-śūrakāra*, or *Channakūṭha-śūrakāra* as given in the Amarāvati inscription, means "one who reduced the hill fort of Chedāji or Gūngi." How Vēma could reduce this fort will be shown below. Another *biruda* *Rāchūrāśūrakāra* means "the destroyer of the fort of Rāchūr" i.e., Raichur in the Nizam's Dominions. A third title in the list *Kaliś-śūrakāra-śūrakāra* means "one who destroyed the pride of the King of Kālīṅga."³ The title *Mānniś-śūrakāra-śūrakāra* means "one who hunted like deer the chiefs of Mānniś hilly country". The term *Mānniś* is generally applied in later Telugu literature to the hilly tracts near the eastern ghats in the Godavari, Viṅḡapatam and Ganjam districts. Similarly the titles *Paṇḍyaśūrakāra-śūrakāra* and *Janturāśūrakāra-śūrakāra* signify victories over the kings of the Paṇḍya (Oḍra) country, the modern Orissa, and the Janturāśū which is perhaps the modern name of Dantapura-nāḍa. Dantapura was an early capital of the Gaṇḡas of Kālīṅga, from which, for instance, the Narasīpaṭam plates of Vajrahasta II were issued. The title *Pāṇḍyaśūrakāra-śūrakāra* means "one who was a lion to the elephant in the form of the Paṇḍya King" suggesting thereby that the king probably routed the Paṇḍya. The title *Appaya-Gōpaya-śūrakāra* seems to signify some victory won by the king or his immediate ancestors over the chiefs called respectively Appaya and Gōpaya. The Tiruvāṇḍipuram inscription of the Chōḷa king Rājārāja III dated in his 15th year⁴ records the victories of two Hoysala generals *Jayamādhava* Appaya-Daṇḍanāyaka and *Samudra-Gōpaya* Jāṇḍiāyaka over the Pallava chief Kōppanāḷiṅga who overcame the Chōḷa sovereign Rājārāja III and had for a time kept him prisoner at Śāṇḍanāḷigalam. The chiefs that are referred to

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, No. 242.

² Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 8-11.

³ Some of these titles are explained in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1900, 1901.

⁴ 32.

⁵ Above, Vol. VII, pp. 160-2.

in the title *Appaya-Gōpaya-dīśāpāja* of Vēma seem to be identical with the Hoysala generals of the Tiruvēndipuram inscription.

The exploits referred to in the titles of Vēma must have been achieved by him or by his ancestors while they were the subordinates of the Kākatīyas. During the days of the decline of the Chōlas all the neighbouring powers attempted to capture as much of the territory as possible. The Pallava general Kōpperuśijōga who endeavoured to establish for a time an independent kingdom extended his conquests over the territories of the Chōlas of Nellore and other chieftains as far north as Drākshārāma where an inscription of his is found. The Chōlas of the Nellore District who had the titles Madhurāntaka-Potappi-Chōla and Caṇḍagōpāla extended their kingdom to the south and, for a time, occupied Kāñchipuram and Tōḍaimaḍḍalam. Against these Sundara-Pāṇḍya led an expedition from the South and celebrated the annointment of heroes at Vikramasithhapuram (Nellore). The Kākatīya sovereign Gaṇapati led an expedition first in aid of one of the Telugu Chōla chiefs of Nellore and later on to Conjeevaram, where his inscriptions are found. After Gaṇapati his daughter Rudrāmbā and later her grandson Prsthāparandra continued the campaign on Conjeevaram. The triumph claimed in these *śirudās* over the Pāṇḍya king and the Hoysala generals Appaya and Gōpaya should also have been won during this period of constant warfare. Similarly, the victories over Kaliṅgarāya, Oḍḍiyarāya, the Janturnāṭarāya as well as the reduction of the fort of Rāchūru should have been achieved in the wars of the Kākatīyas against the surrounding countries.

The inscription also says that Vēma founded many *agrakāras* on the banks of the rivers Brahmaparvati (the Gundlakamma), the Kṛṣṇavēni, i.e., Kṛṣṇā, the Gōḍāvarī and the Mahānadi, and laid out gardens in the vicinity of various towns. We are further informed that he gave food in charity houses (*śrāts*) in many holy places and built steps to the famous shrines of Śrīparvata and Ahōbala. Vēma is called in this inscription the lord of the Eastern Sea, the establisher of the sole sovereign (*īka-rāya-śāhāpān-śaśātrpa*) and the only ornament to the throne (*īka-simhāsana-śāmbhāra*).

B

PACHCHANI-TANDIPARRU GRANT OF ANNA-VĒMA.

Next in chronological order comes the Pachchani-Tāṇḍiparru grant of Anna-Vēma. It is registered as copper-plate No. 6 of Appendix A to the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1919-20. The set of plates on which the grant is engraved was borrowed from M. R. Ry. Devī Hanumachari of Koḍitāḍiparru, in the Tenali Taluk of the Guntur District, in the year 1919.

This grant is written on five oblong copper-plates which have slightly raised rims but no ring or seal attached to them, though holes for passing a ring are to be seen in them. The plates measure 9½" in length and a little over 4" in breadth and weigh 88 *talas*. The inscription is written in Telugu script and Sanskrit language. The portion giving the boundaries of the village (ll. 47-72) is, however, in the Telugu language. Plates iiib, iiib, ivb, and v b are marked with the numerical symbols 2, 3, 4 and 5. As to the palaeography of this grant only one feature may be noticed specially: The letters of this grant as well as of the following one (C) appear more archaic than those of A although the latter professes to be much earlier than either B or C.

The donor of the grant is Anna-Vēma who is here called the son of Prōlaya-Vēma, i.e., Vēma of the previous grant. The record opens with an invocation to the bear incarnation of Vishnu. The second verse is devoted to the praise of the Sun and Moon. The next verse says that a caste was born from the lotus feet of Vishnu which evidently means the Śūdra caste—

padbhyaṃ Śāstrā-bhīṣṇata. In it was born Prōlaya-Vēma who constructed the flight of steps leading to Śrīlaila and made all the gifts enumerated by Hēmadrai (v. 4). He performed various meritorious deeds and defeated several hostile Kings (vv. 5 to 8). To him were born two valorous sons namely **Anna-Vōta** and **Anna-Vēma** (v. 9). Anna-Vōta, the elder, is said to have exhibited great prowess on the battlefield and to have ruled the Āndhra country extending from the eastern portion of Śrīlāga (i.e., Śrīlaila) to the eastern ocean (vv. 10 and 11). The Telugu work *Vikṣu-purāṇam* tells us that this Annavōta defeated a chief called **Rāvutu Kāśa** near the river **Kṛishnavēni** before the very eyes of god Amartēvara. The work also says that king Pōta had some literary works written by poets of the Vennalaganti family and got them dedicated to him. Sōraṇa, the author of this Telugu work belonged to this family. Anna-Vōta's younger brother Anna-Vēma who was a great warrior ruled over his father's kingdom after the death of his elder brother (vv. 12 to 15). The genealogy of the donee is then given. In the *gōra* of Hānta there was a pious Brāhman named **Nṛsiṃha** who was a lion to the elephants, *viz.*, the disputants (v. 16). His son was **Bhīmāśvara-Sōmayājita** who had performed many Vedic sacrifices (v. 17). His son was **Pōtibhātta**; to him was born Guṇḍayāryya whose son was **Peddi-Vidvān**, the great jewel among astronomers (v. 18). To this Peddi-Vidvān king Anna-Vēma granted, on the date specified, the village **Paṇchani-Tāṇḍipuguru** (v. 19). Then follows a description of the boundaries of the village (ll. 47 to 73). After three imprecatory verses, the concluding verse of the grant tells us that this edict was composed by **Bāla-Sarasvatī**, the court poet of Anna-Vēma. The inscription ends with the king's signature **Pallava-Tripētra**.

The details of the date recorded in the inscription are the Śaka year counted by *ma* (8), *rama* (9) and *Bhāskara* (12), *i.e.*, 1296, Nabhasya (Rāhmapada), full moon, Tuesday, lunar eclipse. According to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, the English equivalent of this date is A.D. 1874 August 22, Tuesday, when there was a lunar eclipse.

The grant under publication does not say anything new about the donor king Anna-Vēma. The donee Peddi-Vidvān seems to have been a great scholar in astronomy. He seems to have been patronised by the kings of the Redḍi family even after Anna-Vēma for we learn from two copper-plate grants¹ of Peddi-Kōmati-Vēma that this Peddi was the recipient of the village **Kalvavāmulu** in Śaka 1329 and of **Nandamūru** in Śaka 1333. In both these records he is described as having mastered the quintessence of Siddhāntas like those of **Brāhmā** and **Sārya**. One of them says that he had knowledge of the present, past and future on account of his learning in *Jyautiśa śāstra*.

Nothing is known from other sources about **Bālasarasvatī** who composed the record and who calls himself a poet of the court of Anna-Vēma. It may be noted, however, that he was the author of another inscription of the same king at **Śrīlailam**². Another poet in this king's court, *viz.*, **Triḷḷaṇāchāryya** is already known to us. He composed the **Vānapaṭi**³ copper-plate inscription of this king.

C

PINAPADU GRANT OF KOMATI-VEMA.

This is the last of a set of copper-plates whose other plates are lost. It measures 12½" in length and 5½" in breadth, and weighs 47 *tolas*. In the middle of its proper right margin there is a hole for passing a ring through. It bears writing only on one side. Though it is a little damaged the writing is in good state of preservation. It was secured in the year 1930 from Mr.

¹ *A. R. on South Indian Epigraphy* 1915-30, Nos. 13 and 14.

² See *A. R. on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1915, Part II, para. 39.

³ Above, Vol. III, pp. 60 ff.

Ponukapāṭi Ramayya who discovered it buried underground at Pinapāḍu near Tenāli and has been registered as No. 8 of Appendix A in the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for that year.

The portion of the inscription preserved on this plate is in Telugu characters and contains a description in Telugu of the gift village Pinapāḍu and five verses in Sanskrit. The first verse says: "The donor is king Kōmaṭi-Vēma, the recipient of the grant is the preceptor Saṅkara, the village granted is Pinapāḍu, the composer is the poet Śrinātha-Bhaṭṭāraka, the time of the grant is the occasion of the holy Sivarātri and the witness the great Śrīgiri. Why should not poets extol the gifts under these circumstances?" The other four verses are imprecations. The inscription ends with the king's signature "Śrī-Viraṇārāyaṇya".

From the above verse it is apparent that king Kōmaṭi-Vēma, the donee Saṅkara and the poet Śrinātha were at Śrīśaila on the Sivarātri day. According to the *Sivarātri-mahātmya* of this part, which is dedicated to a scholar named Sāntayya, a disciple of Sānta-Bhikṣahāyṛitti, Śrinātha once visited the sacred shrine of Śrīśaila during the Sivarātri festival and paid his respects to Sānta-Bhikṣahāyṛitti. While the poet was seated in the *maṭha-maṇḍapa* of the temple Sānta-Bhikṣahāyṛitti, the head of the Virāṭaiva *maṭha* on the hill asked him to write a Saiva poem and dedicate it to one of his disciples. This Sānta-Bhikṣahāyṛitti appears to have been a patron of Telugu literature. The Telugu poet Gaurana dedicated his *Narasimha-charita* to this pontiff. His successors seem to have been treated with great respect even by the Vijayanagara kings. Siddha-Bhikṣahāyṛitti, who was the donee of the Śrīśailam grant of the Vijayanagara emperor Virūpākṣa, was one of the gurus of the Virāṭaiva *maṭha* on Śripārvata.

The descendants of the donee of the grant under publication, viz., Saṅkara, are found even today in the village Pinapāḍu. Though they are Brāhmins they officiate as *adhāryas* to several Saivas who are not Brāhmins.

A

TEXT.

- 1 Śrī-Tripurāntakāśvara [1*]
- 2 Svasti Śrī [1*] Vijay-abhyudaya-Sālivāhana-śaka-varṣaśatabdā 1237 agna-
ṭi Yava-
- 3 nāma saṁvatsara Kārttika-śuddha 12 Gura-vācara manvādi mahāpūṇya-
kālanunādi-
- 4 da Yaju[2*]-śikh-ādhyāyan-Āpastamba-sūtra-Kauṇḍīnya-gōtra-śdbhavalunūnu (l u n n u)
śrīmad-yaja-
- 5 n-ādi-śaṭkarma-nirata-aga Kāmāśvara-bhaṭṭārakuni-vāri paṭṭi[3*]lunūnu(lunnu)
- 6 vāri-paṭṭi[3*]lunūnu-aga Chittānūrī Timmana(Timmana)-bhaṭṭa-śastralavāriki svasti [1*]
śakala-guṇa-gaṇ-āśa-
- 7 kāra Charaṇamala-chūṭrakāra Viśva-viśvambhar-ābharāṇa-cahara-śakala-śakha-
(śakha)-bhū[2*]-damaḍa
- 8 Jagannobha-gaḍaḍa ānya(anya)-mamḍalikara-gaṇaḍa rāya-chēkōlu-gaḍaḍa rāya-
śikara-gaḍaḍa
- 9 arthi-pratyarthi-Hemādri-dāna-nirata prajā-paripālana-chatura haraṇa-bharāṇa rūpa-
- 10 Nārāyaṇa Vira-Nārāyaṇa bhōja-bala-Bhima kōdamḍa-Rāma aparimita-bhū-dāna-
Pamān-
- 11 rāma anśka-nagar-ōpākāṭha-pratiśṭhāpita-bahu-vidh-ārāma saṅgaḍi-śakha-pā-
laka jaga-ra-

- 12 kaha-pālaka jagada-Gōpālaka Oujjari-dhatṭa-vibhāḷa ghama-bhuja-virāja.
māma-Karavāla
- 13 Rāchūri-durga-vibhāḷa jala-dutṭa-jaladhi-bujabānala sthala-durga-havana-
Halāyā-
- 14 dha anavetata-purōbhita-kṛtā-sōma-pāsa Śaṣparvata-Ahōbala-nirmīta-sūpāna
dhūh(dik)(kūh)-
- 15 vā-maṇḍhara kīrti-kusum-āmaḍa Kumāḍiprabhā-Saṁhaya(Sahya)jā-Gaotami-
- 16 jala-kṛdā-viṇḍa Kalidaga-rāya-māma-maḍa-maḍama madhniya-rāya-mṛga-
- 17 vēmjakāra Voḍḍiya-rāya-nindhūma-dhāma Jachur-nāta-rāya-halla-kallōla a-
- 18 ti-rāya-basava-Saṁkara virōdhi-ajīva-dānava-Narasimhva(ha) Pādalya-rāya-gaja-siṁ-
- 19 hva(ha) prajāḍa-chatur-vidh-ōpāya kōḷḍi-rāya nitya-paripālita-sāya Pallv-ādi-
- 20 tya rupa-narapoti-gōdhūma-ghattata-gharajṭa Appaya-Gōpaya-dīḷa-paṭṭapa(paṭṭa)
saṁgrā-
- 21 ma-samudhanta-chamḍja-bhuja-śai-vikhaṇḍjita-kṛtā-kīḷa pavanaka-Brāhmanakama)
kam-
- 22 ḍi-Kriahnavatī-Gōdāvarī-Mahānadi-taṭi-dvayan(va)-madhye-dāma-anēk-āgrahā-
- 23 ra aganya-pupya-kahētra-sātra-bahe-vidh-āhāra Pārva-samudrādihāvara
- 24 āha-rāya-athāpan-āhārya āha-simhva(hā)van-ālakāra śrīma(t*)-Tripurāntakadā-
- 25 va-dvaya-ari-pāda-pedma-ārādhanakā-aina śrīmatu-Vāmaya-Roḍḍigāra viśyimchi yi-
- 26 chōhina bhā-dāna-dharma-śāsanam || mad-bhuja-damḍja-paripālita-aina
sāmbhō(mā)jya-
- 27 ma-mūdu Śrīkālā-bhūmīni Ashūma(Amma)madibōli śī(śi)malō Rāmatirtham sarv-
āgrahāramam-
- 28 nna(munna) Chāmakurti-Bhūmāvara-Paḍikōḍḍja-Mailavarath-Komārapuri-grāma-
- 29 mūlu eydimṭṭiyamūmūna vāḷi-polam-lōmūna chavula kribda mā-
mā-
- 30 pi-lōmūna āka-tūḍṭala-cheruku-tūṭpala-lōnu bhūmī chatharth-āhāsa-
- 31 sarva-mānyath-gānūmūna(mū) migilina muppātika bhūmīni paṇḍina nānā-
phalā-
- 32 dūlakomūna(mū) ahōḍḍa-āhāsa mārānu sūvarp-ādāyānaku paricham-
āhāsamūna
- 33 pedda-cherva mīlānu yi grāmālu gāka yitara grāmālu parichḍina
dhānyānaku dānam-āhā-
- 34 samūmūna śī(śi)mā-mūlāni prati-grāmaamūlāndūmūna(mū) palahāru-bārala
ghaḍānu
- 35 pedda vāḷi(t*)ci innūra kumṭalūmūna(mū) chōna vūriki nūru
gudṭṭala kahētramū-
- 36 nū sarva-mānyamūlāndūmūna(mū) yi-lāgu nūpayaṁ chōḷi Rāmatirtham
modai-aina ā-
- 37 ru grām-ādūlayamūlānu aṣṭa-bhōga-svāmya-svataṇṭramūlānu chatarvi-
- 38 dha-yōgyam-gā sa-hirany-āḍaka-dāna-dhārā-purvaṁ-gā yippimatūni gaṇaka . . .
- 39 . . . tra-pāraṇḍiparyamūna sūddhā vachchīna phalaṁ ā-cha . . .
- 40 ḍuvāru || dāna-pūṇam-yōr-madhya dānāch-chhō . . .

41	achyutāṣa	padāṣa || āk-āṣa)	. . . . .
42	vipra-dattā	. . . . .	. . . . .

B

TEXT.

First Plate, Second Side.

- 1 श्रीनाथ(ध)स्य वराहदिव्यवपुषो व. पातु दंष्ट्रा चिरं स्मृतोवीत-
- 2 महीतलोपरितटोनिर्वातशृङ्गांकुरा । वामाक्षीयज्जो-
- 3 दितं शशिकामाशंका जातः [च]णं मौहार्द्धिन विजृम्भमाणसज्जि-
- 4 न्नारंभो मन्नांभोनिधिः ॥¹[1*॥] समो ज्ञेयां तत्र पुण्यवत्तो राजा-
- 5 सु पुर्वापरशौलवा(भा)जो । रक्षांक्षीलाभिवदमयंतो पुरा पुरारैः²
- 6 पृथिवी(क्षी)रथस्य ॥³[2*॥] पादारविंदादरविंदनाभिसंस्मरेव पुण्या च-
- 7 नजीवनयोः । जाताभिजाता वतथा(धा) विभिन्ना जातिचतुर्वी जगतां
- 8 हिताय ॥⁴[3*॥] तस्यामभूजोन्नयवैमनामा श्रीशैलसोपानविधा-
- 9 नशाक्षी ॥ (॥) हेमाद्रिकक्षीदितदानदक्षो निष्पीमभूदाननिष्कडकीर्तिः⁵ । वेम-

Second Plate, First Side.

- 10 चिनीषो इवममेकपादं शंजप्रसारं कलिकालदीपात् । दत्ता-
- 11 चहारद्विजवेदयत्त्वा पदकमैरस्सहितं चकार⁶ ॥⁷[4*॥] धर्माक्षजो दा-
- 12 यरधि(चि): प्रयुक्तेषुदीर्यमाणानि शुगांत्तरपु । वितर्क्ये वेम-
- 13 नरेखरस्य पुण्यानि नाशानि पुरातनानि⁸ ॥⁹[5*॥] यक्षीर्तिशौलमनसा-
- 14 मुरगांगनानामालोकितं च मुखरागमर्नगमुत्⁹ ।
- 15 श्रोतं च गीतरचनां युगपचदक्षो नागाधिपो न सृष्टे नयन-
- 16 श्रुतिर्त्वं ॥¹⁰[6*॥] संध्यामपातंस्व शरैर्विभिन्ना यस्सारिचुडामणयो
- 17 विचेतुः । आक्रामतच्छंयति राजवंशान् प्रतापवज्जेरिव विस्फुलि-

Second Plate, Second Side.

- 18 नाः ॥¹⁰[7*॥]तस्याच वेमनृपतेरुदयादिवाद्देर्जातो प्रतापवरकांतिनिधो क
- 19 मारो । सूर्ये दुतुल्यमहमायनवीतभूपः¹¹ श्रीयक्षवेम-

¹ Metre: Śāntilāhārīśloka.² The stanza is written in the next line.³ Metre: Uṣṇasravagī.⁴ Metre: Padmaṅga.⁵ Metre: Padmaṅga.⁶ Metre: Padmaṅga.⁷ Metre: Uṣṇasravagī.⁸ The stanza is written in the next line.⁹ Metre: Vasantasiddhi.¹⁰ Metre: Uṣṇasravagī.

- 20 नृपतिर्जगरत्तपालः ॥^{8*}॥ वीरश्रीधनयोतभूतलपतेमोवी(भी)रमेरो-
 21 रवैः । शतृणां हृदयेषु संस्मरन्मुचे भिन्नेषु पूर्वे २-
 22 मं । यदीरं निरकासयद्भयरसो वेगात्कुतोप्या-
 23 यतो [1^{*}] युक्तप्राक्तनमंशु निर्वमयति प्रत्यक्षमत्पुर्जितं
 24 ॥^{9*}॥ यथास यः चीनगपूर्ववा(भा)गादापूर्वैरक्षाकरमंधुदे-
 25 मं । आमिष्वतं मेचलमूधरस्य जिताहितश्रीयनवोतनृपः ॥^{10*}॥

Third Plate, First Side.

- 26 तथ्यानुजस्तामरसायताच्च[*]श्रीयश्वेमः क्षितिपालरत्नं ।
 27 शूरासमर्थः क्षुरिकासहायो विवा(भा)ति वीराहवर्कलिनोक्तः ॥^{11*}॥ श्रीव-
 28 र्वैमनृपतेः(तिः) क्षुरि(रि)कासहायो वीराशिवर्चसि विलेखनकेतिद्वयः । मो-
 29 यं करकुंभगतुलिकया विनिर्वं कात्ताकपोलमकरीकरणे स-
 30 कंयः ॥^{12*}॥ श्रीयश्वेमनृपतेर्जयिना करेण प्रत्यर्धेनां युधि
 31 बलादवरोपितानि ॥ (1) आरोपयत्युपमाचरणं तदीयं कोटो-
 32 रचाभरमितातपवारणानि ॥^{13*}॥ मोयं वा(भा)तुरनन्तरं निजमाहो-
 33 वा(भा)रं वचन् पैलकं राज्यश्रीमणीश्वरवरपति[*] श्रीयश्वे-

Third Plate, Second Side.

- 34 मप्रभुः [1^{*}] सामान् पूर्वमृपालकैश्च शुद्धया वा(भा)वा च विप्रार्णितान्
 35 मज्जानप्यनुपानयन्पि दिशन् जामतिं सोकोत्तरः ॥^{14*}॥ अथ प्रतियज्ञो-
 36 ह्वंशावज्जी ॥ आसीदंजुजसंभवान्ब्रह्ममुवां मण्डो वरेण्यस्य-
 37 तां विख्यातो चरिताह्वयो मुनिवर कर्ता क्षुतेर्वेदवित् । त-
 38 ङोत्वे परवादिजुंजरघटासिंहो नृसिंहोभवयस्यो-
 39 दाहरणं चरितमनघं वेदोक्तसत्कर्मणां ॥^{15*}॥ तथ्याकजो या-
 40 गविधानशाली बभूव भीमेश्वरसोमयाजी । यदीयहोमानल-
 41 धूमरेखा दिगंशनापञ्चकपर्णै(णै)पूराः ॥^{16*}॥ पुत्रस्तदीयः किल योनि-
 42 भङ्गो गुणी ततो जायत गुडयार्थः । तनूभवस्तस्य च पेदिविज्ञान्]

¹ Metre : Pāṇinīyāhiti.

² The inscription is written in the next line.

³ Metre : * Śāradāvatīśrīṣṭam.

⁴ Metre : Uṣṇīṣi.

⁵ Metre : Uṣṇīṣi.

⁶ Metre : Pāṇinīyāhiti.

⁷ Metre : Pāṇinīyāhiti.

⁸ Metre : * Śāradāvatīśrīṣṭam.

⁹ Metre : Śāradāvatīśrīṣṭam.

¹⁰ Metre : Uṣṇīṣi.

THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REDDIS:
B. PACHCHANITANDIPARRU GRANT OF ANNA-VEMA.

274A

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34 కౌట్యచక్ర గ్రామకృష్ణాక్షరమయః కృష్ణగురుమత్రాత్రాదవత్రాత్త్రాత్రా
 36 కృష్ణాక్షరమయః కృష్ణాక్షరమయః కృష్ణాక్షరమయః కృష్ణాక్షరమయః
 38 కృష్ణాక్షరమయః కృష్ణాక్షరమయః కృష్ణాక్షరమయః కృష్ణాక్షరమయః
 40 కృష్ణాక్షరమయః కృష్ణాక్షరమయః కృష్ణాక్షరమయః కృష్ణాక్షరమయః
 42 కృష్ణాక్షరమయః కృష్ణాక్షరమయః కృష్ణాక్షరమయః కృష్ణాక్షరమయః

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Fourth Plate, First Side.

- 43 देवचवुडामणिरेष आ(भा)ति ॥¹[174^{*}] याकान्दे रसरजवा(भा)स्करमिते ममे [नभ]
 44 खे तिवी रावायो धरणीसुतस्य दिवसे पुण्ये ययाज्यदे । प्रादा-
 45 स्वातमाय पेदिविदुषे शीयन्नवेमाधिपो धामं पञ्चनिताडि
 46 प^२मसमाटैखदंभोमान्ति ॥³[180^{*}] अथ धामस्य मीमाचिज्जानि ।
 47 ऊरि ईशान्यं वज्जंमिकुटमुंडि प्रदक्षिणमुमानु अमृतलू-
 48 रि पोल्मुसंधुन नाम्मेयदक्षिणं सागि वलुमुवुहल मी-
 49 दं बहुमळिचि दक्षिणमे मज्जंमुट मीचि चालुपुहल मी-
 50 द नाम्मेयदक्षिणमे तुळुमिडि पोल्मु मीचि पडुमळिचि
 51 पेहपुहमुंडि दक्षिणमे अमृतलूरि डोक दाटि जग्गिपुह

Fourth Plate, Second Side.

- 52 मीद नैरु(क्त)तिपच्चिममे जग्गिपुह मीद दक्षिणमे कोच्चपुह मीदं बहु-
 53 मळी जग्गिपुह मीचि दक्षिणमे उप्पिपुहल मीद मूलवण्णुपुह मीचि
 54 पडुमळी वीरवक्क उप्पिपुहल मीद नैरु(क्त)तिपच्चिममे दक्षिणमिचि पडुमळी सागि
 55 चोडु मीचि पुहल मीदं बहुमळी दक्षिणमिचि तुळुमिडिसोपळिति-
 56 पोल्मुसंधु चोडु मीचि आसंदि चालुपुहल मीद नैरु(क्त)तिपच्चिममे शीगं
 57 ट इट्ठिकावमु दक्षिणानंगानु पडुमळी तोक्कपोल्मु तूर्पण-
 58 हु उत्तरं सुहिन मडुल जग्गिपुह मीचि दक्षिणमे गारकुट तूर्पं
 59 गड मीचि पडुमळी कंदेपिपोल्मु मीचि आसंदितुत्तरमे अणु^४नज्जं-
 60 लु[गु]ळ मीद वायव्योत्तरमे कंदेपितेवपुहल मीद उत्तरपु जं-
 61 मिनंदि णाति मीद नवु^५पण्णु पडुमटंगानु कंभंपुह मी-
 62 दं बहुमळिचि उत्तरमे पालकोटि मीद मीतुकुरि आलपाटि मं

Fifth Plate, First Side.

- 63 वु पेह[नंदिकंभं मीचि आल]पाटि मंधु(वु)नदूयं पुह अणु^६गुंठ [मीद]
 64 दक्षिण[मिचि तूर्पं अणु^७गुंठल मीद गोचपुहल मीचि उत्तर]रमिचि
 65 तूर्पं जग्गिपुहल मीद नवु^८पण्णु मीचि उत्तरमे मूलपुहमुंडि तूर्पं जग्गि
 66 मीद मूलपुहमुंडि जटलवपाटि तूर्पं उत्तरं सागि जग्गि मीद मू-

¹ Metre : Upadrasavali² Metre : Sarsillastirajitana.³ The remainder is written in the next line.

- 67 लपुह मोचि जंसुल मीदंगा दृप्यं दक्षिणमिचि तृपुसागि नल्लज-
 68 ट तिष्य पेदपुहवोहि जन्धि मोचि उत्तरमे गारपुहल मीदंगा वल्लुडु-
 69 वुह मोचि तृप्यं अल्लुगंटल मीदंगा वेदपुडि आलपाटि संदु-
 70 चवुटगुंट पडुमट नेडगलगोनपुह मोचि जन्धि मीद दक्षिणं मागि जन्धि-
 71 पुह मोचि तृप्यं [पि]दपुडि आलपाटि संदु चौडु मोचि दक्षिणमिचि मोल-
 72 कुट तृपुसगुडि आलपुहल मीदं दृप्यं मागि वडुमिगुंट मी-
 73 चेनु ॥ एतेषां मन्त्रवर्तिर्मेतं ॥ स्वदत्तादि(हि)गुणं गुणं पददत्तानुपा-

Fifth Plate, Second Side.

- 74 लनं परदत्तापहसिण स्वदत्तं निष्कलं भक्ति ॥[1*19*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां
 75 वा यो जेतं वसुंध(ध)रां । पडि वपमसज्जाणि विठ्ठावा
 76 जायते क्रिभिः ॥[20*] एकैव भगिनी लोके सर्वेषामपि सुसुवां
 77 न बी(भो)म्बा न करपाद्या विपदता वसुंध(ध)रा ॥[1*21*] अश्वमेधनरे.²
 78 दृष्ट विद्वान् वालसरस्वती । शकरोदाकरो वाचा विद्यो[न].³
 79 धर्मशास्त्रं ॥[22*] मन्त्रजमहायो[ः*] यो यो
 80 योपल्लवविणोत्त [3*]

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TEXT.

- 1 ई दांकां वीथि भगुडि उत्तरपुमुखमे कडुगुलकर जहि वधि रेडवडिय
 2 दापुन मूडुळ सुजलनुडि देगमुडोळकु वधि कुनि पडमटिकि दिगि वंदु-
 3 ल्लुदापुन भगुडि उत्तरानकु वीथि देगमुकुंड तृपुन भगुडि तृपु-
 4 मुखमे कुनि पञ्चाक्षरपञ्चपु गेल तिरिगि दक्षिणानकु नडचि कुनि तन्मडि-
 कुंड दक्षि-
 5 लान वीरमि उत्तराभिमुखमे पोथि कुनि तृपुमुखमे नडचि गरुत येकि तृपु
 6 नडचि कुनि दक्षिणमुखमे कुनि तृपुमुखमे रेदुपडुव नडुमुवहि नडचि म-
 7 रुवुन भगुडि दक्षिणमुखमे वधि यथास्थानानं गूडुतु ॥ दाता कोमटिवेम-
 8 नाम नृपतिः पात्रं गुरु शंकरा स्नानं चैत्थिनपाडुरव तु जधिः श्रीनाथ-
 भटारकः ।
 9 कालखेच्छिवराविपुस्तमयः साची मणान् योगिनिः श्रेयः किं न तु वर्धते सुज-
 10 विभिः शुश्रूतु तच्छासनं ॥[1*] सर्वमाव्यक्तधर्मशासनं पालयंतु भुवि भाविपार्ति-
 11 वाः । अथहारपरिचयपादुने नास्ति नास्ति चि यमो अहीयतां ॥[20*] स्वदत्तादि(हि)गुणं

¹ Metre : Anushtubh.

² Metre : Śārdulakṣaṇīyam.

³ The sentence is written in the next line.

⁴ Metre : Rikṣitakṣaṇī.

THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REDDIS:
B. PACHCHANITANDIPARRU GRANT OF ANNA-VEMA.

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- 12 पुण्ये परदत्तानुपालनं । परदत्तापहारिण स्वदत्तं निष्फलं भवेत् ॥[30*] एकैव भ
 13 गिनो लोके सर्वधामिभ्यः भूमिभ्यो न भोज्या न करयाद्या विप्रदत्ता वसुंधरा ॥[40*] स्व-
 14 दत्ता परदत्ता वा यो हरिते वसुंधरा । यद्विर्वर्षमहसानि विहाया¹
 15 त्रायते किमि ॥[50*] एतद्वर्मानुयासने ॥ श्री ॥ श्रीवीरनारायणाय ॥[॥*]

No. 42.—THE FOURTH SLAB OF THE KUMBHALGARH INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MAHARANA KUMBHAKARNA OF MEWAR, VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 1517.

By R. R. HALDER, RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER.

This inscription found in a Vishnu temple, originally called Kumbhāvatī temple but now known as that of Māhārāja at Kumbhalgarh in Mewar territory, is engraved on one of the five big slabs likewise inscribed and placed by the Mahārāja Kumbhakarna in the said temple. Of these, the first, third, fourth and a small piece of the second slab have been discovered up to now and are now preserved in the Udaipur Museum. All are in a mutilated condition except the fourth, the text of which I edit from an ink-impression kindly placed at my disposal by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar H. Ojha of Ajmer, who has given a brief notice of it in the *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum*, Ajmer, for the year 1925-26.

Each one of the slabs contains the same date, which reads as below :—

"संवत् १५१७ वर्षे शके १३८२ प्रवर्त्तमाने मार्गशीर्षे वदि ५ सोमि प्रशस्तिः"

i.e., Monday, the 5th day of the dark half of Mārgaśīrṣa of the Sāmvat year 1517 and Śaka year 1382, which corresponds to 3rd November 1460 A.D.

The present slab contains ninety-one (180-270) verses written in fifty-one lines with a portion of a prose line at the end.

The character is Nāgarī of the 17th century A.D., common in Rājputāna during that period. The letters are on the average about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch and the space covered by the writing is about $3' 9'' \times 2' 1''$.

The language is Sanskrit and the composition is excellent with the exception of a few wrong grammatical formations, e.g., *cāvat* (l. 9); *advāntat* (l. 43).

As regards orthography, the following points may be noted :—*ś* is usually distinguished from *ṣ* except in a few places, e.g., in *śikṣāṣa* (l. 2), *śukṣāṣa* (l. 10), *śīvat* (l. 11), *Vaś-* (l. 16), *śikṣāṣa* (l. 18), *parīkṣāṣa* (l. 33) and *bhikṣāṣa* (l. 38), etc.; consonants are doubled with a superscript *r* as in *-riddhira* (l. 1), *-rappasava* (l. 2), *-riddhira* (l. 8), *arppāṣa* (l. 22), *durppas* (l. 49), etc.; *ś* is used for *ṣ* in *śāṣa* (l. 19). *Avanāṣa* is used for nasal, as in *bhāṣāṣa* (l. 2), *śāṣa* (l. 3), etc.; and at the end of stichs and hemistichs, as in *-riddhira* (l. 1), *-nāṣa* (l. 3), *-riddhira* (l. 10), etc. Visarga is omitted in *śāṣaṣaṣa*, *śāṣaṣaṣa* (l. 1), while it is redundant in *śāṣaṣa* (l. 42).

The inscription formed a *prastāva* of the Gahāla rulers of Mewar and the present slab continues their account from Lakṣmasiṁha down to the Mahārāja Kumbhakarna. The ninety verses found on the present slab are distributed as follows :—vv. 180-181 are devoted to Lakṣmasiṁha, vv. 182-184 to Arisūha, vv. 185-190 to Hammira, vv. 191-203 to Kāṣṭhasiṁha, vv. 204-213

¹ Not so: *Avanāṣa*.

² The *śāṣaṣa* is written in the next line.

to Lakshasēna; vv. 218-232 to Mōkala and vv. 233-270 to the *Mahārājā Kumbhakarna*. After this is found the date, which is partly effaced on this slab. The contents of these verses may be thus summarised. Verse 180 continues the account of *Lakshmasimha* from the previous slab and states that he died (in battle) with his seven sons. He is also said to have won a victory over the Mālava king *Gōgadāva* (v. 181). The next three verses are devoted to a description of the valour and benevolence of *Arisimha* who was born in *Lakshmasimha*'s family and contains nothing of historical importance. Vv. 185-187 describe in general terms the qualities of *Hamnira*. This king, who belonged to *Raghu*'s race and was known as *Vishamāditya* *Pañchōkasa*, conquered the fort of *Chālavāta* (v. 188). He was a pious, charitable and brave king and died leaving his son *Kahōtrasimha* as heir (vv. 189-190). The latter destroyed an army of the *Muhammadans* near *Chitrakōṭa* (*Chitor*) and imprisoned the brave king *Rapamalla* of *Gūjaramandala*, who had humbled the pride of the *Saka* (i.e., *Muhammadan*) king (vv. 191-193). He took *Dālavāta* and *Śodhyāpura* and his enemy fled towards the sea at his approach (vv. 194-195). The next verse says that the valiant *Rapamalla* who had asperessed *Dātara Khāna*, the lord of *Paitana*, and had killed many *Muhammadans*, could not even get a bed to sleep in the prison-house of *Kahōtrasimha*. He drank up the ocean in the form of *Arōṣa* (v. 197), conquered the rulers of *Hāḍavati*, brought their country under his sway and laid waste *Maṇḍalākara* (v. 198). The next verse says that the kings *Sādala* and others took fright at his approach and fled from their country. He struck terror in the mind of the *Muhammadan* ruler of *Mālava* and humbled his pride and also imprisoned the ruler of *Gujarāt* (vv. 199-201). The next verse repeats how he captured *Anṣa*. He was succeeded by his son the *Mahārājā Lakshasēna* (v. 204). This ruler liberated *Viśākhā* (viz. *Gayā*, *Prayāga* and *Kāśī*) from the *Sakas* (i.e., *Muhammadans*) and in addition to various other gifts distributed his weight in gold and built temples at *Gayā* (vv. 205-211). He conquered the hill *Vardhana*, burnt down his enemies and subjugated the *Mōḍas* (*Mora*) (v. 212). The next two verses inform us that he was a devotee of *Śiva* and made numerous land-grants. Verse 216 begins with the reign of the *Mahārājāśāhūrāja Mahārājā Mōkala*. He is said to have made *Brāhmanas* to give up husbandry and devote themselves to the study of the *Vēdas* (v. 217). He also distributed his weight in gold and liberated *Gayā* (vv. 218-219). He conquered the whole of *Sapāḍalākṣa* and made *Jālandhara* tremble with fear, while having taken *Sākambhārī*, he made *Delhi* a doubtful possession to its sovereign. He also defeated *Pirōja* and *Maharūmada* (v. 221). He was devoted to the god *Samādhibhāra* (*Śiva*) whose temple at *Chitor* he repaired and added a gateway to it. He built a reservoir of water with a bridge and two *śālas* (bathing ghats) called *Ripamōchana* and *Pāpamōchana*, respectively (v. 223). He set up a lion east of all metals as a vehicle of *Dēvī* and presented a gold *Garuḍa* to *Vishnu* (vv. 224-225). The next seven verses only give a poetic description of the power and majesty of this ruler. With verse 233 begins a description of the reign of his son the *Mahārājāśāhūrāja Rāgarājā Rāgarāja Mahārājā Kumbhakarnadāva*. In verse 235 his mother's name is given as *Saubhāgyadēvī*. He was devoted to the god *Ekālīga*, restored his ruined temple, adding a gold *daya* and *kāśā* to it, built a high *stūpa* and set up a beautiful flag having the emblem of the sun (vv. 239-241). He was *nīlōṣṭha* (fearless) in composing poems and *virbhāga* (undaunted) in battles, hence he was known as *nīlōṣṭha-virbhāga* (v. 242). He was a jewel of the family of the kings *Guhadatta*, *Khumāga*, *Sālivāhana*, *Ajaya* and others and adorned the throne of *Kahōtra*, *Lakṣa* and *Mōkala* (v. 243). He conquered *Yōginipura*, subdued the ruler of *Śodhyā* and destroyed his enemies at *Maṇḍōyara* (vv. 247-249). He also captured *Ragavira* after ravaging *Hamnirapura*, destroyed *Dhānyanagara*, conquered *Yāgapura* and the mount *Vardhamāna* and humbled the pride of the *Mōḍas* (vv. 250-254). According to the next two verses he seems to have resisted the ruler of *Mālava*. He also built tanks at *Jāyavardhana*. He took *Janakāchala*,

distressed Champavati, burnt the city of Vrindāvatī and caused trembling to the hill fort of Gargāṣṭha through traitors (vv. 257-259). He burnt Mallāraṇyapura, upheld (?) Śiśūhā-purī by scattering the enemies, desolated Ratnapura and imprisoned many kings (v. 260). He conquered Raṇastambha in Sapādalakṣha, devastated Āmrādātri, got the best of his quarrel with Kōṣarā and laid waste Hambāvadō (vv. 261-262). He took the fort of Maṇḍa-lakara, won with ease Hāḍāvati, fortified by numerous forts and made its rulers his feudatories and raised pillars of victory. Besides he conquered Gōpura, Shaṭpura, Vrindāvatī and Maṇḍaladurga, desolated Viśālanagara and attacked Giripura whose ruler Gaipāla fled in terror (vv. 263-267). He defeated Mahāhmada at Śararīgapura and brought as captives numerous women of the lord of Pārasika (vv. 268-269). The last verse states that he drank up the ocean in the form of the army of the Mālava king. Then follows the date which is, as already mentioned, partly damaged in this inscription.

As regards the personages mentioned in this inscription, Lakṣmasiṃha (v. 180) was the ruler of an estate called Śiśūḍā belonging to the Rāṇā (junior branch) of the Guhīla family of Mewār. He was killed along with his seven sons¹ while fighting against 'Alāu-d-dīn Khāṇī of Delhi in the siege of Chitor in A.D. 1303, during the reign of Rāwāl Ratnasimha of Mewār. His victory over the Mālava king Gōgadēva² mentioned in v. 181 is also corroborated by the Rāṇapura³ inscription. The battle which he seems to have fought with the Mālava king appears to have taken place during the reign of Ratnasimha's father Samarasimha.

Arisimha was killed in the battle of Chitor as said above. Only the youngest son of Lakṣmasimha, namely Ajayasimha survived to become the ruler of Śiśūḍā.

Hammira (v. 185) was the son⁴ of Arisimha and succeeded to the throne of Śiśūḍā after his uncle Ajayasimha. He was very brave and gradually made himself master of the throne of Chitor.⁵

Kahōstrasimha (v. 191) was the eldest son of Hammira. The Muhammadan army which he destroyed near Chitor (v. 192) was that of Amīl Shāh, as appears from verses 197, 200 and 202.

The brave Rāṇamalla, who had humbled the Muhammadan king and killed many Muhammadans (vv. 193 and 196), was the ruler of Idar and was the son of Jantkarag, who was defeated by the Mahārāṣṭra Hammira.⁶ Datar Khān, the ruler of Pattan (v. 196), was probably Zafar Khān (II), the governor of Gujaraṭ. He was a descendant of a converted Rājput and fought twice with Rāo Rāṇamalla of Idar.⁷ He afterwards assumed the name of Muzaffar Shāh, after making himself independent of the king of Delhi.⁸

Amīl Sāha (vv. 197 and 202) was evidently the Sulṭān Dīlāvar Khān Ghurī of Mālwa,⁹ whose defeat by Kahōstrasimha is mentioned in verses 197, 201 and 202.¹⁰ The ruler Sādai and others referred to in v. 199 cannot be identified with certainty. Sādai, however, appears to be the ruler Sādai of Tōḍī in Jaipur state.

¹ As appears from v. 180 of this record.

² He is called Kōkē and was defeated by 'Alāu-dīn's chieftain in A.D. 1304 (Briège's *Fortified*, Vol. I, p. 201.)

³ *Epigraphia Indica*, p. 114. Also *Ann. Rep. Arch. Sur. of India*, 1907-08, p. 216.

⁴ [The present inscription does not mention this relationship. It is found only in later poems. See *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 628—Ed.]

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. 33, p. 11.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. I, pt. 1, pp. 232-33.

⁸ *Duff's Chronology*, p. 234.

⁹ *Memoirs of Jehangir* by Alexander Rodger, Vol. I, p. 407, Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 552.

¹⁰ See also *Blair. Jan.*, p. 119, verse 79, and *Rajputana Museum Report*, 1924-25, p. 2.

Mahārājā Lakṣmaṇa (v. 304) was the son of **Kaśṭrasaikhā**. He was extremely charitable and liberated Gayā from the taxes of the Muhammadans by paying them off in gold, as he also known from another inscription.¹

Mōkala (v. 216) was a son and successor of the **Mahārājā Lakṣmaṇa**. He carried his victorious arms far and wide as appears from verses 221, 231, etc.

Pirōja or **Firoz** (v. 221) was the ruler of Nagaur and was the son of **Shams Khān**, brother of the sultān **Muzaffar Shāh** (originally **Zafar Khān** referred to in verse 186 of this inscription) of Gujarāt. His defeat by **Mōkala** is also mentioned in other inscriptions.²

Mahammad (v. 221) cannot be identified definitely. Perhaps he stands for **Ahmad** (**Ahmad Shāh**) of Gujarāt, who was the grandson³ of **Muzaffar Shāh**, I, and was contemporary with the **Mahārājā Mōkala**.⁴

Kumbhakarna (v. 233) popularly known as **Kumbhā** was the eldest son of **Mōkala** and succeeded his father to the throne of Chitor in V. S. 1490 (A.D. 1433).

Guhadatta, **Sālvāhana**, **Khumāna** and others referred to in v. 345 were the early predecessors of **Kumbhakarna**. **Guhadatta** was the founder of the Guhila dynasty of Mewār. **Ajaya** or **Ajayaśekhā** evidently belonged to the Śeṣṭhā branch and was the brother of **Ariabhāṣa** referred to in v. 182.

The lord of the **Pāraikās** referred to v. 268 was Sultān **Mahmūd Khālji** I, of Mālwa, who was defeated by the **Mahārājā Kumbhā** at Dēraḡpur—a fact also mentioned in the Rāḡapur inscription. **Mahārājā Kumbhā** had to undergo a series of engagements⁵ with the result that he completely broke the power of the Mālwa king, as is evident from v. 278 of this record.

Gayapāla (**Gaiḥā** or **Gōpāla**) of v. 267 was the ruler of Dugarpur State.

As to the places mentioned in the inscription, **Chēlavāṭa** (v. 188) is now called Jilwār in Mewār. **Dēlavāṭa** (v. 194) from Sans. **Dēvalapātaka** is the modern town of Dēlvār about 15 miles from Udaipur. **Hāḡavāṭi** (v. 198) is the territory now called Hāḡauri, which at one time comprised the whole of the present **Koṡāh** and **Bōndi** States. It is under the **Hāḡā**, a branch of the **Chauhāna** descended from the **Chauhāna** of Nāḡōi in Mārwār.⁶ **Maṇḍalakara** (v. 198) now called Māṇḍalgarh, is a fort in the Udaipur State. The conquest of this place by **Kaśṭrasaikhā** is also mentioned in the **Śrīrāji Rāji** inscription.⁷ **Vardhana** (v. 212) or **Vardhamāna** is now called Bairor, a town in Mewār.

Jālandhara (v. 221) really a district or town in the Panjāb is probably meant here for Jālor (**Jāvalpur**) in Mārwār. **Sapāḡalāḡa** (v. 221) was the name of the territory that was under the **Chauhāna**. It roughly included parts of the modern **Jodhpur**, **Jaipur**, **Koṡāh**, **Bōndi** and **Kishan-garh** states and the eastern part of Mewār including **Māṇḍalgarh**. **Śākambharī** (v. 221) once the capital of the early **Chauhāna** is now called Sāmbar.

The temple of **Samādhiśvara** (v. 222) is now called Advadji or Mōkalji's temple. It was originally built by the **Paramāra** king **Bhōja** of Mālwa when he resided at Chitor and was called **Tribhuvanāśraya**⁸ after his surname 'Tribhuvanāśraya'. It was also known as **Bhōjajyōtiśśraya**.⁹

¹ *Blau. Ins.*, p. 119, verse 28.

² *Blau. Ins.*, p. 120, verse 44.

³ Tod's supposition that he was the grandson of **Firoz Tughlak** of Delhi is wrong. (Tod's *Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 231).

⁴ [Probably the reference here is to **Mahammad Tughlak**. See *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 627 ff.—Ed.]

⁵ See *Briggs' Forts*, Vol. IV, pp. 308-34.

⁶ *J.A.S.B. (New Series)*, Vol. XXVII, p. 100.

⁷ *Rajasthan Museum Report*, 1924-25, p. 3.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1920-21, p. 4.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Yōginipura (v. 247) is the town of Jāvar in Mewār. Maṇḍōvara (v. 249) is the ruined town of Maṇḍar in Jodhpur State. Yāgapura (v. 253) is the town of Jahāpur in Udaipur State. Vṛindāvatī (v. 254) is now the town of Būndī in Rājputāna. Gargardāṭa (v. 259) is the town of Gāgram in Kōṣāh State. Sindhapurī (v. 260) is the town Sihar in Central India. Rāṇastambha (v. 261) is the fortress of Ranthambhor in Jaipur State. Amradādri (v. 262) is Amber, the old capital of the Jaipur State. Bāmbavādī or Bāmbōdā (v. 263) lies in the eastern part of Mewār. Shatpura (v. 264) is the town of Shatapkar in Būndī State. Viśālanagara (v. 265) is called Visalanagar in Gujarāt. Giripura (v. 266) is the town of Durgarpur in Rājputāna. Śārāṅgapura (v. 268) is an ancient town in Central India. Kōṭarā is modern Kotā, now a military station in Mewār. I am unable to identify the other localities mentioned in the inscription.

TEXT.

[Metres : vv. 180, 182, 192, 193, 197, 201, 205, 209, 216, 217, 218, 219, 221, 229, 233, 241, 260, 263, 264 and 270, *Śiśūpālakṛīḍā* ; vv. 181 and 230, *Śiṅharāṭ* ; vv. 182, 191, 204, 214 and 234, *Upendraśayā* ; vv. 183 and 244 *Āryā* ; v. 184, *Harapī* ; vv. 185, 190, 194, 198, 203, 207, 220, 222, 235, 240, 248, 250, 267, 269, *Upajāti* ; v. 187, *Paṇḍita* ; vv. 188 and 243 *Māhāt* ; vv. 189, 206 and 213, *Indrasayā* ; vv. 195, 239, 245, 246, 254, 259 and 265, *Paṇḍitakṛīḍā* ; vv. 196, 199, 200, 223, 231, 237, 238 and 252, *Śrāgdhārā* ; vv. 202 and 255, *Bhujangaprayāṇā* ; v. 208, *Paṇḍita* ; vv. 211 and 215, *Racharā* ; vv. 223, 224, 225, 247, 262, *Rathādhanā* ; vv. 226 and 237, *Dantavilambha* ; vv. 216, 236 and 257, *Prithvī* ; vv. 242, 249, 253, 261 and 266, *Amradādri* ; vv. 256 and 258, *Vijayā* ; vv. 212, 232, 264 and 269, *Śiṅharāṭ*.]

- 1 अक्षिभिः किमु सप्तभिः परिहृतः समाचिरवांगतः किवा सप्तभिरिव सप्तिभिरि
[चावाका]सप्तभिर्दिव ॥(1) इत्थं सप्तभिरन्वितः सुतवरेष्ठैः*] ग्रन्थपूतैः*]
सह प्राप्ते बुद्धिभूतपुर्वकृपतेः श्रीलक्ष्मिदेव रूपे ॥ १८०[॥*] अस्मिन्प्यारातेर्भ-
मरतिनक्षत्रं(क) श्रीपक्षमले स राहु [गो]गादेवो-
- 2 पि हि समधिभूमानवभुवः ॥(1) विजिग्ये वैनाजौ निजभुजभुजगौर्जगरलप्रसारात्
सिंहान्तः समभवदसौ लक्ष्म्यरूपतिः ॥ १८१[॥*] इति महाराणाश्रीलप(ख)भमोवर्णनं
॥ ॥ अथ अस्मिन्वर्णनं ॥ अभून्वृत्तिप्रतिमोविस्मिहस्तदन्वये
भक्ष्यपरंपराया ॥(1) वि(वि)मिद यो वैरिगजेद्रकुंभस्थलो-
- 3 मनुनां नखखड्गवातैः ॥ १८२[॥*] पीतवैरिखड्गिहपुलांगादुवतायदसिंहप्रभुजंगात् ॥(1)
अद्वृतं समभवत्कलाशामंडनं नवयशस्तुहिनाभं ॥ १८३[॥*] शशिधवलया
कीर्णतीव प्रतापदिवाकरद्युतिमिलितया मन्ये प्रत्याययच्चिव भासते ॥(1)
रजतनिचयं दास्ये चंचलप्रहारजतं तथा
- 4 त्वज्जतु विपुलां चित्ते चित्तां धनीपक्षमंडली ॥ १८४ [॥*] इति अस्मिन्व-
वर्णनं ॥ ॥ अथ महाराणाश्रीहमोवर्णनं ॥ हवीरवीरो रणरंगधीरो
वाचाधुरीतर्जितकेजिकीरः ॥(1) धराधवाक्षंकरनैजहीरस्तदनी भूषितसिंधुतीरः
॥ १८५[॥*] मन्येभुजगौरीगौः समभवत्कल्पद्रुमः कल्प-

- 5 नातोतो रोहणपर्वतोपि सुचिया मो मामसं रोहति ॥ (1) चिंतामसापि जने
जं(ज)काचजडता धर्मधिका भूधये दानयोश्चतवारुपाणिचमले कर्मादियः
के पुनः ॥ १८६[॥*] यदपितैरर्पितस्तुरंगमैरनर्थांशमदकारकुण्डलैः ॥ (1) अर्नकुतः
कल्पतरो कृताचयं सुराधिराजं इमलीव
- 6 वैमवात् ॥ १८७[॥*] कटकतुरंगहेपाविश्रुते स्व(स्व)कथये जवति च रघुभूषे
कादिशीके पलाशे(स्व) ॥ (1) चहृष्ट विषमधाटीपौठपंचालनीसावरिपुग्म
[मिर्दुर्गे] चेलवाटं विजिग्ये ॥ १८८[॥*] ईश्वराशर्पे दाने वीरवीजरणे
रणे ॥ (1) कदाचिद्वैव विद्यातः करो वृक्षीरभूपतेः ॥ १८९[॥*] स चिचमिहे
तन-
- 7 ये निषाय तेजः स्वकीयं चिटिवं जगाम ॥ (1) यज्ञो यथाहोस्तमयं हि
भावो महात्मनामच तिस्रोसिंहः ॥ १९०[॥*] इति महाराणाथोहमीरवर्णनं ॥
॥ यय महाराणाथोहचसिंहवर्णनं ॥ ततोभिभूमीशमहेमसिंहः स्वनादविचा-
सितमचसिंहः ॥ (1) संभावनामोदितमव्यसिंहः प्रगाम
- 8 भूमिं किञ्च चिचमिह ॥ १९१[॥*] धेनातर्मलभक्तदीर्घादया चीचिचकुटांतिके
तनकैतिकघोरघोरनिनदप्रध्वस्तधैर्योदया ॥ (1) मन्वे यावनवाहिनी निजपरि-
चाणस्य हेतोरनं भुनिचपनिषेण भोपरयमा यातालमूलं यद्यो ॥ १९२[॥*]
संधामाजिरसीधि शौर्यविजमहोहोहोहोहो-
- 9 सहापरीव्रतवाण्डट्टिमितागतिप्रतापानलः ॥ (1) वीरवीरणमज्जमुर्जितशकक्षापाल-
मर्वांतलं भू(भू)र्जहू(हु)र्जर्महलेग्नरमसौ कारागृहेवीजसत् ॥ १९३ अर्थो
न नूनं महदुद्यमो यदित्यं वचस्तत्त्वफलं करिष्युः ॥ (1) शोधां पुरीमातल-
मूलधारं स्वं देलवाटं पुरमानिनाय ॥ १९४ ॥
- 10 वीरस्य यय भमरेधि करं हपाणीमुलंशुक्रामग्निमिटानिलवहवणां ॥ (1) दृष्ट्वा
सुजंगयुवतीमिव वैरिवर्णाचासाक्षमुदमपि गोः पदतामनैषुः ॥ १९५[॥*]
माशब्दाद्यन्महेमप्रखरकरहतिचित्तराजन्वयुधो यं पा(सा)मः यत्तनेशो दफर
इति समाभास्य कुंठीव(व)भूव ॥ सोयं मज्ञो रणादिः
- 11 शककुलवनितादत्तवैधव्यदीक्षः कारागारं यदीधे नृपतिशतयुते संस्तरं नापि
जेमे ॥ १९६[॥*] शयश्चंचलवाजिवीचितरत्नं सच्छक्तिम्याकुलं माद्यत्कंधिसपच-
खेलदचलं सत्पत्तिमीलज्जलं ॥ (1) रथापाहचलाचलं स्फुरदमीसाहादुमाद्योज्ज्वलं
यो शेषादपिध(व)त् शकार्णवमम-
- 12 ह्यं तं समूहेषिलं ॥ १९७[॥*] हाडावटीदेमपतीन् स जित्वा तर्थाडनं
चाकवमीचकार ॥ (1) तदच चिचं खलु यत्करांतं तदेव तेषामिह शो-
वभंज ॥ १९८[॥*] यात्रीतुंगतुरंगचंचलसुरावातोच्छि(च्छि)तै रंशुभिः मेहे

यस्य न लुप्तमिषटलव्याजाप्रतापं रतिः ॥(1) तच्चिं किमु सादलादि-
कनृपा यथाकृता*स्तत्रसु-

13 स्वज्ञा स्नानि पुराणि कस्तु वलिनां सूक्ष्मी सुर्वा पुरः ॥ १८८ शस्त्राशक्ति-
ताजिलपटभटवातीच्छलच्छेपितच्छत्रप्रोद्धतपांशुपुंजविमरप्रादुर्भवत्कर्मः ॥(1) वस्तुः
मामि जतो रणे शकपतिर्वस्त्रात्तया मालवच्छापोद्यापि यथा भयेन चकितः
स्वप्रेषि तं पश्यति ॥ २०० ॥*॥ वारंवारम्-

14 नेकवारणघटासंघट्टविशामितानेकस्मापतिवीरमालवप्रकाशीकर्मवांतकः ॥(1) संया-
माजिरसंगतरिनगरीलुंटाकवाहुर्दृपः ॥¹ कारागारनिवासिनो श्वचर(रच)यत् यो
यु(यु)ज्ज्वरान् भूमिपान् ॥ २०१ ॥*॥ अमीसाक्षिरयाहि येनाहिनेच(व) स्फुरद्वेक-
एकांगवीरव्रतेन ॥(1) जगचा(चा)णक्यस्य पा

15 यौ कृपाणः पमिदोभवद्रूपतिः वे(खे)तराणः ॥ २०२ ॥*॥ गुरोः प्रसादादधिगम्य
विद्यामष्टांगयोगस्त्रिरचित्तवृत्तिः ॥(1) वज्रैकतानः परमात्मभूयं जगाम संसार-
निवृत्तवृ(वृ)त्तिः ॥ २०३ इति महाराणाश्रीलेचसिंहवर्णनं ॥ ॥ अथ
महाराणाश्रीलक्ष्मणवर्णनं ॥ सहस्रनेवादिव वैजयंती म-

16 हासमुद्रादिव सी(शी)तराणि ॥(1) मुनेः पुनस्त्यादिव वित्तनाथो वभूव
तस्मादिह लक्ष्मणः ॥ २०४ वज्रैः किमयं न सोम्यवशगः किं
धर्मसूनांतुजः स्फोटः सोमयं व(व)लिखिपदिकामाचप्रदः किं न सः ॥(1)
इत्यं तुल्यसुवर्णदानसमये यः पारिशेष्यान्वितो विद्वद्भिः स्वभुजार्जिताधि-

17 कधनः चीनच¹सिंहो नृपः ॥ २०५ ॥*॥ जंबूद्वयः किं परिलोच्य रात्रानोतः
समेरुर्नु समाजतो वा ॥(1) इत्युद्धरे तुल्यसुवर्णराशिमुच्चैरवेच्छास्य वनीप-
कौवाः ॥ २०६ ॥ कीनाशपाशान् सकलानपास्त्य यविस्वलीमोचनतः शक्तिभ्यः
॥(1) भु(तु)लादिदानातिभर(रो) व्यतारोज्ज्वलाश्चभूपो निवृत्तप्रतीपः ॥ २०७ ॥*॥

18 रविरिव नलिनी निशातुषारात् विधुरिव यामवती मञ्जांधकारा[त्] ॥(1)
पवन इव घनाववाकैर्भासं यवनकराच्च गयाममोचयद्यः ॥ २०८ ॥*॥ संलोपादिव
विप्रवृत्तिमचलां दास्यादिव ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणीं गां पंकादिव मोचयन् खलु गयां
व(व)धाश्चहीवज्रभः ॥(1) चागोपालकभूमिपालसमस्तजज्ञेस्त्रिलान् याचकान् द-

19 त्वा मुक्तिमहासूतं पिलगणानानंदयन्नापरं ॥ २०९ ॥*॥ न कांचनतुलामसौ
व(व)द्विधाय मंदादरो न कांचन तुलां परैः सममवामुमैच्छत् कचित् ॥(1)
गयामपि विमोच्य तां तुरगयानहेमादिभिश्चकार पृथिवीश्वरः किमु गयां
स्वकीर्तिं पुनः ॥ २१० ॥*॥ अमोचययवनकराद्रयामयं तुला अथादमि-

¹ *Supra unnecessary.*

² *is written on the margin.*

- 20 तपराक्रमोमिताः ॥ (1) अपूजयन्तकभरैर्महीमुरानकारयन्तुगनिलयान्महीमतान् ॥
 २११ [॥*] मदानाराडजसादुजसतडेरीधोरध्वानविध्वस्तधैर्यान् ॥ (1) कारंकारं योषती-
 द्यतेजा दधारातिर्वहेनाखं गिरीदं ॥ २१२ [॥*] इयंस्व(च)वज्रचनरेखरस्य
 इति[ः*]पडति(त्तिः) स्वमुजाजितैव ॥ (1) ये भुजते चान्धवसोप-
 21 पक्षं यासं नृगला इव भूमिपालाः ॥ २१३ [॥*] यदप्यितैरविगम्यो मत्तद्विर्पासैर-
 न्तेरभजवृषत्व[म्*] ॥ (1) तदंजितैः शासनपथपूगैरभारतं मुक्ताकवानिवासीत् ॥
 २१४ [॥*] विमोचितान् बहुविधधोरमंस्तैर्विलोकितुं जननिचयानिवागमत् ॥ (1)
 शिवांतिकं शिवपरितः(तः) शिवाधवकमांजुजां चनपरिहीण-
 22 कस्य(स्व)प ॥ २१५ [॥*] इति महाराणाधीनचमेगवर्णनं ॥ ॥ अथ
 महाराजाधिराजमहाराणाधीनगोकमोकलेद्वर्णनं ॥ अणोधिरेव पारिजातक-
 तबर्चड्युतेदं(ड)भुवदस्यवसुपर्वणामधिपतेरानीज्यते यथा ॥ (1) ईशस्देव
 यजाननो ग्युपतेवैष्टु कुमो भूपतेरस्यासीदतुलप्रतापतपनः
 23 श्रीमोकलेद्रोगतः ॥ २१६ [॥*] यो विग्राम(न)मितान् इति कलयतः कार्येन
 इत्तेरत्वं वेदं सांगमपाठयत् अलिगलधस्तो धरिषीतले ॥ (1) दैत्यामीन
 इथापर श्रुतवतामानंदकंदः कलाकौशलप्रततीनवीनजलदो भूमंडलायंडलः ॥
 २१७ [॥*] इष्टेन रचयंतमभूततुलाहेमः सदा संपतद्यागाज्या-
 24 इतितर्पितो व्यचरयत् मन्वे तुचोपायनं ॥ (1) तत्पूखं जनकाचनं करमहारज्जु
 च चेलोपमी सूर्योचंद्रममो जिमादिमकराहंडं सुरग्रामणीः ॥ २१८ [॥*] पतम्भुक्त-
 मयाविमुक्तपिठभिः प्रोन्नंखमानां इठाइडा संयमिनीं लिखत्वनुगवादित्थं तु
 भूमिं यमः ॥ (1) किं सामर्थ्यमपोचितं खलु कलेयानाः ॥
 25 कामादयो दुर्गं याति न कोधिकारधिरतो वज्रधिकां कालतो ॥ २१९ [॥*]
 मला किमेलः किमु मन्मथो वा किमाश्विर्नयदितयादिहेकः ॥ (1) कलंक-
 सुक्तः किमु यामिनीशस्वित्यजनो यच्च वितर्कमेति ॥ २२० [॥*] चालोद्याय
 मपाइलचमशिलं जालंधरान् जंघयन् दिक्षीं शंजितनायको व्यचर(रच)यसादाय
 शाकंभरी ॥ (1)
 26 पीगेजं समहंमहंमदं शरग्रतैरापात्य यः(ः*) प्रोन्नमन्(त्)कुंतव्रातनिपातदीर्घ-
 इदवांस्तस्यावधोइतिनः ॥ २२१ [॥*] लृपः सुमाधीनरमिदतेजाः समाधिमाजं
 परमं रक्ष्यं ॥ (1) आराध्य तस्यालयमुहधार योचिचकूटे भगितोरवांजं ॥
 २२२ [॥*] तीर्थमच कृष्णमोचनं महत्पापमोचनमपि लितीन्नरः ॥ (1) चक-

* Read: पुनानापरिहीण-

* Read: व्यचरयन्.

† These two syllables are redundant.

- 27 कुंडमपि सितुमंडनं मंडनं विजयतामपि व्यधात् ॥ २२३ [॥*] यः सुधागुमुकुट-
प्रियांगणे वाहनं स्वगपतिं मनोरमं ॥(१) निर्मितं सवालघातुभक्तिभिः
पीठरक्षणविधाविव व्यधात् ॥ २२४ [॥*] पक्षिराजमपि चक्रपाणये हेमनिर्मित-
ममौ दधौ रूपः ॥(१) येन नीलजनटच्छविर्बिभृश्वचलायुत इवाधिकं
वभौ ॥ २
- 28 २५ [॥*] जगति विद्युतिमाप स मोकलः प्रतिभटचितिपैरसमोकलः ॥(१) रविसुरा-
धिपशेषममोकलं नाः प्रतिनिधिर्भुवनेपि स मोकलः ॥ २२६ [॥*] स नृवरो नृवरो-
चितवेषधत्तु ॥(१) पव* नसत्पवनोदितवैभवः ॥(१) अवनतोवनतोपि महत्तरः(२)
सकलमोकलमोकलमोकलः ॥ २२७ [॥*] दंडः छत्रेषु भीतोवडितविडित-
- 29 तो वधनं सारणीषु प्रायः सारीषु हिंसा रतिततिषु कटाक्षागुलीतर्जनाद्यं ॥(१)
भेदः कोशेकुञ्जानां हतिरपिमनसचारुगर्हेषु निव्यं दध्निन् शासत्वनर्वभवदिह
धमुधाराजिराजन्वतीत्यं ॥ २२८ [॥*] व्यसौराजनं दिन(मं) दिनमधिपनैर्दधीद्यादि-
भिर्हतिरैभिर्लङ्कतानुकृतिकव्यापारपारंगमैः ॥(१)
- 30 सत्वेतीव निराकृतोद्य वसुधानाद्योरुदानक्रमः श्रीमानव समस्तदाननिलयं
ब्र(ब्र)ह्मांडदान(मं) व्यधात् ॥ २२९ [॥*] अमुष्मादुद्धृतः सततमनुभूतार्थनिगमः
समः प्रौढलोपीपरिवृढदृढोद्भादहतिषु ॥(१) चरित्रेण स्त्रीया(या)न्ययमति-
पवित्रेण कलयन् कलौ धर्मा(धर्मा)धारे गुरुगर्मभूर्मोकलविभुः ॥ २३० [॥*] चं-
- 31 माः संघामभंगाः स्मृतवनविटपाः कामरूपा विरूपा पंगु गंगैकसंगा गतवि-
रुदमदा जातसादा निषादाः ॥ चीनाः संघामदीनाः खलदसिधनुषी
भीतिशृङ्गास्तुरकाः(तुरकाः) भूमीष्टे गरिष्ठे स्फुरति महिमनि क्षापतमो-
कलस्य ॥ २३१ [॥*] तापं तापं बाहुशौर्याग्निनासौ क्षिपं क्षिपं वैरिरतो-
दक्षौषे ॥(१) नायं नायं दा-
- 32 र्द्धमिवं कृपाणी भेदं भेदं भानुधिवं विवेज ॥ २३२ [॥*] इति महाराजाधिराज-
महाराणाधीश्वरकमोक्षलेट्टवर्णनं ॥ ॥ अथ महाराजाधिराजरायराया-
राणिरायमहाराणादीकुंभकर्णवर्णनं ॥ मूलं धर्मतरोः फलं श्रुतवतां
पुण्यस्य गेहं श्रियामाधारः सुगुणोत्तरस्य जनिभूः सत्यस्य धामीजसः ॥(१)
धैर्यस्याः-

* "प्रतिभटचितिपैरसमोकलः" = प्रतिभटचितिपैः अकल, अकलः, (कल) म. नाकि कला खरी कल
अकल इत्यर्थः ।

* "रविसुराधिपशेषममोकलं" = रविसुराधिपशेषमः अकलः ; २२५ अ. विदुः तस्य कला दध्निन् इति
विश्वरूपेण व्यापार इत्यर्थः ।

* "नृवरो नृवरोचितवेषधत्तु" = नृवः, नृवि नावि आददाति । मधु उव मदी तदीः कला
अथ दध्निन् अ नापी मोकलवति । (म. विदुः and उ. शिवः)

- 33 पि पराव(व)धिः प्रतिनिधिः कल्पदुमस्त्राखिलां वीरस्तत्तनयः प्रशस्तिं जगतो(र्त्त) श्रीकुंभकर्णो नृपः ॥ २३३ ॥*॥ समस्तदिग्दललक्ष्यवर्णः स्फुरत्तापाधरिता-
र्द्धवर्णः ॥(१) स्वदानभूषा जितभोजवर्णस्ततो मही रजति कुंभकर्णः ॥
२३४ ॥*॥ उपास्य जन्मचितये गजास्य कनीयसो मातरमेकयज्ञे ॥(१) श्रीकुंभ-
कर्णोयम्-
- 34 लंभि माध्या सौभाग्यदेव्या तनयस्त्रिगुणिः ॥ २३५ ॥*॥ पतः चित्तिमुजां
भर्णिजकुलस्य चुडामणिः प्रसिद्गुणभेभ्रमो जगति कुंभनामा नृपः ॥(१)
प्रवीरमदभंजनः प्रमुदितः प्रभारंजनादजायत निजायतेक्षणजितेन्द्रिरामंदिरः ॥
२३६ ॥*॥ वेदानुवृत्त्य पचाद्वयमपि भुजयोस्तां विभर्ति चिषोति चुडान् वडा
- 35 बलिहिङ्गुलमहिततरचक्षुष्माद्य हत्वा ॥(१) रत्नोदपारिभूर्जीभरदृपप्रमनः सुचमी
स्नेहवातो जीयात् श्रीकुंभकर्णो दयविधक्तिकृत् श्रीपतिः कोपि मध्यः ॥
२३७ ॥*॥ सच्छीयानंदकत्वात् चिभुवनरमणीचित्तमंभोजकत्वात्तावणावासभूत्वादपुर-
मस्तया कुंभकर्णो भर्हीदः ॥(१) कामं कामोस्तु मोक्षीकुरुत इह परं
- 36 श्रीजनं जेतुकामः संपाप्तेन साक्षात्क्रियत इति नवं श्रीजनोश्रीजनोपि ॥
२३८ ॥*॥ वि(वि)भ्राजते मज्जलभूवलयेकवीरः श्रीमंदपाटवसुधोदरगैकधीरः ॥(१)
शस्यैकलिंगनिजमेवक इत्युदाग कीर्त्तिप्रशस्तिरचनां सुरभीकरोति ॥ २३९ ॥*॥
एकलिंगमिलयं च खंडितं प्रोचतोरणलसम्पन्नचक्रं ॥(१) भानुविंद-
- 37 मिलितोच्चपताकं मुंदरं पुनरकारयं नृ(यक्ष)पः ॥ २४० ॥*॥ मा भूत्तुभ्यदतुच्छ-
दुग्धजलधिस्रच्छोच्छलदीचिरुत्तन्न(वः)शक्तुतपूर्वपूरुषयशस्तत्तुच[द*]वृत्ति-
मत् ॥(१) इत्थं चारु विचार्य कुंभनृपतिस्तानिकलिंगं व्याधात् रम्यान् मंडपहैमदंड-
कलशांशैलोक्यभोभातिगान् ॥ २४१ ॥*॥ निःशंकः काव्यसंदर्भे रणारंभे च निर्भे-
- 38 यः ॥(१) वि(वि)ख्यातः कुंभकर्णोयमिति निःशंकनिर्भयः ॥ २४२ ॥*॥ व्रजति
विजययाचां यच्च विजयशची हयचुरय(स्त्र)रवातोत्खातधूलीनिलीनं ॥(१)
गगनतलमशेषं वीज(स्त्र)संजातमोहो नयति रविरक्षाणान् सारथिः साहसि-
क्यात् ॥ २४३ ॥ श्रीचिचकूटविभुरयमुच्यततरवाग्निशितारतिः ॥(१) गिरिजा-
चरणसरीरुचरो-
- 39 लंबः कुंभनृपतिर्जयति ॥ २४४ ॥*॥ विख्यात(कीर्त्तिगु*)वदत्तसुमाणशान्तिवाहाजय-
प्रभृतिभपतिर्वंशरत्नं ॥(१) श्रीवेचलचनृपमोकलभमिपालसिंहासनं सफलयत्नव

- कुम्भकर्णः ॥ २४५ ॥*] या नारदीयनगरावनिनायकस्य नायां निरंतरमचोकरद्व-
दास्य ॥(१) तां कुम्भकर्णद्वयतेरिह कः सहेत वाणावलीमम-
- 40 संगरसंचरिणोः ॥ २४६ ॥*] योगिनीपुरमजेयमप्यमौ योगिनीचरणांकरो नृपः ॥(१)
कुंतलाकलितवैरिसुंदरीविभ्रमैरमितविक्रमोपजीत् ॥ २४७ ॥*] चरिदमः स्वाङ्घ्रिसरो-
जलमनं विगोध्य गोध्याधिपतिप्रतीपं ॥(१) अस्तुदं कंटकमिहतेजा भंजाचि-
पद्ममितसेसशिखा ॥ २४८ ॥*] येन वैरिकुलं हत्वा
- 41 मंडोवरपुरगृहे ॥(१) घनायि शान्ति(ति) रोपा[मि]र्नागरीनयनोवुभिः ॥ २४९ ॥*]
विष्टञ्च हृषीरपुरं गरीश्वरैर्निर्यञ्च तस्मिन् रणवीरविक्रमं ॥(१) पर्यचष्टीर्द-
नु(वु)जमंजुलोचना मंडोमहदो नरपालकन्यकाः ॥ २५० ॥*] नानादिभ्यो(ग्भ्यो)
राजकन्याः समेत्य घोषीपालं कुम्भकर्णं श्रयति ॥(१) सत्वं रत्नं जायते
मागरादौ
- 42 युक्तं विष्णोर्वच एवास्य धामः(म) ॥ २५१ ॥*] आत्ताः काखिबटेन प्रतिनृपति-
भटान् दंडयित्वा च काचित् काखिट्टाजन्मवर्षेनगजतुरगैः सार्द्धमानीय
दत्ताः ॥(१) अन्धाः मोडाविधाटीवलकतहरणाः प्रत्यर्ह राजकन्या नव्या
नव्या महीभृकुविधि परिणयत्वेप कामो नवीनः ॥ २५२ ॥*] स ध १
धान्यनग-
- 43 रमामूलादुदमूलयत् ॥(१) पुरारिविक्रमो यागपुरं पुरमिवाजयत् ॥ २५३ ॥*]
ज्वालावलीवलयिता व्यतनोद्यवाली मञ्जीरवीरमुदवीवहदे'ष नीरं ॥(१) यो
वर्तमानगिरिमातु(श) विजित्य तस्मिन्नेदानम(म)दमदववविधीनधात्रीन्(त्) ॥
२५४ ॥*] ज्वाली दवालीशिखावच्छिखालीममालीठभालीकरालीप्रताली ॥(१) ग-
- 44 श्रीशंभुकारं जगदायस्य संख्येचिपरवेप्यमन्यैर्नयद्रूपदीपैः ॥ २५५ ॥*] जनकाचलमुख-
शेष(ख)रं वलवन्नालवनायमस्तके ॥(१) प्रवरं गिरिदुर्गमुक्तचरणं वाममिव
त्पादयं ॥ २५६ ॥*] मञ्जीवजनकाचले निखिलमालवक्त्रापतेर्गले पदमिव
न्यधादमितविक्रमो भूपतिः ॥(१) सरासि जयवर्द्धनेकत पुरेपि यो
- 45 वर्द्धने महामहिमशेखरे विपुलवप्रमुख्यदुतिः ॥ २५७ ॥*] जनकाचलमयहीदर्ल
महतीं चंपवतीमतीतपत् ॥(१) गिरिसुंदरखोलच्छंडनावनिवज्ज्यायुध एष भूपतिः
॥ २५८ ॥*] प्रत्यर्धिपात्रिवपराजयकश्चेतुर्दंदावतीपुरमदीदहदेषवीरः ॥(१) तद्-
गैराटगिरिदुर्गमपि ज्ञेयं संचीभमाय यदपारपराक्रमे-

* This however spoils the metre.

† Wrongly used for adolmayat ?

46. ॥ २५८ [४^a] मञ्जारणपुरं द(व)रिष्यमनलज्वालावलीढं व्याधहीरः सिन्धुपुरीम-
वीभरद^१सिप्रध्वस्तवैरिजज्ञैः ॥(१) यज्ञं रत्नपुरप्रभञ्जनविधावाधाय धीमानतो नायं
नायमनेकराजनिगरान् काराग्रहवीवसत् ॥ २५९ [४^a] यदातीनां पादलक्षं
सपादलक्षनीहतं ॥(१) कृत्वा मञ्जारणवीरो रणक्षेत्रे तद्याजयत् ॥
47. २६१ [४^a] आस्रदाद्रिदलनेन दाक्षणः कोटडाजलहकेलिकेसरी ॥(१) कुंभकर्णनृपति-
र्ब(व)वावटीधूलनोद्धत(त)भुजो विराजते ॥ २६२ [४^a] नम्बानेकनृपालमौलिनिजर-
प्रत्नसङ्गीराङ्गुरचेष्टीरक्षिमिलचक्षुतिभरः शबून् रणप्रांगणे ॥(१) दीर्घादीनितवाहुदंढ-
विलसत्वोददंढोक्त[स^२]ङ्गाणास्तान्
48. वि[रच]य्य मंडलकरं दुर्गे क्षणेनाजयत् ॥ २६३ [४^a] जित्वा देशमनेकदुर्गेविषमं
जाडावटीं जित्वा तद्याधान् करदानिधाय च जयस्तमानुदस्तंभयत् ॥(१)
दुर्गं गोपुरमथ यदपुरमपि घौडां च हुंदावटीं श्रीमन्मंडलदुर्गमुच्चविलसच्छालां
विशालां पुरीं ॥ २६४ [४^a] उत्थातमूलं सलिलैः प्रभञ्जन इव हुमं ॥(१)
49. विशालनगरं राजा समूलमुदमूलयत् ॥ २६५ [४^a] तद्यागरीनयत्र(न)नोरतरंगिणी-
नामंगीकृतं किमु समुत्तरणं तुरंगैः ॥(१) श्रीकुंभकर्णनृपतिः प्रवितीर्षभं-
रालोडयद्विरिपुरं यदमीभिरुपः ॥ २६६ [४^a] यदीयगर्जहजतूर्यधोयसिंहस्वनाक-
र्षणनटशौर्यः ॥(१) विहाय दुर्मं सहसा यलायांचकार
50. गैपालशृगालवालः ॥ २६७ [४^a] त्यक्त्वा दीना दीनदीनाधिनाथा दीना वक्ता येन
सारंगपुर्या ॥(१) श्रेष्ठाः घौडाः पारसीकाधिपानां ताः संख्यातुं नैव शक्नोति
कोपि ॥ २६८ [४^a] मञ्जोमदो युक्ततरो न त्वेषः क्षम्यामिघातेन यनार्जनत्वे ॥(१)
इतीव सारंगपुरं विलोच्य महंमदं त्वाजितवान्महंमदं ॥ २६९ [४^a] गर्ज्यो[घ]-
51. तिमियिजाकुलतरं रंगतुरंगोर्मिमन्मातंगोहतनक्रचक्रममितं प्राकारवेलाचलं ॥(१)
एतद्व्यपरास्मिवाडवमसौ यन्मालांभोनिधिं क्षीणीशः पिबति स खड्गपुलक-
स्तन्मादगस्यः स्फुटं ॥ २७० ॥ संवत् [१५१० वर्षे शा.....]

^१ Correctly equalized.^२ Read *grāhī-śālagat*.

No. 43.—GOKAK PLATES OF DEJJA-MAHARAJA.

BY N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A., OOTACAMUND.

These copper-plates were found in the year 1936 in the house of Mr. Govinda Rao Mutalik Desai of Gôkāk in the Belgaum District of the Bombay Presidency and are now in the possession of the Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar. The inscription which they bear has been edited in the *Karnatak Historical Review*¹ but owing to certain inaccuracies which have crept in the reading of the text as given in the *Review*, in the interpretation of certain passages and in the drawing of inferences in certain cases, I consider it necessary to re-edit the document and I am thankful to the Government Epigraphist for India for giving me an opportunity of doing it in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

The plates are three in number each measuring about 6½" in length and 2½" in breadth. The first and the last plate bear writing on the inner face only; the second plate has both the faces engraved. They are all strung together by a circular ring measuring 2½" in diameter and having an oval seal attached to it. Together with the ring and the seal they weigh 42½ tolas and are very well preserved.

The seal bears in relief the figure of some horned animal which looks like an antelope whose head is bent forward and one of the horns is turned towards the back. The animal is in a moving pose with its right forefoot raised. The donor of the grant which these plates record was a Śāndraka and the crest of the Śāndrakas was probably an elephant.² It is, therefore, difficult to account for the horned animal engraved on the seal unless it is supposed that though the crest was an elephant, the device on the banner of the family was some horned animal like the one represented on the seal. It is not a Rāshtrakūṭa symbol either, though the document was issued in the reign of a king of that dynasty; for the emblem of that family was either *Gaṇa* or *lion*.³ Cannot this horned animal be taken as a cognisance of a Tirthankara in view of the fact that the document is a Jaina record? Śāntinātha, we know, has an antelope for his *līlāchakras*.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Except the invocatory and the imprecatory verses the whole record is in prose. It is written in a Southern script which was in use in the Dekkan during the sixth and the seventh centuries of the Christian era. The record is neatly written and resembles the Bidāmi cave inscription of Kirtivarman I which is dated in the Śaka year 500,⁴ the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgalāśa⁵ (602 A. D.), the Kopperam plates⁶ and the Aihole inscription of Pulakāśin II.⁷ The inscription gives us two forms of long *ā*. In one the top is closed and in the other it is left open (compare *śāhāśāśā* in line 20 and *Arjyaṇḍyā-chāryya* in l. 10). Initial *u* is found in *śaṭa(ha)ṭṭa* (l. 16) and *ś* in *Eśāśvrat* (l. 13). Among the consonants the letter *l* is always closed when it is not a conjunct *alabara* but when it is in combination with some other letters it is open; *r* is always open. The letters *t* and *n* are not looped; the former, however, has a loop when combined with *a* (e.g., in *pariyantak*, l. 13). The letter *kh* is found in *Jambūkhapā* (l. 9) and *j* in *Jalāra* (l. 9). Final *t* is found in line 20 and final *sa* in lines 2 and 18. As regards orthography it may be noted that consonants are sometimes doubled when preceded by *r* (see *Varddhumāna* in lines 1 and 3) but sometimes not (e.g., see *charu-vimati* in line 3). The omission of *s* in *bhūmi tasya* in l. 17 is probably

¹ Vol. I, No. II, pp. 43 ff.² *Rev. Hist.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 267. The figure of an elephant is found engraved on the inscription of the Śāndraka chief Paṇḍita (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 149).³ *Ibid.*, p. 365.⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, plate facing p. 55.⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, plate facing p. 18.⁶ *Above*, Vol. XVIII, plate facing p. 259.⁷ *Above*, Vol. VI, plate facing p. 6.

a mistake of the engraver for the correct word should be *śāṇḍa-laga*. A noteworthy mistake of spelling is to be seen in *uṇḍa-cha* for *uṇḍa-cha* in line 15.

The object of the record is to register the grant of fifty *śūṭṭas* of land in the Jajjira-grāma village situated in the Kaśmāpī-vishaya to *śāhāyaka* Āryyapandin of the Jambūbhāṇḍa-gaṇa for the worship of the divine Arhat and for other purposes specified in lines 11 and 12. The donor was the *Adiśāhāyaka* Indrapanda, the son of Vijayānanda-Madhyamarāja of the Sēndrakas family. Indrapanda is further stated to have been the favourite of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dāṣṭa-Mahārāja. The grant registered in the charter was made when 845 years of the Āguptāyika kings had expired. This date is specially noteworthy for we do not know anything of the Āguptāyika kings with whom it is connected. This is the first inscription known to us making mention of these kings. No details about them are, however, recorded in this document except that they belonged to the spiritual lineage of Varddhamaṇa, the 24th Jain Tirthaṅkara. The name of the era started by these personages namely the Āguptāyika or the reckoning to which it belonged are questions which can be decided only by future researches. Palaeographically the document may be ascribed to about the 6th or 7th century of the Christian era. No reckoning is known at present which would give for 845 an equivalent in the sixth or seventh century of that era. If, however, we follow the Jain tradition and place the commencement of the reign of the Maurya emperor Chandragupta in B. C. 312-13*—for this appears to be the correct date of his accession†—and consider it to be the starting point of the Āguptāyika era we get A. D. 532-33 as the date of our record. But, considering the palaeography of the record this date appears to be somewhat too early; and I am unable to suggest any other era which can give us a date that would suit the writing of the document even approximately.

Indrapanda, the donor of the grant, figures in this record for the first time. The epithet *śāhāyaka* applied to him here would indicate that he was a chief of some importance. After the late Dr. Fleet wrote the account of the Sēndrakas only four more inscriptions of the family have come to our notice. The Kalwan plates of Jayasakti‡ furnish the following pedigree:—

Bhānūśakti
|
Adityaśakti
|
Nikumbhallaśakti
|
Jayasakti

carrying the line one generation further than the Bagumrā§ grant of Nikumbhallaśakti mentioned by Dr. Fleet. The two others are stone inscriptions found at Bādāmi¶ in the Bijapur District and mention the prince Bhimasakti(kti) who was, according to one of them, a devotee at the feet of Satyākṛaya, i.e., a feudatory of the Chālukyas. Excepting the Bagumrā and the Kalwan plates the records of the Sēndrakas so far known mention different members of the family whose relationship to one another is not known. But the names Vijayānanda and Indrapanda found in the record under publication bear a striking resemblance to the name Sēnānanda borne by the maternal uncle of Pulakāin II§§.

* *Expansions of Hindu Mythology* edited by Dr. H. Jacobi, p. 7.

† *Proc. J. R. A. S.*, 1892, pp. 272-82.

‡ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 292.

§ *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Vol. 1891, pp. 100-2.

¶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 265-2.

§§ Nos. 125 and 127 of Bombay-Karnatak collection for 1923-24.

§§ *Asiatic*, Vol. III, p. 61.

[illegible]

29. A

6
8
10

12
14

16

3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20
 16 17 18 19 20
 18 19 20
 20

16

18

20

SEAL OF THE GOKAK PLATES.



From a photograph

SCALE: FOUR TIMES THE ACTUAL SIZE.

- 9 parvata-pratyāsanna-Jalāra-grāmē Jambūkhanda-gaṇadhāya jñāna-
10 darśana-tapa-sampannāya Aryyaṇandyaśchāryyāya Bhagavad-Arha-

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 11 t-pratim-ānavarata-pōj-ārtham śikhaśa-glāna-vṛddhānām eke tapasvinām vai-
12 yāpity-ārtham grāmasy-ōttarataḥ Pārviṇa-grāma-virēya-śmakaḥ da-
13 kṣiṇā Mañja-jalamārgga-paryyantaḥ aparatāḥ Śudāvīrut-śa-
14 hna-valaśikāḥ tasmād-ōttarataḥ puṣkaraśiḥ tatas-cha yāvat-pārva-virēya-
15 kam rāja-mānava paṇchāśā-nivartana-pramāṇa-kāḍḍhan-da-

Third Plate : First Side.

- 16 tiāvā-śatā-yō harati sa pañcha-mahāpātaka-saṁyuktā bhavati || Un(k)taś-
cha
17 Bāhubhīr-vasudhā bhūktā rājāśis-Śugar-ādibhiḥ yasya yasya yadā bhūmi
18 [ta]ja-taṁsa tasya tadā phalaḥ : [2 (*)] Śva-dattām para-dattām vā
yō hārta vasundharām
19 śhaśṭīm varsha-sahasrāṇi viśvāyām jāyate krimiḥ [3 (*)] Śhaśṭīm
varsha-sahasrāṇi
20 śvargā nandati bhūmidāś āchchhātā śa-śmantaḥ cha tāny-eva narakā
vaśāt [4 (*)]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1). Hall 1. May the bright and delusion-destroying teacher of Varddhamāna, who is the moon to the ocean of the Varddhamāna-gaṇa and Śaśvāśis-Śaśvāśis his loca, prosper!

(Lines 2-10). When forty-five after eight hundred, of the years of the Āguptāyika kings in (i.e., belonging to) this ever flowing and prosperous spiritual lineage of the wise Varddhamāna, the Twenty-Fourth of the Tirthankaras, had elapsed, the illustrious adhīśya Indrapanda, the son of Vijayānanda-Madhyamarāja, the bright son who had risen in the firmament of the illustrious and pure Sōndraka family and who was the favourite of the illustrious Dāṁja-Mahārāja, born of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty, gave, in order to increase the merit of his ancestors as well as of himself, land measuring fifty nīratana by the royal measure in the village of Jalāra situated near the mountain in the division of Kashmāpdi to Aryyaṇandyaśchāryya, who belonged to the Jambūkhanda-gaṇa and was well versed in sacred knowledge, systems of philosophy and penance, for offering worship incessantly to the idol of the divine Arhat, for the (maintenance of) teachers, the sick and the old and for the service of ascetics.

(The boundaries of the land are:—to the north of the village the boundary is the virēya of the Pārviṇa village; to the south, up to the Mañja canal; to the west, the ant-hill including Śudāvīrut; to its north, the tank and from there up to the eastern sirgūṭa.

(L. 18). He who takes this away incurs the five great sins. Further it is said:—

(Vv. 2-4). (The usual imprecatory verses).

* The latter da seems to have been corrected from śa.

No. 44.—SIX INSCRIPTIONS IN THE LAHORE MUSEUM.

BY RAI BAHADUR DAYA RAM SAHNI, C.I.E., M.A.

The Central Museum at Lahore possesses a large number of stone inscriptions the bulk of which were collected in the early nineties of the last century by Major H. A. Deane, C.S.I., then Deputy Commissioner of Peshāwar, on the northern borders of the Peshāwar District and in the independent territory beyond it. The majority of these are in an unknown script which have so far remained undeciphered. A few of the others are short Sanskrit epigraphs in Śāradā characters which were also found in the same region and the remainder in the Nāgarī characters. Some of the inscriptions in the unknown script were first dealt with by M. Senart in a paper read by him before the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists in 1894. The whole collection was subsequently exhaustively treated by Dr. (now Sir) Aurel Stein with illustrative plates in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Part I, 1898, pages 1 to 16. M. Senart recognized three distinct types of writing among these documents and these he connected with well defined territorial divisions. The first type which is designated as the *Spandharra* variety has characters consisting of irregular, scrawly lines resembling Sgraffiti or monograms. The second group, associated with *Baner* and the adjoining areas, is characterized by complicated and elaborate signs and these documents are engraved in regular lines on larger stones than those of the first type and have a decidedly monumental look. The third class of documents, known as the *Mahabara* collection, are also engraved on small stones and show a bewildering variety of signs. Sir Aurel was able to distinguish among these inscriptions a fourth variety of writing to which he gave the name of *Nurina* group. These inscriptions are engraved on longish slabs of slate stone, and unlike the inscriptions of the first three groups, these documents are in most cases surrounded by straight engraved lines. The characters in this variety are formed of curves, angles and other simple strokes differing from the linear arrangement exhibited by the signs in the other three groups.

Nothing definite is known of the origin and date of these puzzling epigraphs. M. Senart and Prof. Bühler had noticed a curious similarity between them and the alphabet of the Turkish inscriptions from the bank of the Orkhan, which are assigned to about the first half of the 8th century A. D., i.e., about the period of Ou-Kong's sojourn in Peshāwar. As far as I can make out no further progress has been made with the examination of these records and the mystery is not likely to be solved until, as hinted by Stein, a bilingual inscription is brought to light.

Six of the Śāradā epigraphs in the Lahore Museum will be found included in a comprehensive list of all the known Śāradā inscriptions appended to Dr. Vogel's *Antiquities of Chamba State*.¹ Among the remaining inscriptions the earliest one is written in characters of the 5th or 6th century A. D. Others are in Nāgarī characters. All the inscriptions with the exception of those in the unknown alphabet are incomplete, the extant portions being defaced and in several cases completely obliterated. It is probably for this reason that they have hitherto remained undated.² In view, however, of the comparatively small number of inscriptions from the Punjab and the North-West Frontier which have survived in good condition and been published, I edit them in this article.

I. Sira Inscription of circa 5th century A.D.

This inscription is engraved on a rectangular block of red sandstone similar to that of which the Mathurā sculptures are generally made. The stone was discovered by Sir A. Cunningham and presented to the Central Museum, Lahore. The stone measures 2' 3" in width by 2½" in height

¹ Part I, Appendix I, p. 238.² These have been noticed by me in *P. R. A. S., N. C.*, 1918-19, pp. 18-20 and Appendix C.

and is 8" thick. The inscribed surface is disfigured by two round holes cut near the right end and there is moreover a large piece broken off below these holes. For the rest, the stone is complete. It is, however, obvious that the inscription was engraved on a series of stones fitted together into a wall and that this stone is only one of them. Portions of three lines of the inscription have survived and these contain portions of verses 13, 14, 15 and 17. The first line contains the last seven aksharas of the third foot and the whole of the last or fourth foot of verse 13, thus showing that more than 12½ stanzas are missing at the commencement of the inscription.

The characters belong to the northern variety of script of about the 6th or 6th century A. D. The inscription was composed in elegant metrical Sanskrit but unfortunately its value is much marred by its fragmentary nature and neither the name of the ruler of the time nor the purpose of the document can be ascertained.

TEXT.

- 1 ये[नार]वच्चिकता पुञ्जाराधनमादरेष च चरन्त्यो राज्ञ-
(व)ति सत्वेदा [१^{*}] १६^१ [१^{*}] दायध्यायनिवि'
- 2 [परा] काठा [गतः] संपदो यस्माच्चान्निहतायने यत्त-
यथायेष दग्धा द्विष[ः]^१
- 3 [भक्त्वा च धीरः] विभुवनमरुचस्त्वैवन्दुमुर्ध्वशोभिः
[१^{*}] १६^२ [१^{*}] धामावा[ति]मर्षीव'

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 13).....who by diligent veneration of those worthy of respect is constantly resplendent.....

(Verse 14).....who had attained the highest limit of prosperity and in the fire of whose anger (his) enemies were frequently consumed like moths.....

(Verse 16).....who had covered the three worlds with his fame white like the Moon.....

II. Sirsa Stone Inscription of the time of Bhōjadēva.

According to No. 23 of the list of inscriptions maintained in the Lahore Museum, this inscription was found in a mound near the town of Sirsa in the Hissar District of the Punjab and presented to the Central Museum, Lahore, by the then Deputy Commissioner. The stone is broken irregularly on all sides. The maximum dimensions of the extant portion are—width 2' 7", height 1' 7" and thickness 1' 1". The loss which each line has suffered will be apparent from the subjoined text. Suffice it to say that more than 10 verses are lost at the commencement of the inscription while the last stanza which has survived in part in line 16 is numbered 32. The existing portion of the inscription is in good Sanskrit poetry and few mistakes occur. The characters belong to the 9th century A. D. and the **Bhōjadēva** whose name is found in the third line, I take to be identical with the Bhōja of Kanauj, inscriptions of whose time are found at Deogarh, Gwalior and Peshawar.² No connected translation of the document is possible and I can only record here such fragmentary information as can be gathered from the portions of the stanzas that have survived.

¹ Meise : *Sarvilharikafila*.

² Meise : *Mahat*.

³ Kothari, *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, Nos. 14, 15, 16, 546, etc.; Bhattacharya's *List*, Nos. 23, 24, 26, 1412.

Verse 11, which is the first existing stanza eulogizes the continence of some one. The next verses indicate that the king at the time was the illustrious Bhōpālva.

The next verse (V. 13) tells us that there was a leader of the Pāṇpata sect named Ratnariśi, who was intensely devoted (V. 15), had conquered Kāma, was spotless like a multitude of the rays of the Moon, purified by the current of the celestial river (the Ganges) and [resplendent] like Śiva himself. Of verse 16 only the last part has survived and appears to indicate that this saint did something like the husband of the daughter of the mountain Himālaya, i.e., Śiva. The next verse (V. 17) relates something of the summit of the snowy mountain (Himālaya) and of the mountain Malaya. Verse 18 continues the praise of the saint mentioned above or of one of his successors, who is extolled as the Moon of the earth, who had come down to show the way leading to Śaṅkara, which is free from the dangers of mundane existence and which has destroyed the causes of birth and death. His disciple was another whose name is missing (V. 19), whose mind had been purified by his having acquired the knowledge of all that is worth knowing. This saint had a disciple (V. 20), whose name is also missing. The next two verses (Vv. 21 and 22) state that considering the worldly happiness to be of no use, youth to be worthless and life itself to be unstable like the ripple of the sea, he did something the nature of which cannot be ascertained. His commands were carried out (V. 23) with devotion by the multitude of kings with folded hands. (His disciple) was Nilakaṇṭha (V. 24), who was the lord of the rulers of the earth, an orator among speakers, who, though one, assumed various aspects of Śiva. He made (Vv. 25 and 26) a magnificent temple (*śaṅkha*) of Yōgīśvara or Śiva with burnt bricks and thick slabs of stone. This temple (V. 29) was as high as the sky and attained the height of the summit of the Kailāsa mountain. Verses 30 and 31 appear to state that this temple was adorned with (images) of Kṛṣṇa, the enemy of Mura, united with Lakṣmī and with the images of other gods, demigods, *gandharvas*, *gāṇḍharvas*, *kinaras*, *śiddhas* and thus emulated, as it were, the universal form of the lord of Lakṣmī.

TEXT.

- 1
- 2 तुरङ्ग चक्षुस्त्रिजः
- 3 भुवनं येन । . . परमहेतुः । चेतसापि न बद्धः । सङ्गं परम-
हेतुः ॥११॥¹ श्रीभोजदेवे गुण ॥१२॥²
- 4 व सितानुवृत्तः कलहमुक्तः परमागमागौ । बभूव नास्व
भुवि रत्नराशिस्तु[पो]मव[प]पाशुपतापणोच ॥³
- 5 [च] वैकनिष्ठो जितमन्त्रयस्तथा शशाङ्कलिङ्गाकरजालनिर्मलः ।
सुरस्रवन्तीवहनातिगोभितरस्ययं पिनाकीव विराजमानः ॥१५॥⁴
- 6 हिमशैलकुतापतिवचमदा ॥१६॥⁵ हिमवच्छिखरे मलये च
[गि]रौ कनकाभविशालशिलानिचये । सरसोत्तरसां ॥१७॥⁶

¹ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

² Metre: Indravajrā (The metre of this verse has been taken as Indravajrā but the reading is *Śaṅkha* which would show that possibly the metre was *Yamastakubh*.—Ed.)

³ Metre: Uṣṇasrajā.

⁴ Metre: Pāṇastubh.

⁵ Metre: Pāṇastubh.

⁶ Metre: Pāṇastubh.

- 7 सारमेयामिधेयं । भवभयपरिमुक्तं सा(शां)तसंसारहेतु-
 वृथयितुमिह भार्गवं शाङ्करं सोवनीन्दुः ॥१८॥^१ शिष्यस्तस्य स(श)मान्वित

- 8 परिचयो निर्देखमर्वागुप्तो ज्ञातश्चेयतयातिनिश्चलमना योगी-
 कनिष्ठानिव ॥१८॥^२ तस्यापि शिष्यस्तस्य बभूव शा(क्तो) [॥२०*॥]^३
- 9 विभक्तोऽन्तः । संसारमौख्यं सकलं विदित्वा । ज्ञात्वा
 तथा दौषमम्य[सारं] । पयोधि[वीचौ]चपलं च जीवं ॥२१॥^४ येना . . .
- 10 चे ॥२२॥ आश्रमकार्पोद्भूयि यस्य भक्त्या । कृताङ्गलि-
 भूपगणस्तमयः । शशाङ्कलिङ्गाकलितो[रुम ?] [॥२३॥*]^५
- 11 योनीलकण्ठस्तथा । ईशान-~~पृथिवी~~भुजा समभव-
 द्दामोक्षरो वादिनामित्येकोपि चकार रूपमनिर्गम्यभोरनेकं नि[जं*] . .
 ॥ [२४॥*]^६
- 12 शान्तये योगीश्वरस्य भवनें महतो महौयः ॥२॥^७
 पञ्जीकृतचित्तमेतदुदयमासीत्स[स]त्त्व यद्वनशिखामयमेव यस्तु (?) [१*]
 [सीचौकरचरम] [॥२५॥*]^८
- 13 तिततभूमिभिर्गेषरस्यं । स्तुकाश्चने(?) गगनतुङ्गतया
 नितान्तं कैलासगौलशिखरस्य(त्रि)यमादधानं ॥२८॥^९ लक्ष्मीयुतं(त)सुररियो
 [॥२९॥*]^{१०}
- 14 देवदैत्यगन्धर्वैश्चक्षुषाकिञ्चरसिद्धरूपं । लक्ष्मीपतेरिवयु[ष्क]-
 तविश्वरूपं सा
- 15 [॥३१॥*]^{११} भयनं रमणीयतायां
 निशेषशिल्पविभव
- 16 रागिरिव ॥३२॥^{१२}
- 17
- 18

^१ Metre : Mālinī.^२ Metre : Śāntālanīrīṭīṭī.^३ Metre : Indramjñā.^४ Metre : Upajñā.^५ Metre : Pañchālīlaka.

No. 1.



2

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No. 2.



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III. Bhatinda Stone Inscription of about the 10th Century A.D.

The stone on which this inscription is engraved was found lying at the tomb of Haji Ratan Baba at Bhatinda and was removed and presented by Sardar Atar Singh, Chief of Bhadsaur to the Lahore Museum (No. 8 of the list of inscriptions). It is a fragmentary slab of dark grey colour and was surrounded with an engraved rim ornamented with a pattern of flower petals. The existing portion measures 1' 5½" in width by 1' 6½" in height. The stone is complete on three sides but a portion is broken off on the left side carrying away about 8 to 10 syllables of each line. A small triangular portion is also broken off at the lower left corner. A considerable portion of the writing is also badly defaced in the middle of the slab and in some other parts the letters are quite illegible. The characters are Nāgarī of about the end of the 10th century A. D. and the whole of the extant portion is in Sanskrit verse. The first stanza contains an invocation of Kṛishṇa (Hari), who with his four hands armed with a mace, the spotless *pāñchajanya* conch, (etc.) with ease supports the whole of the three worlds and who is ever-lasting. The second verse praises *Rājā Śatrughna-dēva* who equalled Lakshmaṇa and Bharata, whose feet were bowed to by the whole world and the dust of whose feet..... The third verse informs us that at Tribhāṇḍanapura there was (some one) resplendent with gems of virtues, whose glory was spotless like jewels, who was the ornament of a noble Kshatriya family and who had acquired fame throughout the world by his brilliant..... (His son) (V. 4) was named..... because he was the destroyer of the impurity of the Kali age, who was purified by his devotion to ascetics..... and who by the constant flow of his liberality resembled the current of the Ganges. The next verse (V. 5) contained the name of his wife which appears to have been Indulēkhā. In the remaining portion of the inscription only stray words or syllables can be made out in each line. Line 14 appears to contain the word *mahākari* and in line 16 there is a portion of a foot of a verse in the *Vasantatilaka* metre which means 'devotion to Hari or Vishnu dispels'.

I am unable to identify the *Rājā Śatrughnadēva* who was ruling over the region, where the inscription had been found, at the time this epigraph was engraved. 'Tribhāṇḍanapura' mentioned in verse 3 is undoubtedly the original ancient name of Bhatinda where the inscription was discovered. The ruler Śatrughnadēva in whose time the inscription was recorded is, as far as I can make out, not known from another inscription. He must have belonged to a local family of Bhatinda. Raverty, quoted by Smith in his *Early History of India*, 3rd Edition, p. 382, was wrong in making Bhatinda the capital of Jayapāla of the Hindu Shāhi dynasty.

TEXT.

- 1 — — — — — गदामलपाञ्चजन्मलीलाष्टताखिलजगच्चितयैचतुर्भिः ।
दोभिः हरिः हर
- 2 — — — — — सयं सुचरितानि सनातनोयम् ॥¹ [११*]
जयति जगद्वतचरणधरणरजः श-
- 3 : [1] लक्ष्मणभरतप्रतिमो राजा प्रबुद्धदेवोयम् ॥² [११*] आसीत्ति-
भान्न[नपुंर]गुण-
- 4 [रत्नशाली*] — — — — — विवरत्नमयामलवीः [1*] [सुच]विद्यान्वयविभूषण-
मुज्ज्वलिन ख्यातिव्रतः चिति-
- 5 [तल*] — — — — — ॥³ [११*] [तस्वात्म*]जः कलिलमलयकारिणामा
[चौदाम] इवभवद्यतिमक्तिपूतः⁴ [1*] तापच्छि-

* Metre : Vasantatilaka.

* Metre : Argh.

* One syllable seems to be missing in this photo.

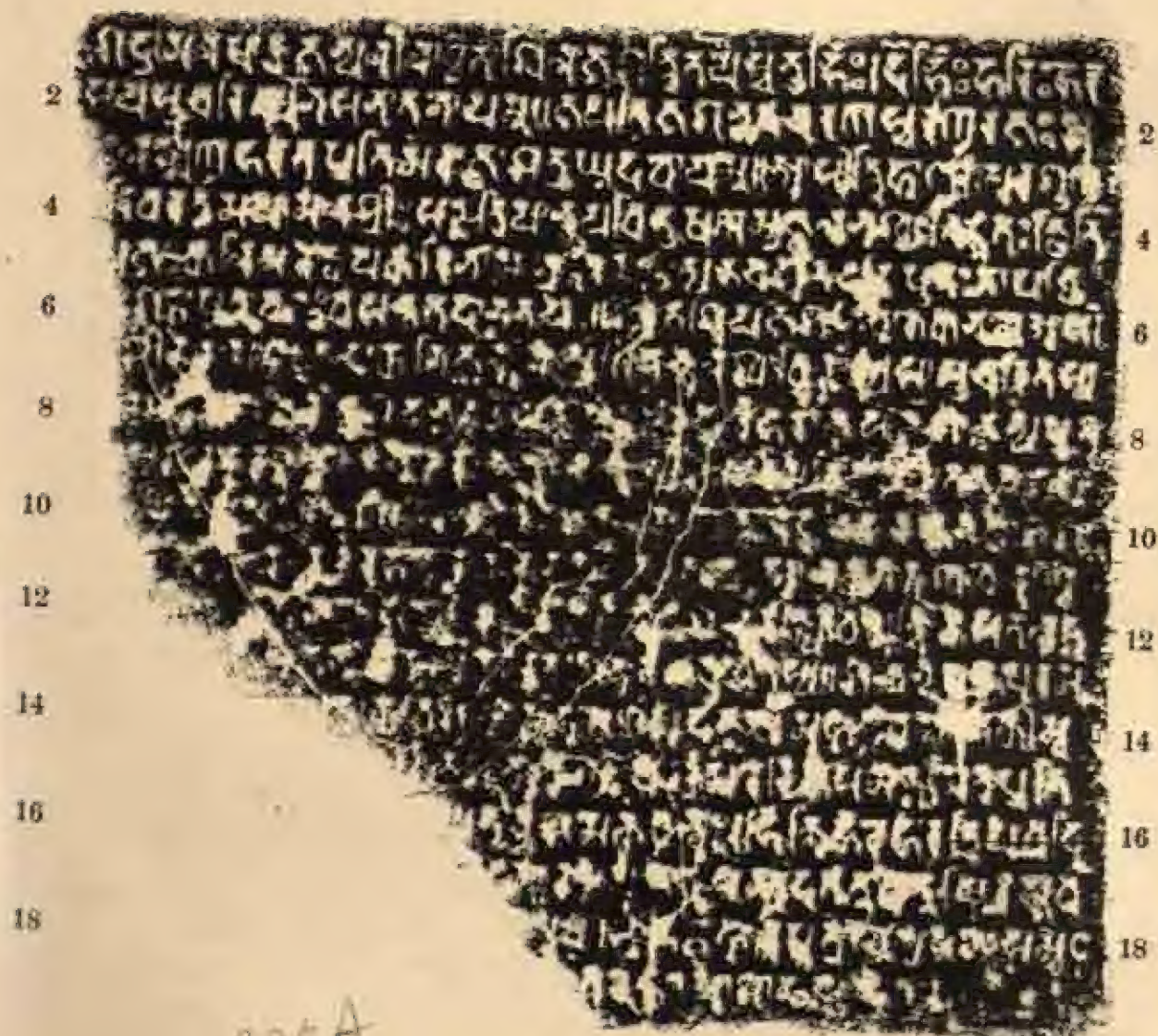
- 6 — — — — — गंगाप्रवाह इव सन्ततदान[तोयः] ॥
 श्रुत्यातवि[यो] जगति [वार]कनाम शानो
 7 [कल्पक]निज . . . श्री . . . नृसिंहा — — एव सा सुचरितस
 8 महन इराज सोजन्मयुत
 9 शानक
 10
 11
 12 सतत
 13 तस्य । गोविन्द परम
 14 [महाकवि] [चन्द्रमणि] देव
 महाराज
 15 सामन्तमित्रप्रति
 16 भक्तिचरितं यच्च दि-
 17 सम्पदच स्त्रिरसुव
 18 पुत्र समुद्र
 19

The remaining inscriptions dealt with in this article are all inscribed in the Śāradā script. The origin, history and development of this script will be found discussed in great detail in Dr. Vogel's monumental work *Antiquities of Chamba State*. Dr. Vogel disagreed with Bühler and Hensley's view that Śāradā was a direct descendant of the western variety of the Gupta script, on the ground that an intermediate variety assignable to about the beginning of the 8th century A. D. had intervened between the Gupta and the Nāgarī scripts. Śāradā proper continued in use in the Chamba valley and the other hill tracts adjoining the Punjab up to about A. D. 1300. The later variety of Śāradā, which in the Chamba valley is known by the name of Devāśāha continued to be used in that area till about A.D. 1700 and a cognate form of it continues to be used to this day, in certain hill States of the Punjab and particularly in Kashmir where Nāgarī did not come into use until the second quarter of the 19th century A. D. The later variety differs from Śāradā proper in the absence of nail-heads or wedges at the tops of the letters, which are such a prominent feature of the earlier variety. The inscriptions treated of here are all engraved in the earlier variety.

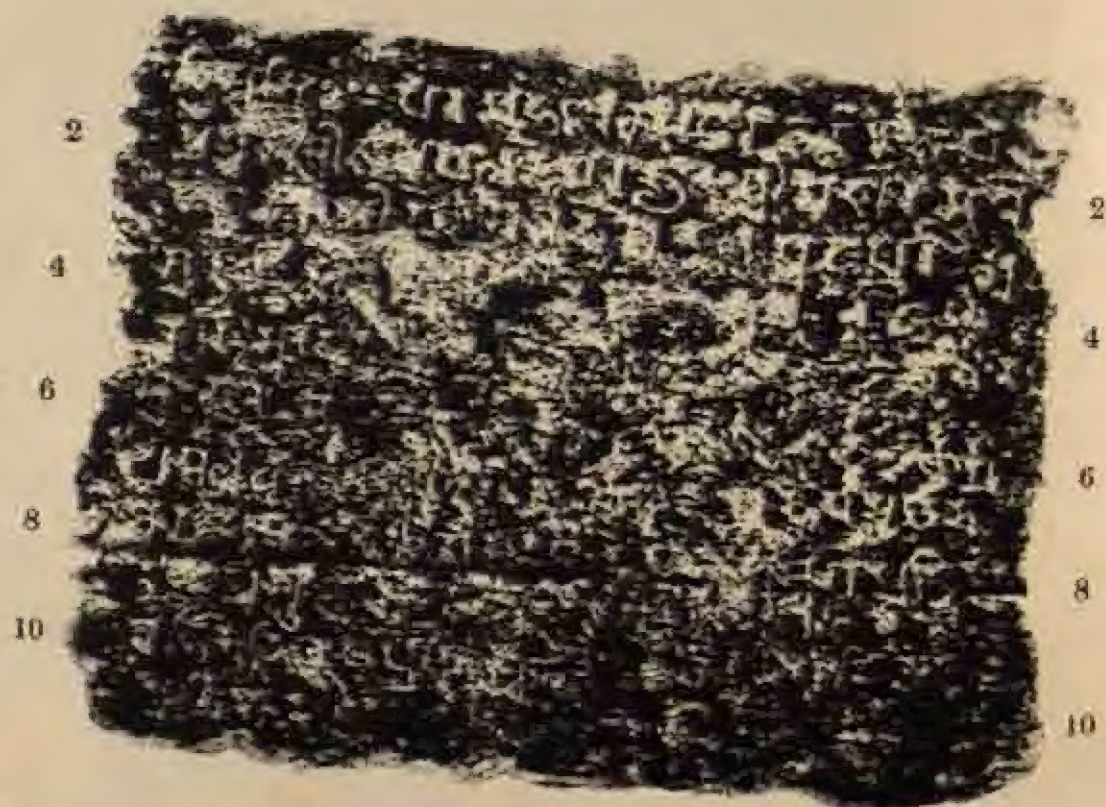
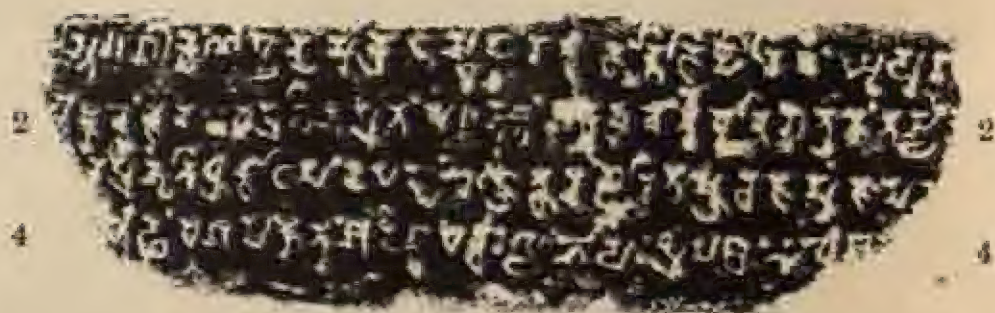
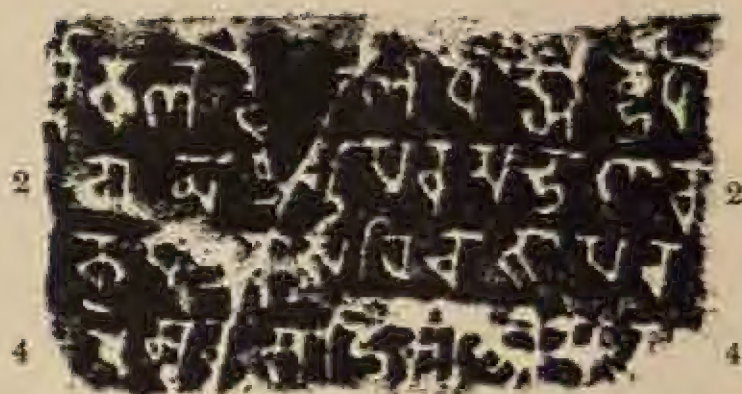
IV. Dewal Stone Inscription of the Shahi King Bhīmadēva.

This inscription is engraved on a small rectangular slab of stone which is badly broken and cracked in two pieces on the front or inscribed face. It was found by Major Dearn at Dewal, Gaden territory. The stone is complete on three sides, but broken at the top and consists of four lines in Śāradā characters and in the Sanskrit language. The extant portion of the inscription is well preserved except for the loss of one letter in the middle of the first line.

No. 3.



298A



TEXT.

- 1 श्रीकल[क] . . लवमोदक-
 2 गदाधस्त परमभद्र-
 3 कमचाराजाधिराजप्र-
 4 मेखरसाहित्रीभौमदे[व] [॥^a]

TRANSLATION.

"The supreme sovereign, superior king of great kings and supreme lord the Shāhi, the illustrious Bhīmadēva, who holds the mace in his hand and is sprung from the illustrious Kala[kannaj-lavaman."

The king Bhīmadēva mentioned in this inscription is no doubt the same as the fourth king of the dynasty of the Shāhi kings of Kabul and the Panjab who reigned, according to C. V. Vaidya (*History of Medieval Hindu India*, Vol. I, page 204) from A. D. 940 to 999.^b This Bhīmadēva was the grandfather of Diddā, the wife and successor of Kshēmagupta, King of Kashmir, and the daughter of the Lohara king named Sīnha Rāja, king of one of the feudatory States of Kashmir till A. D. 958.

Alberuni describes the Shāhi kings of Kabul and the Panjab as Brāhmanas. Sir A. Cunningham held that though the four kings whose names end in देव, i.e., Vāṇkadēva, Kallar or Spalpatidēva, Sāmāntadēva, and Bhīmadēva must indeed have been Brāhmanas, the last four kings, Jayapāla, Anandapāla, Trilochanapāla and Bhīmapāla were Rājput Kshatriyas. This view appears to me to be only partially correct. Kshēmagupta to whom the grand-daughter of Bhīmadēva was married is believed to have been a Kshatriya and as there could be no matrimonial connection between a Brāhmana and a Kshatriya, it is obvious that Bhīmadēva must also have been a Kshatriya. The present inscription provides epigraphical proof of this identification, inasmuch as the name of the father of Bhīmadēva ends in *carman*, a definitely Kshatriya title.

V. Ranigat Inscription.

The fragmentary white marble slab on which this inscription is engraved was discovered by Major Deane in November, 1894 at a place called Ranigat and is now preserved in the Lahore Museum (No. 25-A). The inscription consists of four lines in which portions of four Sanskrit verses have survived. The first verse which is in the *Paśantapālaka* metre has lost the last seven syllables of the second foot, the whole of the third foot and the first two syllables of the last foot, i.e., 23 *aksharas* in all. The loss between lines 2 and 3 amounts to as many as 65 syllables, consisting of the last five *aksharas* of the first foot and the whole of the next three feet of a verse in the *Sāṅghasikrīṣṭa* metre and the first three syllables of the next verse which was in the *Paśantapālaka* metre. The loss between lines 3 and 4 again amounts to only 30 syllables, showing that the lines were of very unequal length.^c

^a For two very rare coins of Bhīmadēva, see Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, plate VII, 17 and 18.

^b [It is quite possible that a whole verse has been lost in addition between lines 1 and 2 and another between lines 3 and 4.—Ed.]

The first verse embodies an invocation of a deity, the pair of whose feet was variegated by the lustre of the brilliant jewels in the crowns of the multitude of gods The next verse of which only the last 12 syllables remain, constitutes a eulogy of a king whose name is broken off, but whose prowess was well known like that of Arjuna. [The son* of this ruler] was devoted to, and diligent in the carrying out of the commands of, his lord. The rest of the verse is broken off. Of the next verse less than the first half exists and it refers to some one, the hair of whose head, which resembled the sacred cord of *śaśya* grass, was besmeared with the mass of the pollen of the lotus flowers in the shape of the feet of Śiva The last existing verse, of which less than one half is preserved, tells us that the worldly ties of some one had been burnt in the fire of [true] knowledge.

This inscription at present adds little to our knowledge of the history of the territory in which it has been found. Perhaps it may be found useful at a later stage in filling gaps in future discoveries of such inscriptions.

TEXT.

- 1 [स्त्रसि] ॥
 गीर्वाणहृन्मुकुटस्फुटरत्नकान्ति-
 किर्मरिणांघ्रि(वि)युग[ल] ७ ७ — ७ — — [1*]
 — — ७ — ७ ७ — ७ ७ — ७ — —
- 2 — — कुनोर्कुन इव प्रथितप्रताप[ः] ॥^१
 भक्तो [भर्तृ]मनोनुवर्तितचतुरो^२ तस्या ७ — — ७ —
 — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ ७ — — — ७ — — [1*]
 — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ ७ — — — ७ — — [10*]^३
- 3 — — ७ रप्रवृत्तिधूर्जटिपादपद्म-
 रेणुत्तरच्युरितमूर्धजमुंजमा[ल] [1*]
 — — ७ — ७ ७ — ७ ७ — ७ — —
 — — ७ — ७ ७ — ७ ७ — ७ — — [10*]^३
- 4 — — धीवगमप्रतापदग्धवन्धः
 स्वातो यः प्रभव इवेग — ७ — — [1*]
 — — ७ ७ ७ — ७ — — —
 — — ७ ७ ७ — ७ — — — [10*]^३

* [The reading seems to be *dhart-i-man-a-nuopiti-chaturak*. The feminine gender as well as the word *chaturak* shows that the reference is to his wife.—Ed.]

^१ Metre : *Paśvatsūtrika*.

^२ Metre : *Śāreṇīśāstrīya*.

^३ Metre : *Prakṛāśāstrīya*.

VI. Bari Kot Inscription of the Reign of Jayapāladēva.

The original of this inscription is a rectangular slab, 10½" wide by 9" high of dark grey slate stone, which was found on a hill to the north of Bari Kot in Upper Swat and is now preserved in the Lahore Museum (No. 119). The whole of the inscription is very badly obliterated and the only portions that can be read with certainty are the first two lines of the document. Elsewhere only stray words or syllables can be made out. The inscription begins with *śāśvati* 100, followed by the words meaning "in the reign of the supreme sovereign, the superior king of great kings and the supreme lord, the illustrious Jayapāladēva". We then gather that in the illustrious Vajrasāhāna (Waziristan) three individuals, whose names are completely rubbed off, founded something, the nature of which cannot be determined. This inscription is the first epigraphical document which mentions the name of the Shāhi king Jayapāladēva, who was the successor of Bhūmadēva and contemporary of Amīr Sabuktigin and Mahmūd of Ghazni. The existing portion contains no date.

TEXT.

- | | |
|----|---|
| 1 | ॐ स्वस्ति १०० परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपर- |
| 2 | मेश्वरश्रीजयपालदेवराज्ये श्रीवज्रीरस्थाने |
| 3 | महयुव श्रीपौष (?) मित्रदेवकुलप्रभप्रार्थिते |
| 4 | |
| 5 | . . . एभिस्त्रिभिः |
| 6 | कर्म |
| 7 | प्रभव उद |
| 8 | कर्म प्रतिष्ठा |
| 9 | तस्य . . . रय प्रतिष्ठित . . . क — — रापितः |
| 10 | एभिस्त्रिभिः |
| 11 | |

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